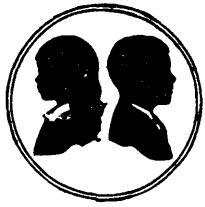
The Origin of Russia

by

Henryk Paszkiewicz



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FOREWORD

The present work deals with the history of Rus from the 9th to the 14th century. The term " Rus " (the " u " should be pronounced as in " put," while the " s " is soft) is always used in east European sources of this period as well as of later times. There is, however, no counterpart to it in any western language. The name " Russia," finally stabilized during the 18th century and specially connected with Moscow, has an entirely different connotation to that of the old Rus. " Russia " in English, " Russie " in French, " Russland " in German, designates indiscriminately the Kievan State from the 10th to the 13th century, the Grand Duchy of Moscow from the 14th to the 17th century, the Empire of Peter the Great and of his successors from the 18th to the 20th century. This has led to many misconceptions in historical literature and to a great confusion of ideas. Historical research would be facilitated if the relevant terminology were internationally regulated. I, and no doubt many others, had to overcome considerable difficulties in this respect. As the term " Rus " is not generally known, I had to employ in the title of this work the inaccurate term " Russia." Also " Russian " has been used as an adjective to " Rus ".

The term " Rus " acquired a variety of meanings in the course of time. In the first part of the book I defined the term for the period from the end of the 10th to the beginning of the 13th century when its meaning can be precisely ascertained. This definition served as the point of departure and the basis for further considerations of the problem in still earlier and, in many respects, more obscure times, i.e. the 9th and 10th centuries (Part II). The results of this research have been checked against the political situation which emerged in the East of Europe during the 13th and 14th centuries, both from the standpoint of the history of Lithuania (Part III) and the history of Moscow (Part IV).

The sources for the problems discussed are on the whole ample, although not equally so in all matters. Of fundamental importance for the origin of the Rus is the famous chronicle known from its initial words as *Povest Vremennykh Let*, and written early in the 12th century by a monk of the Crypt Monastery in Kiev, " Nestor."

Historical literature on the subject is exceedingly abundant in the quantitative sense. At the same time it is characterized by a great diversity of opinions. We find contradictory views concerning not only details but also questions of basic significance. Whether we consider the controversy

about the origin of the Rus or the question of the descent of the Rurik dynasty, the reliability of "Nestor's" Chronicle or the authenticity of the "Tale of the Raid of Igor," the reasons of Moscow's growing ascendancy over the other principalities or the appraisal of the role played by the Tartars in the East of Europe—all these problems provoke animated polemics and diametrically opposed opinions among scholars. This state of affairs is reflected in the present work. The different views of the historians had to be placed before the reader. He also had to be enabled to verify the theses advanced in this book by a return to the texts of the sources. Hence the very large number of footnotes and the abundant bibliography.

H.P.

London,

May, 1954.

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PART I

CHAPTER I

THE MEANING OF THE TERM "RUS", 988—1237

Reliability of "Nestor's" Chronicle. Abundance of Works on the Subject of Rus. Controversial Opinions among Scholars. The Term "Rus" as a Geographical Concept. The Religious Meaning of the Term "Rus." The Rus Nation.

"*Povest Vremennykh Let* (The Tale of Bygone Years) is one of the works of human genius destined to arouse a never-flagging interest throughout the centuries . . . To a reader of the 11th or 12th century, it was a living tale of his home country, of its past and present, of the great exploits of previous generations, crowned by the creation of a powerful State. To us, it is a source, unique in kind, giving not always a complete, but nevertheless . . . a true and consistent account of events in the early period of the history of Rus . . . Nestor was neither a poet nor a first-rate narrator. He was only a master in his own speciality, a man who had learned much, and had known many things . . . (He not only made use of previous sources but) he remained in constant touch with his contemporaries, who actually made history; they must surely have assisted him in his work, either by personal discourse or by supplying him with data . . . Nestor knew how to examine facts critically, he was able to establish links of causation between them, and to restore their chronology."

In these words B. Grekov characterizes the *Povest*.[1] He is by no means alone in his judgement.[2] For this reason, one must wonder all the more that the same author, in his other works, gives an entirely different appraisal of "Nestor". "Undoubtedly the chronicler, who is the representative of a certain class, has his own point of view, and pursues some definite political design. Our attitude towards this Chronicle as a historical source must therefore be doubly cautious."[3] Elsewhere, Grekov confesses that he must disagree rather strongly with "Nestor's" conception of the creation of the Kiev State, since the chronicler had

[1] B. Grekov, Pervyi trud po istorii Rossii, *IsZ*, 1943, pp. 65—7; *idem*, *Kievskaya Rus*, 4th ed., 1944, pp. 343—4; *idem*, *Kultura Kievskoi Rusi*, 1944, pp. 70—4 (English translation by P. Rose, *The Culture of Kiev Rus*, 1947).

[2] "We can boldly affirm that never before nor after, down to the 16th century, did Russian historical thought attain such a high level of scientific investigation and literary accomplishment (as in the work of "Nestor")." D. Likhachev, *Russkie letopisi i ikh kulturno-istoricheskoe znachenie*, 1947, p. 169. The said Chronicle is similarly appraised by M. Tikhomirov, *Istochnikovedenie istorii SSSR s drevneishikh vremen do kontsa XVII* v. I, 1940, p. 49.

[3] B. Grekov, Kievskaya Rus i problema proiskhozhdeniya russkogo feodalizma u M. N. Pokrovskogo, in a collective work *Protiv istoricheskoi kontseptsii M. N. Pokrovskogo* I, 1939, p. 90.

made a selection of facts in accordance with his own political views.[1] In short, " Nestor " cannot be relied upon. A biassed chronicler must be replaced by an impartial historian. But one may well ask what other basis can be found for research into those times, if the *Povest* is a work of "genius", as regards the value of the information contained in it " unique in kind ", and, in its reconstitution of facts, a " true " source ?

And yet a disparaging attitude toward the Kiev Chronicle, and the claim that it must be " corrected ", is nowadays a common approach among historians. Pokrovsky went so far in his hypercriticism that he called " Nestor's " work simply a piece of journalism.[2]

What arguments do those scholars put forward who consider the Chronicle and the data contained in it untrustworthy? They all repeat the same argument : in the text of the source there are " obvious ", "gross", " indisputable " inconsistencies. At first glance, these objections may appear to be warranted, but on closer examination this impression does not endure.

The *Povest* is incorporated in many chronicles, from the 14th to the 17th century. If " Nestor's " work was so often recopied, it was obviously considered by subsequent generations to possess a special value. The disparaging treatment of the Kiev Chronicle by modern historians contrasts sharply with the opinions of those who lived nearer in time to " Nestor ". " With what a sense of appreciation of Nestor's masterly skill—writes Grekov—later . . . chroniclers approached his work, may be gathered from the fact that each of them included Nestor's work in his own without any afterthought."[3] And it is difficult to suppose that the authority of the *Povest* was purely fortuitous.

It is generally and rightly assumed that before the end of the 11th century there already existed on the Dnieper some works of earlier chroniclers which were known and used by "Nestor." The *Povest* was a link in the chain of this annalistic activity, a link of inestimable value, but only one of the milestones, as regards both " Nestor's " predecessors and his successors. To question the historical value of the *Povest* is to undermine them all.

It is beyond any doubt that " Nestor " was a man of profound learning, and that he approached his work with a full sense of his responsibility. In spite of the fact that the *Povest* is a work of monastic literature, we find in it many subjects which reach far beyond the monastery walls. The reader is captivated by the wide range of subjects in which the author was interested, by the abundance of facts recorded, and by his familiarity with vast territories.

But " Nestor's " serious approach to the task of the historian shows itself primarily in the diligent collection of sources and the use made of them. Shakhmatov has collected a mass of literary material, mostly

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[1] B. Grekov, *Feodalnye otnosheniya v Kievskom gosudarstve*, 1936, pp. 5—6.
[2] M. Pokrovsky, Borba klassov i russkaya istoricheskaya literatura, *Istoricheskaya nauka i borba klassov* I, 1933, p. 18.
[3] B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus*, p. 346.

Greek, which was known to "Nestor."[1] Priselkov rightly emphasizes the impressive abundance of this material.[2] Moreover, "Nestor" drew very largely also on oral tradition. Students may differ in their views as to what the chronicler learned from written texts, and what from hearsay.[3] In many cases it is impossible to solve the points at issue with any certainty.

"Nestor" no doubt learned a great deal through direct channels. In those days, when the written word was scarce, the strength of oral tradition was much greater than in later times. Stories and legends which circulated among the people, old men's tales, the extant relics of the past, the record of places connected with historical events such as battlefields, graves, and ruins—in the Chronicle all this comes to life again.[4]

It cannot be established at what point of his Chronicle "Nestor" becomes an eye-witness of the events he describes. We do not know how old he was when he began his work. If it was at the end of his life, he must have gathered much personal knowledge and have had many opportunities of questioning others. Even if we admit that he was relatively young, he must have met old men who had heard about the past from their elders. In this way a tradition can be preserved for five generations. From the beginning of the 12th century it could take us back to the second half of the 10th.[5]

Nothing that we know about the *Povest* casts any doubt upon its trustworthiness as a historical source, especially from the middle of the 10th century onwards. It is certainly curious that the men who recopied "Nestor's" work were not disturbed by the alleged obscurities and inconsistencies about which so much has been written by modern historians, and that they did not make any comments or additions of their own. It is obvious that, in their opinion, the text was clear and intelligible, and they were better placed than we are to form an opinion on the subject.

In order to deal with this most essential problem, it is necessary to examine "Nestor's" vocabulary, the terms and expressions used by the chronicler, and to establish a code which would enable us to decipher the obscure passages in the work. Should this method produce satisfactory results, and should it appear that the text of the Chronicle is a consistent whole which leaves no possibility of ambiguous interpretation, then the judgement passed on "Nestor's" work would have to undergo a radical revision.

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[1] A. Shakhmatov, Povest Vremennykh Let i ee istochniki, *TODRL* IV, 1940.

[2] *Ibidem*, in Priselkov's preface, p. 10.

[3] Cf. G. Balascev, *Die Mitteilungen in der Nestorchronik über die Wlachen am linken Donauufer und um die Karpathen*, 1936, p. 24.

[4] Cross, pp. 146, 164, 168, 178, 182, 223, 225, etc.

[5] We read in this historical source that in 1106, that is at the time when "Nestor" was writing it, a certain Yan died at the great age of ninety years. Cross, p. 295. Consequently he was born almost exactly at the time of the death of Vladimir the Great. Yan's father Vyshata took part in the 1043 expedition against Byzantium. Cross, p. 227. D. Likhachev, Ustnye letopisi v sostave Povesti Vremennykh Let, *IZ* XVII, 1945, pp. 206–224, on the strength of the material preserved in the Kiev Chronicle, reconstructs the past of five, and possibly even seven, generations of a once eminent family of governors (*posadniks*) of Novgorod, who went over to the service of Kiev.

Let us now undertake the examination of the term "Rus". The problem of Rus has exercised historians from an early date. They tried to lift the veil covering the past and to discover its great secret. It has even been stated in some quarters that this problem must remain unsolved.[1]

It is necessary to insist on the paramount importance of a true understanding of the meaning of Rus. Brückner observes that " the man who can give the right definition of the term 'Rus,' will have found a key to its early history."[2] The studies devoted to the problem are very numerous —and, as usually happens in such cases, the value of the particular works varies greatly. It is impossible to deny that even the greatest authorities on the subject arrive at conflicting conclusions based on the very same sources. Where shall we seek the explanation of this anomaly ? In my opinion, without doubt, in defective methods of research. It seems to me that we ought to discard all the existing conjectures as to the origin of the term "Rus"—to forget, for the time being, what has already been written on the subject—and to find in our sources something sufficiently stable to serve as a starting-point for all further considerations. Going back from later events to earlier ones, let us establish certain conceptions, terms, and facts, in so far as history allows us to do so, and endeavour with the aid of this auxiliary equipment to descend into the darkness of the ages.

From this point of view the period which is most important is that extending some 250 years from the baptism of Vladimir the Great to the Tartar invasions of the first half of the 13th century. In addition to " Nestor," we shall refer also to the First Novgorod Chronicle, the so-called Kiev Chronicle (12th century), and the Chronicle of Halicz-Volynia (13th century). We shall take only the oldest sources into consideration —that is to say, those which have been the least adulterated by subsequent variations.[3]

What was Rus at that period ?

Let us take some examples to illustrate the problem. Under the year 1152 we read of the meeting of the Kievan Prince Izyaslav with the King of Hungary : " And they went away, the King to his country, Hungary, and Izyaslav to the land of Rus " (II) ; or, under the year 1180 : "Prince Svyatoslav, son of Vsevolod, . . . marched from Rus to Suzdal" (III) ; or, under the year 1193 : "Svyatoslav sent his envoys to Rurik (to Ovruch) and said to him : Come now to Rus . . . ; Rurik . . . came with all his troops to Rus" (II), and so on. It appears from these quotations that Rus is a geographical term. It means, above all, the territory of Kiev.

I will not expand these remarks by further argumentation, since the

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[1] M. Korduba, Najnowsze teorie o początkach Rusi, *PH*, 1932, p. 58.

[2] A. Brückner, O nazwach miejscowych, *RPAUF*, 1935, p. 41.

[3] The said chronicles have been published in *Full Collection of Russian Chronicles* (*Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisei*). As we often have to quote from these sources, and in order to avoid repetition, we only give in each case the roman figure indicating the volume of the publication in question. The date appended, whenever an event is alluded to, will enable the reader to find the text he needs.

chronicles are so clear that they preclude all doubt on the question. We may take it as indisputably established that Kiev was the chief city of Rus.

One must conclude from the data supplied by the chronicles that the bulk of the settlements in the territory of Kiev were concentrated in the triangle formed by the Dnieper and its two western tributaries, the Irpen and the Ros. The principal cities of the territory were situated there.[1] Further on, beyond these rivers, the population was much sparser. In the West, the domains of Kiev reached to the upper Boh. "Nestor" relates that Vladimir the Great's sons Yaroslav and Mstislav "divided Rus according to the course of the Dnieper."[2] On the left bank of the river, Rus consisted of two provinces: those of Chernihov and of Pereyaslavl.[3] The southern and eastern boundaries of the territory of Pereyaslavl were fluid; they disappeared into the steppes, and it is rather a matter for doubt whether they were fixed.[4] The river Osetr, a left tributary of the Desna, marked the boundary between the territories of Pereyaslavl and Chernihov.[5] The sources indicate that the territory of Chernihov belonged to Rus.[6] Consequently Rus, as a geographical entity, contained the three principal cities of Kiev, Chernihov, and Pereyaslavl.[7]

Which territories did not belong to Rus ?

In the chronicles, we often find information as to how descendants of Rurik and their retainers, or high ecclesiastical dignitaries go from their different principalities to Rus, or return thither from Rus. From these references we can reach positive conclusions. We can establish the following facts:

Halicz (Galich) and Volynia are not Rus:

1018. "After collecting Rus, Varangians, and Slavs, Yaroslav marched forth against Boleslav and Svyatopolk, and upon arriving at Volyn, they camped on both sides of the river Bug."[8]

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[1] They are enumerated and located on the map in O. Andriyashev, Naris istorii kolonizatsii Kiivskoi zemli, forming part of a publication by several hands: *Kiiv ta iogo okolitsya v istorii i pamyatkach*, 1926, pp. 42—51.

[2] Cross, p. 224.

[3] There is no doubt that Pereyaslavl belonged to Rus. "In this year (1132) Vsevolod went to Rus to Pereyaslavl" (III). When in 1155 Yurii took the throne of Kiev, he settled his son Gleb at Pereyaslavl (II). Besides, the mere definition of Pereyaslavl as "Russian" (*russkii*) settles the matter conclusively.

[4] O. Andriyashev, Naris istorii kolonizatsii Pereyaslavskoi zemli do pochatku XVI v., *ZIF* XXVI, 1931, p. 1.

[5] D. Bagalei, Istoriya Severskoi zemli do poloviny XIV st., *UIK*, 1881, p. 147.

[6] Cross, pp. 224—5, 278; *PSRL* I, A.D. 1195; II A.D. 1147; III A.D. 1135, etc.

[7] Sometimes the chronicles mention "the whole land of Rus". In most cases this term is used in a general way, and affords no basis for a concrete territorial definition. When more details are given, they cover the territory of Kiev. For instance, in the year 1180: "as Svyatoslav was his elder brother he (Rurik) came to agreement with him and gave him the seniority and Kiev. And he took for himself the whole land of Rus" (II)—that is to say, the rest of the Kiev territory. Cf. M. Hrushevsky, Istoriya Kievskoi zemli, *UIK*, 1891, p. 242. Under the year 1198: "Svyatoslav gave Galich to Rurik and claimed for himself (kept) the whole land of Rus around Kiev." (II), etc.

[8] That is to say, men of Rus marched to Volyn; consequently, Volyn is not included in Rus. Cross, pp. 220—1.

1097. "David . . . went back to Vladimir (in Volynia, and) . . . fortified himself within the city, and expected help from the Poles . . ., for they had promised to be his allies if the Russian princes attacked him."[1]

1145. "The whole land of Rus marches forth against Galich" (III).

1152. "Izyaslav . . . went forth (against Halicz) taking with him . . . the best men of Kiev and the whole Russian retinue" (II).

1152. "(The King of Hungary asks Vladimir of Halicz to give back to Izyaslav of Kiev the lands of Rus, and says:) You swore to give back all possessions of the land of Rus, and not to desert Izyaslav" (II).

1152. Vladimir of Halicz takes leave of the "Russian man" who is an envoy of the Prince of Kiev (II).

1189. "Svyatoslav was giving Galich to Rurik, and wished (to keep) for himself the whole land of Rus" (II).

1193. "Svyatoslav (of Kiev) sent his envoys to Rurik (to Ovruch in Volynia) and said to him: Now come to Rus . . . Rurik then came to Rus with all his troops" (II).

1202. "Roman, having gathered the troops of Galich and Vladimir, invaded the land of Rus" (II).

1206. "The men of Galich, seeing that the King (of Hungary) was going away, took fright at the Russian troops as they might have turned back against them" (I).

1231. "Danilo (of Halicz) captured the town of Torchesk, belonging to the land of Rus" (II).

When the merchants of Halicz and Przemyśl were not permitted to leave these lands, there was no salt in the whole land of Rus,[2] and so on.[3]

Novgorod is not Rus.

1132. "In this year, Vsevolod went forth (from Novgorod) to Rus, to Pereyaslavl" (III).

1141. "Fleeing from Novgorod, Svyatoslav went to Rus, to his brother . . ." (II).

1148. "(The Prince Izyaslav of Kiev went to the rescue of the men of Novgorod), leaving the land of Rus . . . And Izyaslav arrived with the men of Novgorod on the Volga . . . and waited there four days for his brother Rostislav; Rostislav came with all Russian troops . . ., and the men of Novgorod and Rus (sacked the territories on the Volga)" (II).

1165. "Eliash was elevated to the dignity of Archbishop of Novgorod during the rule of the Russian (Kievan) Prince Rostislav, and came to Novgorod during the rule of the Prince of Novgorod, Svyatoslav" (III).

1167. "The men of Novgorod sent to Rus to Mstislav (Prince of Kiev) for his son" (III).

1175. "(At the moment of Andrew's death) his little son was staying at Novgorod and his (Andrew's) brothers were in Rus" (I—II).

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[1] Cross, pp. 286—7.

[2] D. Abramovich, Kievo Pecherskii Paterik, *PMP DU* IV, 1931, pp. 151—2.

[3] The facts, adduced above, refute the hypothesis of Chubaty according to which, from the 12th century onwards, Volynia was called Rus in the same sense in which the term was applied to Kiev. See N. Chubaty, The Ukrainian and Russian Conceptions on the History of Eastern Europe, *PSSS* I 1951, p. 17.

1178. "The men of Novgorod sent their envoys to Mstislav, Rostislav's son, calling him to Great Novgorod, but he did not wish (to leave) the land of Rus" (II).

1179. "The men of Novgorod sent to Rus . . . for Mstislav, and Mstislav entered Novgorod" (III).

1180. "The men of Novgorod sent to Rus, to Svyatoslav, for his son, and they brought Vladimir to Novgorod" (III), and so on.

Territories in the Volga area—Rostov, Suzdal, Vladimir on the Klyazma—are not Rus[1]:

1146. "Svyatoslav . . . sent his envoys to Yuri, to Suzdal (persuading him): Go (from Suzdal) to the land of Rus, to Kiev" (II).

1148. "Izyaslav came to the banks of the Volga . . . and waited there four days for his brother Rostislav, and Rostislav came with all the Russian troops . . . and so the Rus was looting (territories on the Volga)" (II).

1149. "(Yuri, Prince of Rostov and Suzdal, complained): Neither I nor my children have any share in the land of Rus" (I).

1152. "Yuri went forth with the men of Rostov, Suzdal, and Ryazan . . . to Rus" (I—II).

1154. "Yuri went forth with the men of Rostov, Suzdal and all his children to Rus . . . and halted before reaching Kozelsk" (I).

1154. "This winter . . . Yuri . . . went forth . . . to Rus . . . and went himself to Kiev" (I).

1156. "(When the Metropolitan Constantine came from Constantinople to Kiev) the Bishop (of Rostov) Nestor went forth to Rus" (I).

1175. "(Prince Michael left Vladimir on the Klyazma) and went forth to Rus, and the people of Vladimir accompanied him with lamentation" (I).

1180. "Prince Svyatoslav, Vsevolod's son, went forth . . . from Rus to Suzdal" (III).

1180. "Svyatoslav . . . leaving the land of Suzdal, sent his brother Vsevolod . . . to Rus . . . and he himself went to Great Novgorod" (II).

1181. "(Svyastoslav) returned again to Rus and Prince Vsevolod to Vladimir (on the Klyazma)" (I).

1187. "Prince Rurik sent Prince Gleb . . . to Vsevolod, to Suzdal for Vezhkhoslava (as wife) for Rostislav . . . , and Vsevolod . . . gave his daughter Vezhkhoslava . . . and sent her to Rus" (II), and so on.

The lands of Ryazan and Murom are not Rus:

1147. "(When Svyatoslav was in the land of Ryazan, his men) came running from Rus and made known to him that . . . " (II).

1152. "In this year Yuri went forth . . . to Rus . . . with the men of Ryazan" (II).

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[1] N. Voronin, Kultura Vladimiro-Suzdalskoi zemli XI—XIII vv. *IsZ*, 1944, p. 35, supposes that the great tracts of forest separating Rostov, Suzdal, and Vladimir from the middle Dnieper helped to render that region distinct from or even opposed to Rus. This inference is quite false, as other lands, such as Halicz and Volynia, which were not separated from Kiev by any great forests, nevertheless were not included in Rus.

1175. "(The men of Rostov and Suzdal assembled in Vladimir on the Klyazma to hold council as to whom they should elect as prince): Our nearest neighbours are the Princes of Murom and Ryazan, but we fear their cunning . . . (Because of that they decided that their envoys) should go to Rus to ask for a prince . . . " (I—II), and so on.

Smolensk is not Rus:

1148. " Rostislav arrived . . . with all the troops of Rus and Smolensk " (II).

1154. When Rostislav arrived from Smolensk to Kiev he was greeted " by the whole land of Rus " (II).

1174. " . . . Go to Smolensk . . . I order you not to stay in the land of Rus " (II).

1197. " David sent his son Constantine (from Smolensk) to Rus " (II),[1] and so on.

Polotsk is not Rus:

1140. " Mstislav, Prince of Kiev, summoned the Prince of Polotsk to Rus " (II), and so on.

The chronicles of the period with which we are concerned permit us to state beyond any doubt the fact that Rus, in the geographical meaning of the term, consisted of the land of Kiev (together with the areas of Chernihov and Pereyaslavl). Not Halicz nor Volyn, not Smolensk nor Polotsk, not Murom nor Ryazan, Rostov, Suzdal or Vladimir on the Klyazma, nor Great Novgorod regarded themselves as belonging to Rus, and they were not considered to be Rus.[2] The historical sources we have examined were the work of many chroniclers, which means that a long series of generations used the term "Rus" in the above mentioned sense, being in complete agreement about it. They used it without any comment or explanation, as this geographical term was sufficiently clear and understandable. The number of sources relating to our subject is astonishing. We have quoted many examples, but their number could easily be increased. By increasing them, we should not, however, obtain any fresh results, as all the other information contained in the chronicles supports the conclusions we have already reached. The fact is that over 99 per cent of the material contained in the sources confirm the thesis we have advanced.[3]

There is no doubt that the geographical notion of Rus originated in the land of Kiev, which was a political centre. " Nestor " mentions numerous Finnish and Baltic tribes " which pay tribute to Rus ",[4] i.e.,

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[1] There is no contradiction between this statement and the information given in the chronicle under the year 1195 that Rurik (of Kiev) invited David, Prince of Smolensk, to discuss with him problems relating to the land of Rus (II). David was interested in the matter, as he possessed Vyshgorod, near Kiev. Cf. M. Hrushevsky, *Istoriya Ukraini-Rusi* II p. 217.

[2] Many historians, who have tried to establish the meaning of the term "Rus" in the period referred to, have either passed this fundamental fact over, or treated it lightly. They often advanced conjectures, which find no confirmation in the sources; e.g. A. Volkonsky, *Imya Rusi v domongolskoyu poru*, 1929; M. Tikhomirov, Proiskhozhdenie nazvanii "Rus" i "Russkaya zemlya," *SE* VI—VII, 1947 pp. 60—80; D. Likhachev, *Povest Vremennych Let* II, 1950, pp. 238—41, and many others.

[3] See Appendix: " The Geographical Meaning of the Term Rus."

[4] Cross, p. 140.

to the Kievan State. When Vladimir the Great in 981 occupies Czerwień, and other cities, the chronicler adds: "all of which are subject to Rus even to this day."[1] In 984 the same Prince conquers the Radimichians, who "pay tribute to Rus, an obligation which they maintain to the present day,"[2] and so on.

When "Nestor" stresses the dependence of these lands on Rus—a relationship which finds expression in their paying tribute to its rulers—he obviously contrasts these conquered territories with Rus, and indicates that they were not part of Rus.

But in addition to its geographical and political meaning, Rus, in the period under consideration, had yet another sense, which referred to its religious creed. It designated all the followers of the Eastern Church subject to the Metropolitan of Rus—i.e., of Kiev.[3] The term is used in a sense transcending all provincial limits and even the limits of Eastern Slavdom, and generally contrasts the inhabitants of Rus with the peoples of other faiths, such as the Polovtsians,[4] the Chernye Klobuki (Black Caps)[5], the Finnish Yam,[6] the Hungarians, the Poles, etc.

The method by which we are conducting our investigation allows us to define the meaning of the term "Rus" very precisely. In addition to the faith of Rus, the term designates the adherents of that faith. Vladimir the Great issued his important Church Statute, by which he established the position of the Eastern Church "in the whole of Rus", "where there are Christians".[7] "Nestor" says that "the feast of Boris and Gleb . . . is a new festival of Rus".[8] Here the chronicler has not only the land of Kiev in mind. According to the opinion of the time, those princes of the house of Rurik deserved the highest praise and the titles of autocrats and

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[1] *Ibidem*, p. 182.

[2] *Ibidem*, p. 183.

[3] The sources call the Metropolitans resident at Kiev "Russian": 1104. "The Russian Metropolitan Nicephorus arrived" (III); 1121. "The Russian Metropolitan Nicephorus died" (I); 1158. "The Russian Metropolitan Constantine died at Chernigov" (III), and so on. Yaroslav's fights with the Pechenegs in 1036 took place in Kiev, "at the spot where Saint Sophia, the metropolitan Church of Rus (*mitropolya russkaya*), now stands." Cross, p. 225.

[4] 1061. "The Polovtsians invaded Rus for the first time." Cross, p. 233. 1078. "Oleg and Boris led the pagans to attack Rus, and fell upon Vsevolod with their Polovtsian reinforcements . . . The Polovtsians . . . vanquished Rus . . . Oleg and Boris arrived before Chernigov, thinking they had won, and they visited much harm upon the land of Rus. They shed Christian blood, which God will avenge upon them, and they will have to answer for their destruction of Christian souls." *Ibid.*, p. 255. 1094. "Oleg arrived from Tmutorokan before Chernigov with a force of Polovtsians . . . The Polovtsians committed many depredations in the vicinity of Chernigov, and Oleg made no attempt to restrain them, for the reason that he himself had inspired their raids. This was, in fact, the third time that he had led a force of pagans to attack Rus. May God forgive his sin, for many Christians were destroyed, while others were taken captive and scattered throughout the lands." *Ibidem*, pp. 270—1, etc.

[5] D. Rasovsky, O roli Chernykh Klobukov v istorii drewnei Rusi, *SK* I, 1927, pp 93—102; *idem*, *Rus, Chernye Klobuki i Polovtsi v XII v.*, 1940 (unavailable to me).

[6] 1226. "This winter, Yaroslav, Vsevolod's son, from Novgorod went forth beyond the sea to Yam (Em), where not a single Russian prince had ever been before" (I).

[7] *RIB* XXXVI, 1920; L. Goetz *Kirchenrechtliche und kulturgeschichtliche Denkmäler Altrusslands*, 1905, pp. 12—38; S. Yushkov, *Ustav knyazya Vladimira*, 1926 (unavailable to me); G. Vernadsky, The Status of the Russian Church during the first Half-Century following Vladimir's Conversion, *SEER* XX, 1941, p. 306.

[8] Cross, p. 268.

tsars of Rus, i.e., defenders and protectors of Russian Christianity—who won victories over nonconformists, and especially over pagans.[1]

As Rus is identified with Christianity, and is actually its synonym, its very name implies the duty of conforming to Christian principles. God punishes Rus for its sins,[2] or rewards its virtues by victories and other successes.

Another term which occurs in the sources over and over again and has the same meaning as Rus, is the "land of Rus". This designates the country inhabited by Russian Christians. In every-day life and in abbreviation, it alludes to the faith and to its followers.[3] We have very many instances of this.[4] According to the chroniclers, the land of Rus continually undertakes expeditions against the enemies of the Church. The author of *The Discourse on the Ruin of the Land of Rus* (13th cent.) describes the riches and the beauty of the land of Rus, and then adds: "Thou aboundest in everything, land of Rus, O orthodox Christian faith".[5] It is impossible to identify these two more clearly: land of Rus and religion.

Finally, there is a third term having the same meaning as the two preceding ones, namely "*yaz̨yk* of Rus". Sreznevsky examines every meaning of the word "*yaz̨yk*" as it was used in earlier centuries. He rightly states that this word meant: tongue, language, people, and so on.[6] But this scholar did not perceive that in the old days it also meant: faith. There exists a commonly known word "*yaz̨ychnik*" which signifies a man of false beliefs, a man of different faith, a heathen; *yaz̨ychestvo* is the synonym of paganism. In these words the connection of *yaz̨yk* with religious beliefs appears quite clearly.

The correctness of this view will become even more evident when we begin to examine the historical sources from those areas where the believers of the Russian faith encountered other creeds. For our problem,

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[1] Such epithets are bestowed by the Halicz-Volynia Chronicle on Prince Roman because "he vanquished all the pagan faiths" (II).

[2] Cross, pp. 222, 235, etc.

[3] W. Philipp, *Ansätze zum geschichtlichen und politischen Denken im Kiever Russland*, 1940, draws attention to the religious implications of the term "the land of Rus". The present writer has not been able to obtain: S. Bugoslavsky, Russkaya zemlya v literature Kievskoi Rusi XI—XIII vv., *UZMGU*, CXVIII; I. Sventsitsky, *Nazva "Rus" v istorychnomu rozvytku XIII viku*, 1936.

[4] 1095. ". . . they (the Polovtsians) bring incessant ruin to the land of Rus and constantly shed Christian blood." Cross, p. 271; 1097. "(Several princes of the house of Rurik) met at Lyubech to make peace, and said to one another: Why do we ruin the land of Rus? . . . Let us rather hereafter be united in spirit and watch over the land of Rus" . . . (And if any prince should break the concluded agreement): "May the Holy Cross and the entire land of Rus be against him." *Ibid*, p. 279; 1173. "(When Prince Mstislav encouraged his kinsmen to fight the Polovtsians) they answered him: God grant us that we should fall for the Christians and for the land of Rus" (II); 1175. "The son of Rostislav (did not wish) to ruin the land of Rus and to shed Christian blood" (II); 1179. "(Mstislav) was always ready to die for the land of Rus and for the Christians" (II), etc. 1230. "(There was at that time a great famine in the land of Novgorod). This calamity occurred not only in our land but in the whole land of Rus (i.e. in the whole of Russian Christendom) with the exception of Kiev" (III). I should like to add that many historians interpret this text, quite wrongly, as a proof that Great Novgorod was considered as geographically forming part of Rus.

[5] M. Gorlin, Le dit de la ruine de la terre russe, *RES* XIII, 1947, pp. 27—8.

[6] I Sreznevsky, *Materialy dlya slovarya drevne-russkogo yaz̨yka po pismennym pamyatnikam* III, 1912, pp. 1646—9.

the commercial treaties signed by Riga or other Hanseatic cities with Novgorod or the principalities situated on the Dvina (Vitebsk, Polotsk) and the upper Dnieper (Smolensk), are of particular value.

At the end of the 12th century (1189—1199) the Prince of Novgorod —Yaroslav, Vladimir's son—confirming old agreements, signs a treaty "with the envoy Arbud and all German sons, and Goths (i.e., inhabitants of the isle of Gotland), and the whole Latin *yazyk*." As the other party figure: Novgorod, the Novgorodians, the Rus, etc.[1]

About 1259—1263, the Prince of Novgorod, Alexander, signs a treaty "with the German envoy Zhivord, and the envoy of Lübeck—Dietrich, and the envoy of Gotland—Olsten, and with the whole Latin *yazyk*."[2] As an illustration I quote some of the provisions: "The Novgorodians will carry on the trade without being hampered on the Gothic shore, and the Germans and Goths and the entire Latin *yazyk* will carry on the trade without being hampered in Novgorod, in accordance with the provisions of the old peace", i.e., in accordance with the provisions of the treaty previously signed. Further on the treaty stipulates the amount of duties to be paid in Novgorod by "the Germans, and Goths, and the entire Latin *yazyk*."

In the treaty of 1269 Yaroslav, Prince of Novgorod, specifies the conditions of trading by "German sons and Goths and all Latin *yazyks*."[3] There was only one Latin *yazyk* (language). The fact that the word "*yazyk*" is used in the plural shows that it has here a sense different from that of language.

At the beginning of the 14th century (1300—1301) the Novgorodians describe the representatives of the Hanseatic merchants as follows: "There arrived Ivan Belyi from Lübeck, Adam from the Gothic shore, and Inchya Olchyat from Riga, from their brethren, from all the merchants of the Latin *yazyk*."[4]

But probably the most important document relating to our subject is the treaty between the Prince of Smolensk on the one hand and Riga and Gotland on the other (1229). Both contracting parties "signed again a peace treaty, . . . agreeable (profitable) both to Rus and to the entire Latin *yazyk*, which has been trading in Rus . . . It was agreeable as well to the Prince as to the men of Riga . . . and the entire Latin *yazyk*, and to all seafarers on the Baltic, to lay down a law (i.e., to settle mutual relations) . . . (For this reason) this treaty was written, which Rus must observe in dealing with the Latin *yazyk*, and the Latin *yazyk* with Rus . . . Should a Russian commit an offence in Riga or on the Gothic shore, he

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[1] L. Goetz, Deutsch-Russische Handelsverträge des Mittelalters, *AHK* XXXVII, 1916, pp. 16—7; S. Valk, *Gramoty Velikogo Novgoroda i Pskova*, 1949, N 28 pp. 55—6.

[2] L. Goetz, *op. cit.*, pp. 72—80; G. Kochin, *Pamyatniki istorii Velikogo Novgoroda i Pskova*, 1935, N 44, pp. 109—10; S. Obnorsky—S. Barkhudarov, *Khrestomatiya po istorii russkogo yazyka* I, 1938, N 14, pp. 36—7; S. Valk, *op. cit.* N 29, pp. 56—7.

[3] L. Goetz, *op. cit.*, pp. 90—166; G. Kochin, *op. cit.* N 46, pp. 110—4; S. Valk, *op. cit.* N 31, pp. 58—61.

[4] L. Goetz, *op. cit.*, p. 167; G. Kochin, *op. cit.* N 47, pp. 114—5; S. Obnorsky—S. Barkhudarov, *op. cit.* I N 22, pp. 49—50; S. Valk, *op. cit.* N 34, pp. 63—4.

cannot be put into shackles. Should a Latin be guilty of an offence in Smolensk, he must not be put in prison . . . A Russian shall not subject a Latin to the ordeal by fire, except with the latter's consent. In the same way, a Latin shall not subject a Russian to this ordeal, except the latter agrees . . . A Russian shall not provoke a Latin to a duel in the land of Rus— nor shall a Latin do so to a Russian in Riga and on the Gothic shore . . . Should Latin merchants come to blows amongst themselves in the land of Rus . . . , they will settle the matter between themselves . . . Should Russian merchants come to blows amongst themselves either in Riga or on the Gothic shore, the Latins should not be concerned with this, they (the Russians) will settle the case amongst themselves . . . The document was made on the Gothic shore in the presence of the Russian envoy and of all Latin merchants . . . "[1] etc.

These historical sources plainly show the meaning of the word "*yaz̆yk*" in general, and particularly of the words "Latin *yaz̆yk*". Merchants of different nations, called by this name, belong to the Roman, Latin Church,[2] and not to a Latin nation. The term correlative to "Latin" is "Russian".[3]

The Discourse on the Ruin of the Land of Rus, depicting the tragic fate of eastern Europe after the Mongol invasion, also has considerable importance in this connection. The author contrasts this land with all its neighbours who follow other creeds, the Catholic (Hungarians, Czechs, Poles, Germans) and the pagan, such as the Lithuanians, Mordvians, Burtas, etc. Rus had attained such magnitude, because "God subjected the pagan countries to the overlordship of the Christian *yaz̆yk*."[4] There existed, at the time, numerous languages—Latin, Greek, German, Slavonic, etc.—but there never was a Christian language. The adjective itself shows that the author understood *yaz̆yk* as signifying the Christian faith and those who professed it.

Confirmation of these statements can be found in the areas of the middle Volga, where the Russian Christian world had its limits and was in contact with other beliefs. The chronicler records under the year 1229 the martyr's death suffered by a man who refused to deny Christ, and was

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[1] L. Goetz, *op. cit.*, pp. 231—304; S. Obnorsky—S. Barkhudarov, *op. cit.* I, N 13, pp. 29—35. It was previously believed (Kunik, Golubovsky, etc.) that the original of the treaty was written in Latin or in German. B. Borkovsky, Smolenskaya gramota 1229 g.—russkii pamyatnik. *UZYGPI* I, 1944, p. 27 and foll., asserts that the original text of the 1229 treaty was written in Slavonic.

[2] The term "*Latini*" was in general use in western Europe and designated those who professed the Latin faith. When the author of the "Life of Alexander Nevsky" says that his hero won a victory over "the Romans" (cf. V. Malyshev, Zhitie Aleksandra Nevskogo, *TODRL* V, 1947, p. 190) the name of that enemy should not by any means be interpreted in an ethnical, but only in a denominational sense. In the 13th century, Bishop Serapion speaks of the failing of the crops which prevailed "not only in Rus but also in Latinity." (cf. M. Gorlin, Sérapion de Vladimir, prédicateur de Kiev, *R.ES* XXIV, 1948, pp. 24—6). In eastern Europe, goods from the West were called Latin, while in western Europe goods from the East went under the name of Russian, cf. A. Spitsyn, Torgovye puti Kievskoi Rusi, *Sbornik statei, posvyashchennykh S. F. Platonovu*, 1911, p. 24. The sources continually use the terms "Russian" and "Latin", as contrasting expressions of the same category.

[3] Yu. Vereshchaka, Ab naimennyakh "Gudy," "Kryvichy," "Rus," *Kr.*, 1923 (1), pp. 17—24; L.A. Shto takoe "Rus" smalenskai targovai gramaty 1229 g.? *Kr*, 1923 (6), pp. 23—4.

[4] M. Gorlin, *Le dit de la ruine*, pp. 27—8.

murdered on this account by the Bulgars on the Volga. "This Christian was of a different *yaz̆yk*—not the Russian one", we read in this source. In a word, the normal thing was to belong to "the Christians of the Russian *yaz̆yk*"—that is, of the Russian faith. The chronicler adds that the man was buried by "Rus Christians", an expression which confirms the views here developed.[1] Who was that individual of whom we only know the name, Avrami? In view of the wide extension of the different Christian denominations, he might have been a Roman Catholic. In the first half of the 13th century, we find, on the Volga, Hungarian missionaries, and we even possess records of their travels. But the antagonism between the Eastern and Western Churches was too strong for this martyr to be recognized as a Christian in eastern Europe, for his body to be transferred to Vladimir on the Klyazma, and to be venerated as the relics of a saint. "A Christian not belonging to the *yaz̆yk* of Rus" could only mean a follower of the Eastern Church, not belonging to the Metropolitan See of Kiev. Of all the conjectures put forward on this subject, the one that seems to be nearest the truth is the one to which Tikhomirov gave utterance when he said that Avrami was a Georgian.[2]

When the Tartar Khan, Batu, in 1243, says to Prince Yaroslav of Vladimir on the Klyazma: "Take command of the princes in the Russian *yaz̆yk*",[3] these words should be understood as meaning: the princes professing the faith of Rus.

The religious signification of the term "Rus" appears also in other records of the time, if only we penetrate the meaning of these sources deeply enough. Thus, at the beginning of the 12th century, Abbot Danilo went to the Holy Land, and left a description of his journey.[4] The work deserves our attention on account of a number of details which it contains,[5] among others, the description of Danilo's meeting with Baldwin, King of Jerusalem. The "Russian Abbot" obtained Baldwin's permission to place his lamp on the Holy Sepulchre "for all our (Russian) princes, for the whole land of Rus, for all the Christians of the land of Rus."[6] This pilgrim linked Rus with the tomb of Christ, and all that he did was inspired by his profound piety. Any other conjectures and commentaries have no foundation in the text.[7]

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[1] *PSRL* I, p. 452.

[2] M. Tikhomirov, *Drevnerusskie ǵoroda*, 1946, p. 60.

[3] *PSRL* I p. 470.

[4] M. Venevishinov, Zhitie i khozhdenie Danila russkyya zemli igumena 1106—1108 gg. *PPS* I, 1883. The original of Danilo's record has not been preserved. We know this work from later copies. Cf. N. Ruzsky, Svedeniya o rukopisyakh, soderzhashchikh v sebe Khozhdenie v Svyatuyu zemlyu russkogo igumena Daniila v nachale XII v. *COID*, 1891.

[5] See C. Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography* II, 1901, p. 162.

[6] A. Norov, *Puteshestvie igumena Daniila po Svyatoi Zemle v nachale XII v.* (1113—1115), 1864, p. 139. The English translation—C. Wilson, The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel in the Holy Land, 1106—1107, *The Library of the Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society*, 1888, vol. IV; cf. B. Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance à la fin du XIe siècle*, 1924, pp. 276—85; A. Jelacić, Les descriptions de voyages russes du moyen—âge à Constantinople, *SBN* V, 1939, p. 475; N. Gudzy, *Khrestomatiya po drevnei russkoi literature XI—XVII vv.*, 1947, pp. 79—82.

[7] Certain scholars—e.g. M. Shakhmatov, *Ucheniya russkich letopisei domongolskogo perioda o gosudarstvennoi vlasti*, 1926, p. 46; G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, p. 299—see in Danilo's gesture an expression of ardent national patriotism. D. Likhachev, *Natsionalnoe samosoznanie drevnei*

The Kiev *Paterikon* is also in harmony with our observations. This is a collection of stories on the beginnings of the celebrated Crypt Monastery. As a piece of religious writing, it has great value for the study of religious life and custom between the 11th and the commencement of the 13th century. In addition to its geographical meaning, of Kiev and its territory,[1] Rus constantly appears in this work in a religious connotation. One of its chief heroes, Anthony, on account of his piety, is called "the chandelier of the land of Rus." It is from the Crypt Monastery that "all the convents of Rus took their rule." The servant of God "prays for the flock entrusted to his care and for the orthodox Christians and for the land of Rus." From the mortal remains of Theodosius "a ray of miracles penetrates to the extreme limits of the land of Rus,"[2] etc.

By introducing the criterion of religion we are enabled correctly to interpret a number of texts in the chronicles in which the term "Rus" occurs. Thus, a detail concerning the Finns of the Volga deserves our attention. It is well known that, in the first half of the 13th century, a fierce struggle broke out between two local tribal chiefs, Purgas and Puresh.[3] "1229. This year (writes the chronicler) the son of Puresh conquered Purgas . . . , and massacred the whole of the Mordva and Purgas' Rus."[4] Under this appellation we have to understand that part of the Mordva tribe, subject to Purgas, which professed Russian Christianity.[5]

Do any sources contradict our thesis on the double, politico-geographical and denominational meaning of the term "Rus"?

There is one and one only which is in complete contradiction with the observations we have hitherto made, and that is the famous *Tale of the Raid of Igor*. But the author of the *Tale*, by attributing to Rus a meaning quite unknown to the times to which his writing is supposed to belong, himself reveals his forgery.[6] This poem does not fall within the province of these investigations; as a fake of a later century, it is no part of the literature of the period under consideration.

The remarks we have made on the subject of Rus may serve as a start-

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Rusi, 1945, p. 48, points out quite rightly: "It is a remarkable feature of Danilo that he is free from all narrow local tendencies. Wherever he is, he always feels himself the representative of the land of Rus as a whole." But from this fact, the author draws an erroneous inference when he says that Danilo's work reflects "the patriotic ideas of the period." Quite the contrary, the lack of links with any particular territory proves that our abbot figured as the representative of the faith which he professed.

[1] D. Abramovich, Kievo-Pecherskii Paterik, *PMPDU* IV, 1931, pp. 6, 16, etc.

[2] *Ibidem*, pp. 16, 20, 83, 90.

[3] On the origin of Purgas and Puresh, cf. V. Golmsten—E. Goryunova, O mordovskom feodalizme, *KSDPI* VIII, 1940, p. 47.

[4] *PSRL* I, p. 451.

[5] Certain historians, who started from the false assumption that only Eastern Slavs could have constituted Rus, put forward the conjecture that the Slavonic population emigrated to the North-East and lived there in political union with the Finns, possibly even under their overlordship. Cf. M. Pokrovsky, Vozniknovenie moskovskogo gosudarstva i velikorusskaya narodnost, *Istoricheskaya nauka i borba klassov* I, 1933, pp. 276—7; D. Rasovsky, Polovtsy, *SK* IX, 1937, p. 78; V. Golmsten—E. Goryunova, *op. cit.*, pp. 47—8.

[6] See Appendix: "The Tale of the Raid of Igor."

ing point for going more deeply into the content of the introduction with which the *Povest* begins. The most serious students of the subject, such as Shakhmatov, Nikolsky, Istrin, Priselkov, and others, have rightly observed that this introduction must have been the work of "Nestor" himself. In our opinion this primary part of the Chronicle is the key to the understanding of east European history not only of the 12th century but also of earlier times.

We consider that not only the first undated part of the work, but also a series of further records and notes which are exactly dated, should be assumed to belong to the introduction. Much information based on oral tradition was put into writing for the first time by "Nestor." He also copied some written records and added his own commentaries. Unfortunately, in many cases we have no basis on which to establish the origin of these notes.[1] For this reason, we must study jointly both the undated text and that which contains the earliest chronology.

What is Rus in the introduction to the Chronicle?

One of the reasons for so many misunderstandings in historical science is the fact that "Nestor" used the word "*yazyk*" on some occasions in the meaning of language, and on others in that of faith. In the same way the word "Rus" sometimes means the land of Kiev and sometimes the Russian faith and its followers.

Let us take some examples by way of illustration. The chronicler writes: "This only is the Slav *yazyk* in Rus: The Polyanians, the Derevlians, the people of Novgorod, the Polochians, the Dregovichians, the Severians, and the Buzhians . . ."[2] This text was the unshakable basis of conclusions generally accepted in historical writing that at the time there existed a "Russian nation", because the term "Rus", as it appears from the passage just quoted, had a supra-tribal meaning.[3]

But one thing is astonishing. The chronicler here omits a long series of tribes which historians usually rank with the so-called East Slavonic group. There is no mention of the Dulebians, the Krivichians, the Radimichians, the Vyatichians, the Croats, the Ulichians, and the Tivertsians.[4] The scholars alluded to consider that the tribes which are not mentioned are "implicitly included" and that "Nestor's" text should be interpreted as

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[1] M. Tikhomirov, *Istochnikovedenie*, p. 49, pertinently remarks that, in the introduction, numerous sentences are repeated, a fact which shows that "Nestor" filled gaps in the sources he knew and introduced certain fragments. This would show that the chronicler's work consisted in compilation. But as Tikhomirov rightly points out, "it is not always easy to say with what we have to deal, with a text which is the chronicler's own, or with one of the sources which he used." (p. 49). A similar opinion is expressed by V. Istrin, Moravskaya istoriya slavyan i istoriya polyano-rusi kak predpalagaemye istochniki nachalnoi russkoi letopisi, *BS*, IV, 1932, pp. 54—5.

[2] The translation by Cross (p. 140) is not correct.

[3] L. Niederle, Najdawniejszy podział Słowian na szczepy. Początki kultury słowiańskiej, *EPPAU* IV (2), 1913, p. 30.

[4] D. Likhachev, *Povest Vremennykh Let* I, 1950, p. 209, translates from Old-Slovonic the text we are considering, as follows: "Here are the only people who speak Slavonic in Rus: the Polyanians, Derevlians". . . etc. This would mean that, according to "Nestor," the tribes not mentioned by him did not speak Slavonic. This is an interpretation of the text which is quite obviously false.

embracing all Eastern Slavs.[1] Now, it is surely out of the question that the chronicler could have forgotten such a number of tribes which he mentions on other occasions. Why some tribes should be implicitly included and others not, nobody has ever explained; one word of "Nestor's" eliminates all such poor excuses, namely the word "only" ("This only is the Slav *yazyk* . . . "), by which the author wishes to emphasize that the remaining tribes are not "in Rus."[2] Their omission is therefore deliberate and has a purpose.

The false interpretations of this passage all came from the fact that "Nestor" here uses the term "*yazyk*" in the meaning of language and "Rus" in the meaning of faith. The chronicler enumerates these tribes which speak Slavonic and profess the faith of Rus. As he adds the word "only" he apparently wishes to stress that among the other Slavonic tribes the Christianity of Rus was less successful. We have an argument in support of our point of view. Discussing the origins of the earliest Russian Bishoprics, Golubinsky states on the strength of a source not connected with "Nestor"[3] that at the time of Vladimir the Great and Yaroslav the Wise there existed Bishoprics in Novgorod, Chernihov, Vladimir in Volynia, and Belgorod. There were probably also Bishoprics in Turov and Polotsk.[4] When "Nestor" was writing there was certainly not a Bishopric in Smolensk (founded in 1137), nor yet in Halicz (founded in 1165), nor in Ryazan (1207), nor in Vladimir on the Klyazma (1214), etc. If we examine the ecclesiastical organization from the tribal point of view,[5] we are bound to observe that there were Bishoprics founded in the territories of the following tribes: of the Polyanians—the Kievan Metropolitan See; of the Derevlians—a Bishopric in Belgorod, on the Irpen, a western tributary of the Dnieper; of the Novgorodians—a Bishopric in Novgorod; of the Polochians—in Polotsk; of the Dregovichians—in Turov on the Pripet; of the Severians—in Chernihov, and of the Buzhians in Vladimir in Volynia. This shows that all the Slavonic tribes enumerated by "Nestor" as belonging to Rus had Bishops in the lifetime of the chronicler.[6] In the remaining territories the Church was much less firmly established.

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[1] L. Tiveriadsky, K voprosu o proiskhozdhenii Rusi v svyazi s etnogenezom slavyan, *IZ* XIII, 1942, p. 48; N. Derzhavin, *Proiskhozhdenie russkogo naroda*, 1944, p. 57; D. Mavrodin, *Drevnyaya Rus. Proiskhozhdenie russkogo naroda i obrazovanie Kievskogo gosudarstva*, 1946, p. 70, and others.

[2] It deserves to be noted what "Nestor's" view is on the subject under examination. "The Slavonic *yazyk*" is "in Rus", not vice versa. This shows that the chronicler considers Rus as the broader notion, and by no means confined exclusively to the Slavs.

[3] We mean the Nikon Chronicle (*PSRL* IX) which dates from the 16th century, but contains a considerable amount of information concerning the 10th and 11th centuries, not to be found anywhere else, and drawn from early sources which have been lost.

[4] E. Golubinsky, *Istoriya russkoi tserkvi* I (1), 1901, p. 334. That at this time the Bishopric of Rostov did not yet exist, will be shown later.

[5] Golubinsky is right when he asserts (pp. 685—9) that the Bishoprics situated in the Kiev region, those of Pereyaslavl and Yurev, had no tribal and political significance. The said author is of the opinion that they had only the character of auxiliaries to the Metropolitan of Kiev. But the existence of the two Bishoprics can also be differently explained: namely, that they were devoted to the conversion of the steppe nomads.

[6] I. Lappo, Derzhava Vladimira Svyatogo, in *Vladimirskii Sbornik*, 1938, pp. 65—6, erroneously assumes that the primary organization of the Russian Church did not correspond to the tribal territories; cf. L. Goetz, *Staat und Kirche in Altrussland*, 1908, p. 110.

I should now like to quote a sentence from the *Povest* which supplies a classical example of false interpretation by historians. "Nestor" says: "The Slavonic *yaz'yk* and that of Rus is one (and the same)."[1] Now, we have shown that Halicz, Polotsk, Novgorod, etc., were not Rus. It would follow that the populations of these territories did not speak Russian. And as the Kievan chronicler testifies that the Slavonic language was identical with that of Rus, it would follow that the people of Halicz, of Polotsk, Novgorod, etc., did not speak Slavonic. How many absurd conclusions could be drawn from "Nestor's" text!

Many historians explain the passage concerning the identity of Slavonic and Russian *yaz'yks* in the sense that the people of Rus were Slavs.[2] Now Rus, according to "Nestor", derived its origin from Scandinavia; but in that case, so argue these authors, it must have differed in language from the Slavs. Consequently, our scholars conclude, the chronicler contradicts himself; so how can we have confidence in him?

Other historians refer this statement of the *Povest* to the time when the Norse Rus had become assimilated by the Slavs. But such a commentary is not more acceptable than the others.[3]

In the quoted passage "Nestor" uses the term *yaz'yk* in the meaning not of speech, but of faith, and asserts that "the Slavonic rite and that of Rus is one (and the same)." That this interpretation is the right one follows from the Kievan chronicler's Czech contemporary Cosmas, who informs us that the Bishopric of Prague was not to be given to a priest "*secundum ritus . . . Ruzie aut Slavonice lingue.*"[4]

In the passage we are examining "Nestor" means by Slavonic faith or *yaz'yk* the rite of Cyril and Methodius, which in Latin texts always figures as "*ritus Sclavorum,*" or "*ritus Sclavonicae linguae.*" That the rite of Cyril and Methodius existed in Kiev and was the foundation of later Christianity under Vladimir the Great and his successors will be shown in the following chapter.

In the period we are studying, the language of the Eastern Slavs was always called "Slavonic", never "Russian". When relating the division of the Slavs into groups, and enumerating the particular tribes, "Nestor" ends his paragraph with the following words: "Thus the Slavonic (not the Russian) *yaz'yk* (people, language) spread, (as a result of which) . . . the writing was also named Slavonic (not Russian)."[5] In another place the chronicler again mentions Slavonic, not Russian, writing.[6] The

[1] The translation by Cross (p. 149): "The Slavs and the Rus are one people," is not correct.

[2] If the Rus had been Slavs, there would have been no question of a Russian language. "Nestor" would have simply said that the Rus speak Slavonic, as he did in the case of the Polyanians on the Dnieper, the Poles, the Czechs, etc.

[3] If this had been a fact, the chronicler would have said that the Rus ceased to speak Russian and began to use the Slavonic tongue, but would never had written that the two languages are identical.

[4] F. Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*, 1949, pp. 75—6. It has already been pointed out by many scholars that the quoted text of Cosmas should not be referred to the 10th century, when the Bishopric of Prague was founded; it reflects ideas current in the early 12th century, when Cosmas was writing his work.

[5] The translation by Cross, p. 138, is inaccurate.

[6] Cross, p. 147.

author of the *Povest* says of the Polyanians of the Dnieper: "They were called Polyanians, but their language was Slavonic (not Russian). They took the name of Polyanians because they lived in the fields. And the Slavonic (not the Russian) language was common to them (*a yazyk slovenski edin*)."[1]

"Nestor" further recounts that "Methodius chose two priests who were very rapid writers, and translated the whole Scriptures in full from Greek into Slavonic (not into Russian)."[2] Similarly he tells us, under the year 1037, of writers who, in the reign of Yaroslav the Wise, "translated from the Greek into Slavonic (not into Russian)."[3] Many similar examples could be quoted.

Western sources are in agreement with "Nestor."[4] Thietmar, the German chronicler of the beginning of the 11th century, knows the countries *Bohemia* and *Polonia*; he also knows their inhabitants as *Bohemi* and *Poloni*, but he defines their language as "Slavonic", and opposes it to Latin and German.[5] At the time when "Nestor" was writing, the so-called Gallus was drawing up the oldest Polish chronicle. Somewhat later, the Czech chronicler Cosmas wrote his work, which extends to the year 1125. Now, "Gallus" mentions the name of the country in which he resides as *Polonia* and calls the inhabitants *Poloni*, but the language of the people is "Slavonic".[6] Cosmas makes a similar assertion in relation to the Czechs.[7]

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[1] The translation by Cross, p. 149, is inaccurate.

[2] Cross, p. 149.

[3] Cross, p. 226.

[4] In addition to the chronicles quoted below, many other sources speak of the Slavonic language: Herbordi Vita Ottonis episcopi, *MGH* XIV, pp. 774—6, 804; Vita Wernheri episcopi Merseburgensis, *ibid.* p. 246; Widukindi Res gestae Saxonicae, *ibid.* V, p. 447; Mag. Adami Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum usque ad annum 1072, *ibid.* IX, p. 331; Brunonis Vita quinque fratrum, *ibid.* XVII, pp. 722, 727, 729; Brunwilarensis Monasterii Fundatio, *ibid.* XIII, p. 404, etc.

[5] R. Holtzmann, Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg und ihre Korveier Überarbeitung. *MGH*, Nova Series, IX, 1935: "Hic, ut sibi commissos eo facilius instrueret, Sclavonica scripserat verba . . ." pp. 84—6; . . . "ab Henrico solum milite eius, qui Szlavonice Zolunta vocatur, agnitus,". . . p. 124; "Dobrawa enim Sclavonice dicebatur, quod Teutonico sermone Bona interpretatur," p. 194; ". . . fixerunt tentoria iuxta amnem, qui Pober dicitur Sclavonice, Castor Latine," p. 304; "Primoque ad curtem meam, Sclavonice Malacin dictam, Teutonice autem Egisvillam, veni . . .," p. 326; "Consilio enim eius et auxilio urbs patris eius et nostra Walmerstidi, Sclavonice autem Ustiure, eo quod Ara et Albis fluvii his conveniunt, vocata combusta est et depopulata," p. 336; "Uxor autem eius Beleknegini, id est pulchra domina Sclavonice dicta, supra modum bibebat . . .," p. 498, etc. Thietmar has also preserved an interesting detail. When Bolesław the Great, ruler of Poland, married his daughter to Svyatopolk, Prince of Turov, he sent Bishop Reinbern from Kołobrzeg, on the Baltic coast, to Turov on the Pripet. Reinbern propagated Christianity in this new sphere with such zeal that he was imprisoned by Svatopolk's father, Vladimir the Great. It would seem to follow from these facts that the Bishop, who knew the language of the Pomeranians, had no difficulty in making himself understood by the Dregovichian population around Turov.

[6] C. Maleczyński, Galli Anonymi Cronica, *MPHNS* II, 1952: "Erat namque in civitate Gneznensi, que nidus interpretatur sclavonice, dux nomine Popel," p. 9; "Precipiunt et porcellum supradictum occidi, unde decem situlae, sclavonice cebri, mirabile dictu memorantur adimpleri," p. 11.

[7] B. Bretholz, Die Chronik der Böhmen des Cosmas von Prag, *MGH, Script.* Nova Series, II, 1923: "Igitur quidam de Saxonia vir . . . quoniam sclavonicam perfecte linguam sciebat" . . . p. 44; . . . "capellanus nomine Thegdagus . . . lingua perfecte imbutus Sclavonica" . . . , p. 56, etc.

At the beginning of the 14th century, the sense of community of one Slavonic language still existed,[1] although at this time the differences between the particular Slavonic languages were already perceptible.[2]

In connection with the above considerations, we are in a position to quote a number of characteristic remarks, originating in western Europe, on the subject of the faith of Rus. The sources stress that Rus belongs to the Greek Church, although it differs from it in the first place as to the language of the liturgy. "*Ruceni sunt christiani . . . habentes ritum Grecorum, sed non utuntur lingua Greca, immo lingua Sclavonica* (there is no mention of a Russian language) *que est una de linguis, que plures occupat regiones . . . Rusciam, Poloniam et Boemiam . . .* "[3]

In later times, from the 14th century onwards, Slavonic speech is alluded to when the term "Russian language" is used.[4] As Christianity develops and the conception of Rus in the broad religious sense becomes stabilized, the term "Rus" begins to apply also to the language used by the Russian Church in its liturgy. The first cases known to the present author of such a confusion of the terms "Slavonic" and "Russian" in references to the Slavonic tongue occur among foreign writers of the 13th century, Hungarians or Italians, little conversant with the ethnical conditions in eastern Europe and only crossing its vast territories.[5]

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[1] "Notandum autem hic quod rucheni (rutheni), bulgari, Rasenses, sclavi, bohemii, poloni . . . locuntur unam et eandem linguam scilicet sclavoniam, ex quo patet quod lingua sclavica maior est et diffusior omnibus (linguis) mundi." O. Górka, *Anonymi Descriptio Europae Orientalis anno* 1308 *exarata*, 1916, p. 41. The Czech chronicler, in describing the summoning by the Poles of Wenceslas, King of Bohemia, in 1300, states: "Convenient enim in rege et sub uno gaudebunt principe, qui non multum dissonant in idiomate Slavice lingwe. Nam qui idem lingwagium locuntur, plerumque amoris se arcioris nexibus complectuntur". *FRB* IV, 1884, p. 81. The Chronicle of Poland Major (*Kronika Wielkopolska*), dating from the 13th and 14th centuries, remarks: "Sunt autem Slavorum multimoda genera linguarum se mutuo intelligentia" . . . ; cf. T. Lehr-Spławiński, Zarys dziejów słowianoznawstwa polskiego, in *Historia nauki polskiej w monografiach*, by several hands, 1948, p. 5. If Gediminas, Grand Duke of Lithuania (d. 1341), asked for missionaries to be sent him "scientes polonicum," *LECU* II, No. 689, p. 143, the reason was that Polish priests, in view of the similarity of language, could successfully convert to the Roman Church the Eastern Slavs who were subject to Lithuania. See K. Forstreuter, Die Bekehrung Gedimins und der Deutsche Orden, *AF*, 1928, p. 244.

[2] See N. Durnovo, *K voprosu o vremeni raspadeniya obshcheslavyanskogo yazyka*, 1932, pp. 514—26; A. Vaillant, Les traits communs des langues slaves, *Conférences de l'Institut de Linguistique de l'Université de Paris* VIII, 1949, p. 29; T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Język polski*, 1947, p. 37; *idem*, Powstanie, rozrost i rozpad wspólnoty prasłowiańskiej, *PZ* VII, 1951, pp. 350—78; R. Jakobson, The Kernel of Comparative Slavic Literature, *HSS* I, 1953, pp. 37—9.

[3] Ex Rogeri Bacon Opere maiore, *MGH, Script.* XXVIII, p. 573.

[4] We then read of the translation of texts from the Russian language into that of Perm (*PSRL* V, p. 250); from Latin into the Russian language (*ibid.* VI, p. 298); of people who knew the Russian and the Merian languages. A. Titov, Zhitie sv. Leontiya, episkopa Rostovskogo. *COID*, 1893, p. 1, etc.

[5] About A.D. 1235 the Dominican friar Julianus visited, as a missionary, the Hungarians still established in the distant East, in the Volga region. "In hac Ungarorum terra dictus frater invenit Tartaros et nuntium ducis Tartarorum, qui sciebat Ungaricum, Ruthenicum, Cumanicum, Theotonicum, Sarracenicum et Tartaricum." L. Bendefy, Fontes authentici itinera (1235—1238) fr. Iuliani illustrantes, *A ECO* III, 1937, pp. 24—5. In 1246, Giovanni de Plano Carpini passed through south-eastern Europe as Papal envoy to the Tartars. Batu-Khan procured interpreters for Giovanni, who accomplished a translation of the Papal letters "in litera Ruthenica, Sarmatica et in Tartarica." Kuiuk-Khan "post plures dies nos iterum vocari fecit, et utrum essent apud Dominum Papam, qui Ruthenorum vel Sarracenorum, aut etiam Tartarorum literam intelligerent, interrogavit."

I would like to quote from the Kiev Chronicle only one more detail which has often been wrongly interpreted, namely, the title: *Povest Vremennykh Let* itself. "Nestor's" work begins with the words: "These are the narratives of bygone years regarding the origin of the land of Rus, who first began to rule at Kiev, and from what source the land of Rus had its beginning (*Se povesti vremyannykh let, otkuda est poshla ruskaya zemlya, kto v Kieve nacha pervee knyazhiti, i otkudu ruskaya zemlya stala est*)".[1]

Istrin supposes that this title originated in the middle of the 11th century;[2] Nikolsky thinks that this happened at the beginning of the 12th century, and that it does not refer to the Chronicle as a whole, but only to the introductory part. In my opinion, Nikolsky's thesis is correct. But this scholar is mistaken when he thinks that the third part of the title is actually a repetition of the first.[3]

The quoted text is difficult to translate into other languages, with the exception of the middle section, which does not give rise to any doubt. The different interpretations of the beginning and of the end of the title show that it is not quite easy to decipher.

The text we have before us contains three different conceptions: "the land of Rus", "Kiev" and "the land of Rus". At first sight it appears astonishing that "Kiev" should be distinguished from "the land of Rus" although it was part of Rus both in the geographical and in the ecclesiastical sense.

It is only after becoming acquainted with the introduction to the Chronicle that one can find the actual sense of the title which it bears. "Nestor" begins his narrative by enumerating a long series of diverse peoples, supposed to be descended from the sons of Noah; among the descendants of Japheth he mentions the Slavs and the Rus. An important passage follows which deals with the most remote past of all the Slavs, with their common origin, their home land, and further with the migration of the particular Slavonic tribes in diverse directions under pressure from without. This broad background, involving all the Slavs, is necessary to "Nestor" for his explanation of the origin and development of the "Slav *yazyk*," i.e., the rite of Cyril and Methodius. The author himself explains his approach to the subject: in the final sentence of a passage we have just quoted he mentions Slavonic writing (*i gramota prozvasya slovenskaya*), as having preserved the foundation of the faith, the Acts, the Gospel, the Psalter, etc.[4]

The first part of the title of the *Povest* speaks of the origins of "the land of Rus", i.e., of Russian Christianity which "Nestor", as we have

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[1] D. Likhachev, *Povest Vremennykh Let* I, 1950, p. 9; Cross, p. 136.

[2] V. Istrin, Zamechaniya o nachale russkogo letopisaniya, *IORYS*, 1923—4, pp. 248—51; *idem*, Moravskaya istoriya slavyan i istoriya polyano-rusi kak predpolagaemye istochniki nachalnoi russkoi letopisi, *BS*, 1931—2, p. 55.

[3] N. Nikolsky, Povest Vremennykh Let kak istochnik dlya istorii nachalnogo perioda russkoi pismennosti i kultury, *SRYS* II (1), 1930, p. 40.

[4] He develops this idea more broadly in another place when dealing with the significance of Slavonic writing for the development of Christianity; cf. Cross, pp. 147—8.

shown above, identifies with the rite of Cyril and Methodius. It is worth mentioning that in setting out his material, the chronicler puts the subject of religion in the first place.[1]

If the term " Kiev " appears in the middle part of the title, the reason is that the author wishes to relate the pre-Norse, pre-Rus history of the city. The final part of the title suggests the origin of the Norse Rus and the rise of their State organization.[2]

Thus, the title of the work corresponds with its content. " Nestor " considers the three capital subjects indicated in the title as deserving to be handed down to posterity. But we must not think that the author, when distributing his material, preserved complete clarity. He commenced with life, with the factual march of events in which his three problems coexisted and influenced one another. Thus, certain facts become intermingled in the chronicler's narrative. " Nestor ", from time to time, returns to matters he has undertaken to speak about before but which he has abandoned for some other subject. What is more, we have to reckon with the great variety of material at his disposal which, however, does not always help him to co-ordinate the events with which he deals. And yet all this never really confuses the picture. The introduction is so solidly constructed, so well knit in its leading ideas, that it forms a consistent whole ;[3] and that will always remain the achievement of " Nestor ".

About himself, "Nestor" says very little in his Chronicle, and if his person comes to the fore at all, it is not when he tells of military triumphs, not when he speaks of this or that ruler of Kiev, of this or that Greek Emperor, or of some chieftain of the Norse Varangians, but in quite different connections. The Apostle Paul is his master who, according to legend, had preached among the Slavs. From him " we, Rus—come. Paul is the teacher of us Rus . . . "[4] And in another place he adds : " . . . we Christians who believe in the Holy Trinity."[5] There can be no clearer indication of the meaning of Rus.

Certain historians have found the right approach to the problem now under consideration. Thomsen remarked long ago that in the dawn of history Rus had no other national meaning except that it was an appellation of the Norsemen.[6] V. Zavitnevich observed that this term, up to the 13th century inclusively, remained entirely alien to the particular East-Slavonic

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[1] " Povest Vremennykh Let was a book which served a practical end, that of showing, by a series of concrete examples contained in the narration of the past, how men should and how they should not act." I. Eremin, *Povest Vremennykh Let*, 1947, pp. 19—20. Contrary to the opinion of Priselkov and others, Eremin rightly maintains that " Nestor " was more a moralist than a politician (p. 38). Furthermore, he produces a number of convincing arguments proving that the Chronicle was not the official work of the princely chancellery (p. 34) and served higher aims than the immediate interests of particular princes of the Rurik dynasty.

[2] Cf. V. Lebedev—V. Panov, *Drevnerusskie letopisi*, 1936, p. 5.

[3] This is also pointed out by W. Philipp, Ansätze zum geschichtlichen und politischen Denken im Kiever Russland, *JGO*, 1940, pp. 30—1.

[4] Cross, p. 149.

[5] Cross p. 143.

[6] V. Thomsen, *The Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia and the Origin of the Russian State*. 1877. The last revised edition in 1919.

tribes.[1] Koneczny dealt with this question in a similar spirit.[2] Doroshenko stated that there were non-Slavs who belonged to Rus.[3] Petrov, who examined chiefly Hungarian sources, was of the opinion that up to the 11th and 12th centuries only the most cultured strata of the population could regard themselves as Rus, while among the Slavonic masses this appellation spread more slowly and later; chiefly in consequence of the development of Eastern Christianity, which became completely identified with the name.[4]

But the voices which favour such a conception of Rus, are very few. Historians in their majority take for granted the existence of a "nation of Rus" comprising all the Eastern Slavs. Their way of thinking is based on two arguments:

1. Rus, in the period in question, has a supra-tribal meaning. That observation is quite correct, but it does not follow that Rus conveys the idea of a nation.

2. The sources state the existence of a "*yazyk* of Rus." Common speech is a most essential expression of the sense of national community, observe these historians. It was their common speech which united great masses of population and distinguished them from the other Slavs, and from the non-Slavs. The "Russian *yazyk*", consequently also the "Russian nation", occupied immense spaces from the coasts of the Arctic Sea to the Black Sea, and from the Carpathians to the Oka and Volga. Grekov, Mavrodin, Kochin, and others share this view.[5]

But there could hardly be a greater misunderstanding. The use of the term "the Russian language" for designating the speech of the Slavs is inappropriate in the light of the most elementary principles of historical criticism. And yet this expression is universally adopted in the writings treating of the subject. The "*yazyk* of Rus," in the centuries we are concerned with, designates merely the Russian faith, just as the "Latin *yazyk*" comprises all the diverse nations which profess the faith of Rome.

The content of the notion "Rus" varied at different times, and depended on the intensity of the missionary activities of the Greek Church in eastern Europe, as well as on other causes. Evidently, the undoubted majority of those who professed that faith consisted of the so-called Eastern Slavs. But the Eastern Slavs exclusively did not constitute Rus; some Western Slavs, Poles or Lyakhs, belonged to it also. So did certain non-Slavs: Greeks, Varangians, Lithuanians, Finns from the banks of the Oka and Volga, Polovtsians, etc.

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[1] V. Zavitnevich, Proiskhozhdenie i pervonachalnaya istoriya imeni Rus, *TKDA*, 1892, pp. 566—8.

[2] F. Koneczny, *Dzieje Rosji* I, 1917, p. 53.

[3] D. Doroshenko, Was ist die osteuropäische Geschichte? *ZOG* IX, 1935, p. 35.

[4] A. Petrov, *Drevneishie gramoty po istorii karpatorusskoi tserkvi i ierarkhii* (1391—1798), 1930, pp. 9, 10, 61, 62.

[5] B. Grekov, Pervyi trud po istorii Rossii, *IsZ*, 1943 (11—12), p. 58; *idem*, Rus vremen "Slova o polku Igoreve", in *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, by several hands, 1945, p. 18; V. Mavrodin, *Obrazovanie russkogo natsionalnogo gosudarstva*, 2nd ed., 1941, pp. 4—5; *idem*, *Drevnyaya Rus, Proiskhozhdenie russkogo naroda i obrazovanie Kievskogo gosudarstva*, 1946, pp. 70, 87—8; G. Kochin, *Pamyatniki istorii Kievskogo gosudarstva IX—XII vv.*, 1936, p. 3, etc.

We shall speak of most of these peoples at greater length in the following chapters. Here we confine ourselves to a few brief observations.

"Nestor" relates, under the year 983, how two Varangians in Kiev, father and son, preferred to sacrifice their lives rather than renounce Christ.[1] The Kiev *Paterikon* has preserved the account of the martyr's death suffered by the Bishop of Rostov, Leontius who, through the sacrifice of his life, became "the third citizen of the Russian world, together with those two Varangians, and was crowned by Christ because he suffered for Him."[2] Thus, according to the ecclesiastical opinion of Kiev, the first most worthy Rus were two Norsemen and one Greek.

It is common knowledge that the days of Vladimir the Great and of Yaroslav the Wise were the heyday of the Kievan State. From the death of Yaroslav (d. 1054), decadence becomes perceptible. Now Greek Christianity, or to be more precise, the Christianity of Rus, needed several decades before it could expand over the vast territories. The Eastern Church undertook its great task only when the political power of the dynasty of Rurik had visibly declined.

Who then was it who built, formed and organized that "land of Rus" of which chroniclers have so much to say? Where was its brain and its heart?

The religious bearing of the term "Rus" clearly shows that this important role was filled by the Metropolitans of Kiev. Many scholars style them the permanent agents sent from Greece in order to watch over Byzantine interests.[3] But is it possible to suppose that such completely foreign emissaries[4] could have considered it their first and most important duty to form a national Rus, which, feeling its force and its independence, would in time face Constantinople as an antagonist?

Historians who devote so much space to the "Russian nation", without ever giving sufficient attention to the sources, have never provided an answer to this important question.

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[1] Cross, pp. 182—3. See F. Braun, Das historische Russland im nordischen Schrifttum des X bis XIV Jahrhunderts, *Festschrift Eugen Mogk zum 70 Geburtstag*, 1924, p. 158; E. Rydzevskaya, Legenda o knyaze Vladimire v sage ob Olafe Tryuggvasone, *TODRL* III, 1935, pp. 8—10. The relation of the two converted Varangians deserves to be believed, since Igor's agreement with the Greeks already testified that a part of the Rus warriors of that time had received baptism: "Those of us who are baptized have sworn in the Cathedral, by the Church of St. Elias, upon the Holy Cross set before us" . . . Cross, p. 163. For details on the Church of St. Elias see S. Cross, H. Morgilevski, J. Conant, The Earliest Mediaeval Churches of Kiev, *Sp* XI, 1936, pp. 477—8. This Church was erected at Kiev thanks to the missionary efforts of the Greeks. A. Ammann, *Abriss der ostslavischen Kirchengeschichte*, 1950, p. 12, stresses that a church under this invocation existed in Constantinople, while churches bearing the name of this Saint are unknown in Scandinavia and Germany. In western Europe individual Vikings also received baptism before their nation as a whole was converted; see W. Collingwood, Christian Vikings, *An* I, 1927, pp. 172—80; O. Klindt-Jensen, *The Vikings in England*, 1948, p. 28.

[2] D. Abramovich, *Kievo Pecherskii Paterik*, p. 102.

[3] N. Nikolsky, *Istoriya russkoi tserkvi*, 1930, pp. 42—4; M. Priselkov, *Istoryia russkogo letopisaniya XI—XV vv.*, 1940, pp. 8—9; M. Levchenko, *Istoriya Vizantii*, 1940, p. 190 (a French translation by P. Mabille, 1949).

[4] This mutual sense of aloofness appeared, on the one side, in that the Metropolitans showed themselves ill-disposed towards the canonization of Russian saints, and on the other, in the scarcity of information concerning the Metropolitans to be found in the Russian chronicles.

CHAPTER II.

THE EASTERN SLAVS

The East Slavonic Tribes and Their Territories. East Slavonic Tribes Listed in "Nestor's" Chronicle. The Slavonic Rite of S. S. Cyril and Methodius in Kiev. The Conversion of Olga and Vladimir. The Progress of Christianity in Eastern Europe.

"Nestor's" Chronicle continually speaks of the "Rus" and of the "Slavs". These two terms are closely interconnected, they figure side by side and react upon one another, and yet they differ fundamentally. As in the foregoing chapter we have analysed the term "Rus", we can now, with a certain ease, undertake to examine the problem of the Slavs from the 10th to the 13th century.

"Nestor" indicates on many occasions that the Slavs, and their non-Slavonic neighbours in eastern Europe, were grouped in tribal units. It is natural that he should take a greater interest in the Slavs than in the tribes of the Balts, the Finns, and the nomads of the steppe. The chronicler has preserved a great many details concerning the Slavs, indicated the territories which they inhabited, stressed their common origin and pointed out the differences and divergencies between the particular East Slavonic tribes.[1]

Let us begin our considerations by locating on the map the 15 tribes which appear in the Chronicle and which have been recognized by many historians as belonging to the Eastern Slavonic group. They are the following:

1. The Polyanians. "Certain Slavs settled on the Dnieper and were called Polyanians."[2] The Chronicle says repeatedly that the capital of the Polyanians was Kiev.

2. The Derevlians. "Still others were named Derevlians."[3] In the introductory part of his work, the chronicler did not indicate the territory which they inhabited, confining himself to the general remark that they were neighbours of the Polyanians.[4] Izkorosten and Vruchii (Ovruch)—as appears from facts given later in the Chronicle—were the chief towns of the Derevlians.[5] This tribe occupied the area between the Teterev and

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[1] "Each tribe occupied a definite territory, had its own name, was something separate, a unit, clearly distinct from the others." N. Barsov, *Ocherki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii. Geografiya Nachalnoi (Nestorovoi) letopisi*, 1885, pp. 78—9.

[2] Cross, p. 138.

[3] *Ibidem*, p. 138.

[4] "The Polyanians were oppressed by the Derevlians, other neighbours of theirs." *Ibid.*, p. 143.

[5] *Ibidem*, pp. 164, 166, 177.

the lower Pripet, tributaries of the Dnieper. The western boundaries of the Derevlians reached the Sluch and the Horyn.[1]

3. The Dregovichians. "Some also lived between the Pripet and the Dvina and were known as Dregovichians."[2] In the territory of the Dregovichians there were the following cities: Turov on the Pripet, and to the North of this river: Sluck, Kleck, Minsk, and others.[3]

4. The Polochians. "Other tribes resided along the Dvina and were called Polochians, on account of a small stream called the Polota which flows into the Dvina." . . . "Another principality existed on the Polota where the Polochians dwell."[4]

5. The Krivichians. "Beyond them (the Polochians) reside the Krivichians, who live at the head waters of the Volga, the Dvina, and the Dnieper, and whose city is Smolensk. It is there that the Krivichians dwell."[5]

6. The Slavs. "The Slavs also dwelt about Lake Ilmen, and were known there by their appropriate name. They built a city which they called Novgorod."[6]

7. The Radimichians. "The Radimichians . . . settled on the Sozh."[7]

8. The Vyatichians. "The Vyatichians . . . settled on the Oka."[8]

9. The Severians. "Still others had their homes along the Desna, the Seim and the Sula, and were called Severians."[9]

10. The Dulebians. "The Dulebians dwelt along the river Bug."[10]

11 The Buzhians. "The Buzhians . . . live along the river Bug."[11]

12. The Volynians. "(The Volynians) live along the river Bug."[12] . . . "along the Bug where the Volynians now are found . . . "[13]

13. The Croats.[14] "Nestor" does not specify the area they inhabited.

14 and 15. The Ulichians and the Tivertsians. "The Ulichians and the Tiverstians lived by the Dniester and extended as far as the Danube.

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[1] L. Niederle, *Manuel de l'antiquité slave* I, 1923, pp. 225—6; O. Andriyashev, Naris istorii kolonizatsii Kiivskoi zemli do kintsya XV v., in Kiiv ta iogo okolitsya v istorii i pamyatkach, *UANIS*, 1926, p. 39; W. Antoniewicz, *Archeologia Polski*, 1928, p. 246; R. Jakimowicz, Kultura Polski wczesnohistorycznej, *PA* IV (2), 1929, pp. 143—4. The Sluch is a tributary of the Horyn. The Horyn—a right tributary of the Pripet.

[2] Cross, p. 138.

[3] J. Orda, Geneza Pińska, *Księga pamiątkowa Koła Historyków słuchaczów Uniwersytetu im. Stefana Batorego w Wilnie*, 1933, indicates that Pińsk was not included within the limits of the territory of the Dregovichians.

[4] Cross, pp. 138, 140.

[5] *Ibidem*, p. 140.

[6] *Ibidem*, p. 138.

[7] *Ibidem*, p. 141. The Sozh—left bank tributary of the Dnieper.

[8] *Ibidem*, p. 141.

[9] *Ibidem*, p. 141. The Desna and the Sula are left bank tributaries of the Dnieper; the Seim —a left bank tributary of the Desna.

[10] *Ibidem*, p. 141. The Bug is a right bank tributary of the Vistula.

[11] *Ibidem*, p. 140.

[12] *Ibidem*, p. 140.

[13] *Ibidem*, p. 141.

[14] *Ibidem*, pp. 141, 149, 158, 207.

There was a multitude of them, for they inhabited the banks of the Dniester almost down to the sea . . . "[1]

Other sources to which we shall refer later on in this work, like the "Bavarian Geographer," the so-called Khazar Letters, Mas'udi, etc., although earlier than "Nestor," are of only subsidiary importance for our subject. They confirm the existence of many Slav (and non-Slav) tribes in eastern Europe, but unfortunately some names of the tribes in question occur in a very distorted form. Among these writers Constantine Porphyrogenitus is of considerable value.

"Nestor's" Chronicle has great importance for the historian, as it gives the general outline of the settlements of the Eastern Slavs at that time.

One feature is particularly striking when we examine the way in which the tribes have been located. "Nestor" describes the area inhabited by them solely in connection with the rivers. The larger rivers constituted the limits of tribal settlements. It is true that the Kievan Chronicle tells us that the Polyanians lived on the Dnieper, but this does not mean that their settlements occupied both banks of the river. The Polyanian territory was mainly on the right bank of the Dnieper.[2] This great stream was the limit of the Polyanian, Derevlian, and Dregovichian lands on one side, and of the Severian and Radimichian settlements on the other.[3] Similarly, the Pripet separated the Derevlians from the Dregovichians, etc.

It should be noted that the more important cities in this vast region were situated not in the heart of the particular tribal territories, but on their borders. Such was the position of Kiev in respect of the Polyanians, of Turov in respect of the Dregovichians, etc.[4] The position of these capitals on the borders of certain tribal territories shows that they did not owe their growth exclusively to the tribes directly concerned, but that other circumstances connected with the river navigation had played a part in bringing about their growth. The case of those rivers which were of only local significance was entirely different, and they were generally in the hands of one tribe.

Eastern Europe, as a whole, is an extensive area without any natural frontiers. It was, originally, divided into two main parts; the northern portion being covered with forest, and the southern characterized by the steppe.[5] Judging by the character of their territories, the Eastern Slavs were eminently forest dwellers. Arab sources confirm this inference.

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[1] Cross, p. 141.

[2] The right bank of the Dnieper is called Russian in the sources. If a Kievan prince goes beyond the Dnieper "Rus remains unprotected."

[3] B. Rybakov, Polyane i severyane, *S E* VI—VII, 1947, pp. 81—105, does not believe the Dnieper to have been the boundary between the Polyanians and Severians. This author locates the two tribes on the map differently than "Nestor." Yet Rybakov's theory is decidedly of a conjectural character.

[4] The sources being so scarce, it is difficult to state categorically whether these observations are equally true of all tribes with which we are concerned.

[5] The expanse of eastern European steppes is more than one million square kilometres. Cf. V. Ogonovsky, Skhidno-evropeiskii step, *Pratsi geografichnoi komisii nauk Tov. im. Shevchenka I*, 1935, pp. 132—133.

The theory, however, that human settlements, as a rule, follow the course of rivers down-stream, did not apply to the Volga, on the head waters of which the Krivichians resided, nor yet to the Dnieper. Neither of these streams appeared to draw the Slavs into the steppe regions, nor did the Don tempt them thither. Though many authors assume that the Slavs originally lived in the South and as time elapsed were driven northward, this is a conjecture only which is open to serious objections.

The remotest past of the Polyanians is generally depicted by a paraphrase of their name. " They were known as Polyanians because they lived in the fields."[1] As the *Povest* says on other occasions that Kiev was situated in a partly wooded and hilly country, some historians assume that the Polyanians had originally lived more to the South, perhaps between the rivers Ros and Stuhna, where " fields " were more abundant, and that they were eventually driven northwards by the Pechenegs.[2] Archaeological research on the banks of the Ros has not, so far, yielded any material that could be ascribed to a date earlier than the 11th and 12th centuries ; some traces of watch-towers of the time of Vladimir the Great and Yaroslav were found.[3] There is no need to associate the Polyanians with the steppes on account of their name. The same name was adopted by a tribe which inhabited Poland Major, and the town of Yurev, located in the North-East of Europe, bore the appellation : *Polskii*. Now it would be vain to look for steppes on the banks of the Warta, an eastern tributary of the Odra,[4] or anywhere near Suzdal. But the Kiev region was indeed a " field " when compared with the thickets covering the territories of the Derevlians, the Dregovichians or the Vyatichians. These vast woodlands, abounding in impassable marches and bogs, and haunted by wild beasts, impressed on men's minds the importance of the rivers. For covering large distances, the rivers were the main and sometimes the only arteries. In view of the difficulties of land travel,[5] the rivers provided by far the best

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[1] Cross, p. 149.

[2] N. Rozhkov, *Obzor russkoi istorii s sotsiologicheskoi tochki zreniya* I, 1905, pp. 12—13 ; O. Andriyashev, *Naris istorii kolonizatsii Kiivskoi zemli*, p. 35 ; V. Zaikin, Spir pro pochatki Rusi, *AOBM* III, 1930, p. 606, and many others.

[3] D. Shelov, Obzor polevykh arkheologicheskikh issledovanii IIMK v 1946 g., *VDI*, 1947, p. 192. Details concerning the fortified Pecheneg frontier of the State of Vladimir the Great are contained in the letter of S. Bruno to the Emperor Henry II, *MPH* I, pp. 224—5.

[4] For the characteristic features of the Polyanian territory between the 6th and 10th centuries see J. Kostrzewski, Z badań nad kulturą prapolską, *ZOW* XV, 1946, N. 7—10, p. 49.

[5] By way of analogy with conditions in eastern Europe, I should like to quote the following typical description of the journey of Otto of Bamberg, undertaken from Poland Major to Pomerania, in the 12th century. The difficulties encountered in those days by those who were struggling through the depths of the forests were the same in Poland as anywhere else in eastern Europe : " We entered an immense and terrific forest, dividing Pomerania from Poland (Poland Major). With great difficulty, we moved through deep, almost impassable thickets. Never had a human being, except the Prince (of Poland), crossed these woods. The latter could force a way through them for himself and his troops only by cutting and marking trees. We followed these signs, and passed through the woods in six days, not without great dangers from the many great vipers and the wild beasts, as well as from the cranes on the trees which alarmed us by crying and flapping their wings. There were also marshes in which our carts and supply wagons stuck fast." R. Hennig, *Terrae Incognitae* II, 1937, pp. 336—46. A. Spekke, Wiadomości geografów arabskich o narodach bałtyckich wczesnego średniowiecza, *J* II (2), 1938, pp. 75—6.

means of communication as regards safety, facility of orientation, and rapidity of movement. With the exception of the Volga, rivers such as the Dnieper, the Pripet, the Dvina, the Lovat, etc., were the shortest, or almost the shortest, existing routes between many localities, a circumstance which increased their importance and usefulness.[1]

The distance between the eastern European rivers is lessened by their tributaries, and the small remaining distances to be covered on land, the so-called *voloks* (portages) between the navigable waters, where the boats were either drawn on slids or rollers, or carried, did not constitute appreciable obstacles or barriers. In this way the Dnieper was linked with the Vistula (by the Pripet and the Bug)[2] and also with the Boh; to the North with the Dvina and Volga, to the East with the Don. Platonov rightly observes that the flatness of the country and the abundance of rivers encouraged the process of settlement on a large scale.[3] All the Eastern Slavonic tribes were connected by large rivers. But these great river arteries were, at the same time, potential sources of danger, affording roads for enemy invasion at any time.[4] This explains why the tribes preferred to settle only on one bank of the rivers.

The territories of particular tribes were separated from one another by wide belts of forests, bogs, and swampy, unnavigable rivers. These wooded strips of " no-man's-land " between rivers were at the same time barriers to the further expansion of the settlements. Lyubavsky, in his *Course of Historical Geography of Russia*, compared them with the mountains in Greece, which marked the boundaries of tribes living in the valleys.

We have no data for reconstructing the picture of human life in the remote ages. Nevertheless, later periods such as the 12th and 13th centuries give us reasons for assuming that man at that time possessed the great physical strength necessary to overcome these numerous natural obstacles.[5] Their physical fitness explains the extraordinary speed developed by the men of these distant times in their war expeditions, travels, etc. A daily progress of 12—20 miles (and more by river) was a normal achievement.

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[1] Much stress is laid on the importance of river routes in eastern Europe by: R. Kerner, *The Urge to the Sea*, 1942; N. Voronin, Sredstva i puti soobshcheniya, in *Istoriya kultury drevnei Rusi*, I, 1948, pp. 280—314.

[2] For instance, " 1041. Yaroslav attacked the Mazovians by boat." Cross, p. 227. The Prince Vladimir Monomakh returned from Poland by way of Turov, i.e., by river. *Ibid.*, p. 306, and so on.

[3] S. Platonov, *Lektsii po russkoi istorii*, 1913, p. 49.

[4] The characteristic grouping of Slav settlements on the banks of big rivers helped the Norsemen to conquer eastern Europe.

[5] The most interesting details, perhaps, are given in the famous Testament (*Pouchenie*) of Vladimir Monomakh, the ruler of Kiev (d. 1126). Vladimir enlarges upon his physical achievements: " I even bound wild horses with my bare hands or captured ten or twenty live horses with the lasso, and besides that, . . . I caught these same wild horses barehanded. Two bisons tossed me and my horse on their horns, a stag once gored me, one elk stamped upon me, while another gored me, a boar once tore my sword from my thigh, a bear on one occasion bit my kneecap, and another wild beast jumped on my flank and threw my horse with me . . . I often fell from my horse, fractured my skull twice, and in my youth injured my arms and legs when I did not reck of my life or spare my head. In war and at the hunt, by night and by day, in heat and in cold, I did whatever my servant had to do, and gave myself no rest." Cross, pp. 308—9.

But let us return to "Nestor."

It remains for us to answer the essential question: to what period should we relate the picture of tribal settlement presented in the *Povest*? We do not, of course, refer to the initial stages, as they disappear in the darkness of time, but to the later phases, and we enquire how long these conditions lasted. Some scholars refer the picture to the 8th and 9th centuries,[1] others to the 9th and 10th,[2] and still others to the 10th and 11th centuries.[3] There are also those who assume that they still existed in the second half of the 11th and at the beginning of the 12th century.[4] In short, a great discrepancy exists between the views of different students.

We know that in later centuries the names of the tribes disappear. The population is called after the name of its chief town. Instead of the Slavs, the Novgorodians appear; instead of the Severians, the Chernihovians, etc. The question may be reduced to the problem: How long is the tribal appellation maintained in the sources? Only when this question is answered shall we be able to state definitely whether "Nestor", during his lifetime, would use the tribal names, or whether, at the time when he was writing, these already belonged to the past. Shakhmatov considers that from the second half of the 11th century—that is, after the death of Yaroslav the Wise (d. 1054)—the division into separate territories replaced the old tribal denominations.[5] Pypin is also of the opinion that the old terminology ceased to be used during "Nestor's" lifetime.[6] Yushkov thinks that the process of breaking up tribal territories was more or less completed by the beginning of the 11th century.[7] These opinions are subject to some qualification.

Let us now examine the case of the following tribes: the Polyanians, the Dregovichians, the Krivichians, the Slavs (of Novgorod), the Radimichians, the Vyatichians, and the Severians.[8]

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[1] P. Smirnov, Volzkii shlyakh i starodavni Rusi, *ZIFV*, 75, 1928, p. 224, N. Derzhavin, *Slavyane v drevnosti*, 1945, pp. 24—5; V. Mavrodin, Osnovnye etapy etnicheskogo razvitiya russkogo naroda, *VoI*, 1950 (4), p. 58.

[2] L. Niederle, Najdawniejszy podział słowian na szczepy, in a work by several hands—Początki kultury słowiańskiej, *EPPAU* IV (2), 1912, p. 29.

[3] A. Orlov, *Drevnyaya russkaya literatura*, pp. 12—3; S. Yushkov, *Obshchestvenno politicheskii stroi i pravo Kievskogo gosudarstva*, 1949, p. 93.

[4] D. Zelenin, *Russische (ostslavische) Volkskunde*, 1927, p. 4, states that "Nestor" based his information concerning Slavonic settlements partly on his own experience and partly on tradition. This experience must have been gained during the chronicler's lifetime in the 11th century and at the beginning of the 12th.

[5] A. Shakhmatov, K voprosu ob obrazovanii russkikh narechii i russkikh narodnostei, *ZMNP*, 1899, p. 354.

[6] A. Pypin, *Istoriya russkoi etnografii* IV, 1891, p. 5.

[7] S. Yushkov, K voprosu o feodalnom ("varvarskom") gosudarstve, *VoI*, 1946 (7), p. 49.

[8] The Ulichians and Tivertsians we need not consider, as they very seldom appear in the *Povest*, and only in the 9th and 10th centuries. The disappearance of these tribes has no connection with the process of breaking up tribal organizations achieved by the Rurikides. On the territories of the Ulichians and Tivertsians new principalities were not immediately established, as happened elsewhere. The Polochians and Derevlians are also omitted. According to the chronicler's statement, the first name originated from the river Polota, a tributary of the Dvina. The chief city of this tribe was Polotsk. The Polochians keep the same name both as a tribe and as a principality. The Derevlians do not appear again in the 12th century (or later) under their tribal name, but neither are they called by the names of their cities (Izkorosten, Vruchii). The Dulebians, Croats, Buzhians, and Volynians will be dealt with in later parts of this work.

Tretyakov considers that the Polyanians appear for the last time in the *Povest* under the year 944.[1] This scholar passes over the mention in the introduction to the Chronicle, where "Nestor", recording the legend concerning Kii, the founder of Kiev, and his brothers, notes that: "They were called Polyanians, and there are Polyanians descended from them living in Kiev to this day."[2] Thus we have clear proof that the Polyanians did exist at least up to "Nestor's" time.[3] Similar conclusions appear to be justified as regards the Radimichians and Vyatichians. The former paid tribute to Rus, i.e., to the Kievan State, "an obligation which they maintain to the present day."[4] As for the Vyatichians, they have preserved their pagan customs "to this day."[5] Other tribes are mentioned in sources much later in date than "Nestor's" writings. We find the Dregovichians mentioned in chronicles for the last time under the date of 1149. The Krivichians figure under the year 1162,[6] and traces of their existence are perceptible as late as the 14th century.[7]

As a result of the foregoing considerations we may infer that at the beginning of the 12th century, when the *Povest* was being written, the tribal names, and all they stand for, represented an actual and living reality.[8] The Slavonic and non-Slavonic tribes with which the chronicler deals still existed at that period.[9]

Of course, there were some exceptions. "Nestor" very clearly distinguishes the tribes which had existed in the past from those which were still existing in his time. It is enough to quote what he says of the Dulebians, and to compare this with his remarks on the Volynians,[10] or

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[1] P. Tretyakov, Rasselenie drevne-russkikh plemen po arkheologicheskim dannym, *SAr* IV, 1937, p. 43.

[2] Cross, p. 139.

[3] The expression: "today", "to this day" (*do sego dne*), so many times repeated in the Chronicle, means, in "Nestor's" lifetime. See V. Zavitnevich, Proiskhozhdenie i pervonachalnaya istoriya imeni "Rus", *TKDA*, 1892, p. 561; A. Artsikhovsky, V zashchitu letopisei i kurganov, *SAr* IV, 1937, p. 56; M. Priselkov, *Istoriya russkogo letopisaniya XI—XV vv.*, 1940, p. 38, and others.

[4] Cross, p. 183.

[5] *Ibidem*, p. 142. The Radimichians appear for the last time in the chronicles under the year 1169, the Vyatichians in 1197. See F. Bujak, Skąd przyszli Radymicze i Wiatycze na Ruś? *Świątowit* XX, 1948, p. 110. N. Barsov, *Ocherki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii*, pp. 79—80, 92—3, states that the Dregovichians, the Radimichians, and the Derevlians existed until the middle of the 12th century, consequently, later than "Nestor's" lifetime. A. Artsikhovsky, *V zashchitu letopisei i kurganov*, pp. 53—4, says the same of the Radimichians and Severians.

[6] *PSRL* II, p. 91.

[7] Peter of Duisburg relates that in 1314 the army of the Teutonic Order "venit ad terram Criwicie et civitatem illam, que parva Nogardia (Novogrodek) dicitur, cepit." *SRP* I, pp. 180—1.

[8] It is impossible to accept the latest date under which a tribe appears in the chronicle as the end of its existence. The lack of further information may be quite fortuitous, the more so as the material contained in the sources is extremely scanty. Taking into account the general rules of probability, at least 50 years must be added to this last date. The tribal organization had behind it secular traditions, and changes could not occur suddenly.

[9] Many historians, contrary to the sources, assume the decaying of the East Slavonic tribes to have taken place at a very early date. They wish in this way to render plausible their thesis that in the 10th and 11th centuries there existed a "nation of Rus" including all the Eastern Slavs.

[10] "The Dulebians dwelt along the Bug where the Volynians now are found." Cross, p. 141.

on the Tivertsians and Ulichians, whose towns he himself saw as ruins.[1] If these tribes had continued to exist, he could not have dealt with them in this way.

The observations of many students on these matters are noteworthy. Barsov says that the population subject to the princes of the Rurik dynasty took part in their contests during the period of division, in defence of the integrity of its tribal territories.[2] Shakhmatov's opinion is on the same lines: "It was not under the system of regional principalities that the territory of Rus broke up; this system could exist only because that country had not the sense of unity, and old tribal animosities survived under the new form of political division into principalities."[3] Pypin also considers that though the names of the Polyanians, Derevlians, Radimichians, and others begin to appear in the sources in the guise of a new political terminology—i.e., under the name of the corresponding principalities—"they nevertheless remain Polyanians, Derevlians, etc., according to their old tribal distinctions."[4] Artsikhovsky is right when he says that "the principalities . . . from the 11th to the 13th century were short-lived creations, and had no traditions behind them; the frontiers of these principalities often changed in the course of a century, and depended on the outcome of strife among the princes."[5]

Since we find that "Nestor" wrote about a number of Slavonic tribes which existed not only in historical memory, but possessed concrete reality and still existed in his own time, it is clear that the chronicler must have known what territories were inhabited by these tribes; all the more so as he shows considerable interest in and knowledge of geography.[6] The investigations of many archaeologists are in agreement with the tradition handed down by "Nestor."[7]

Archaeological research is, undoubtedly, of great value to the historian.[8] Yet Pokrovsky rightly observes that "the archaeological method also has its shadows: stones keep silence. The assignment of certain remains . . . to the Slavonic past . . . often rests on gratuitous conjectures."[9] For this reason the greatest caution is essential.

It is true that Soviet archaeology has made great progress in recent years, particularly as regards the number of fresh excavations. But in respect of the conclusions and general views to be derived from these

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[1] "Their (Ulichian and Tivertsian) cities are still (on the Dniester)." Cross, p. 141. Either "Nestor" himself saw these cities, or he was told of them by his contemporaries.
[2] N. Barsov, *Ocherki*, pp. 93—4.
[3] A. Shakhmatov, *K voprosu ob obrazovanii russkikh narechii i russkikh narodnostei*, p. 354.
[4] A. Pypin, *Istoriya russkoi etnografii* IV, 1891, pp. 4—5.
[5] A. Artsikhovsky, *V zashchitu letopisei i kurganov*, p. 60.
[6] M. Bodnarsky, *Ocherki po istorii russkogo zemlevladeniya* I, 1947, pp. 5—6.
[7] See A. Spitsyn, Rasselenie drevne-russkikh plemen po arkheologicheskim dannym, *ZMNP* VIII, 1899, pp. 301—40; L. Niederle, *Manuel de l'antiquité slave* I, p. 230, II, pp. 85—95; A. Artsikhovsky, *V zashchitu letopisei*, pp. 53—60; P. Tretyakov, Vostochno-slavyanskie plemena v svete arkheologicheskikh issledovanii poslednikh let, *KSDPI* XIII, 1946, p. 40, and many others.
[8] On the importance of archaeological research for the knowledge of eastern Europe's most distant past, cf. S. Zhebelev, *Vvedenie v arkheologiyu* I, 1923, p. 98.
[9] M. Pokrovsky, *Ocherk istorii russkoi kultury* I, 1925, p. 30.

excavations, many qualifications must be made. Soviet archaeologists emphasize the bias evident among the Tsarist archaeologists, and criticize their work.[1] They are sometimes justified, but they themselves are not above reproach. "Many (Soviet) archaeologists are, unfortunately, loth to refer to the (Kiev) Chronicle in general, probably because they harbour exaggerated ideas of the difficulty of the Old Russian language," says Artsikhovsky.[2] Now, is it possible to imagine any serious archaeological studies being undertaken without any knowledge of the oldest written sources ?

Some archaeologists resort to factitious methods in order to increase the area of Eastern Slavonic settlement, and in so doing they proceed to "correct" "Nestor". Thus, for instance, hypotheses are being advanced concerning the populating of the Slavs of the Don region, in all its reaches, as well as of the territories extending as far South as the Caucasus and the Taman Peninsula.[3] The reader will find in the following pages other instances which bear out this observation.

In works dealing with this subject, we encounter, in addition to archaeological demonstrations, linguistic arguments which aim at extending the limits of East Slavonic territory at the dawn of history. The names of the different Slavonic tribes are made to serve this purpose. Certain historians think, for instance, that the Balkan Slavs ought to be recognized as Eastern Slavs. "The examination of the ethnographic problem of the origins of the Slavonic Bulgarian nation leads us to the conclusion that . . . an Eastern Slavonic or Russian element . . . constitutes the basis of the present Bulgarian nation, apart from later . . . admixtures, foreign from the ethnic point of view."[4] Derzhavin bases this conclusion mainly on the similarity of tribal names in the Balkans and on the Dnieper, Dvina, etc. The same opinions are expressed also by other scholars.[5]

Are there any grounds for drawing such conclusions ?

Bujak, discussing Slavonic geographical terminology, observes that the same fact occurs everywhere amongst the Slavs : the topographical names which denote the particular features of a territory are the oldest,

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[1] M. Khudyakov, *Dorevolutsionnaya russkaya arkheologiya na sluzhbe ekspluatorskikh klassov*, 1933, p. 74, See remarks on this subject *VDI*, 1946, I, pp. 125—6, in the account of the work of Ya. Stankevich, K voprosu ob etnicheskom sostave naseleniya Yaroslavskogo Povolzhya v IX—X vv., Etnogenez vostochnykh slavyan, *MIA* VI, 1941.

[2] A. Artsikhovsky, *V zashchitu letopisei*, p. 54.

[3] See P. Efimenko, *Ranneslavyanskie poseleniya na srednem Donu*, 1931 ; M. Artamonov, *Srednevekovye poseleniya na nizhnem Donu*, 1935 ; A. Artsikhovsky, *Lektsii po arkheologii* II, 1938 ; V. Mavrodin, Slavyano-russkoe naselenie nizhnego Dona i severnogo Kavkaza v *X*—XIV vv., *UZPIG*, 1939 ; I. Lyapushkin, Slavyano russkie poseleniya IX—XII vv. na Donu i Tamani, *KSDPI*, 1940, *MIA* 1941 ; P. Efimenko—P. Tretyakov, Drevnerusskie poseleniya na Donu, *MIA*, 1948, etc.

[4] N. Derzhavin, *Istoriya Bolgarii* I, 1945, pp. 203—5.

[5] M. Tikhomirov, Istoricheskie svyazi yuzhnykh i vostochnykh slavyan v drevneishee vremya, *IsZ*, 1941 (10—11), pp. 63—9 ; G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, 1946, pp. 309—11 ; D. Mavrodin, *Drevnyaya Rus*, 1946, p. 64 ; *idem*, Osnovnye etapy etnicheskogo razvitiya russkogo naroda, *VoI*, 1950 (4), p. 56.

the most numerous, and persist the longest.[1] Among all the Slavs, the names of tribes had mainly a topographical meaning.

Describing the oldest, common history of all Slavdom, " Nestor " emphasizes that particular tribes took their names from the characteristic features of the territories they occupied.[2] And the chronicler supplies the most convincing illustrations : " They were known as Polyanians because they lived in the fields."[3] " Still others were named Derevlians because they lived in the forests."[4] It is easy also to explain the meaning of other names : e.g. the name of the Dregovichians is derived from the word *dryagva, dregva* which means swamp, morass.[5]

Scholars who identify the Balkan Slavs with those of the Dnieper solely on the strength of the similarity of tribal names[6] allege that particular Slavonic tribes migrated from the North-East to the South. But these tribes, the Severians, Dregovichians, etc., continued to live on the Dnieper. In view of this we would have to suppose that they broke up and that some of them migrated while the rest remained in their original territory. Such things did happen in Europe, but not very often. Here we should have to imagine a mass migration, and the breaking up of tribes on a large scale. None of these historians has ever tried to account for such an event. " Nestor " makes no mention of such migrations.

Balzer thinks that names of tribes appear in different Slavonic regions, although there were no ethnic connections whatever between the homonymous groups, and their historical destinies never intermingled. The appearance of identical or similar names, independently of one another, can be explained by the character of the territory inhabited by the particular ethnic groups.[7] Brückner is of the same opinion.[8] Lehr-Spławiński also states that among Slavs, identical tribal names often occur in places very

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[1] F. Bujak, Studia nad osadnictwem Małopolski, *RPAU* XLVII, 1905, p. 296; *idem*, O słowiańskich nazwach miejscowych, in *Z odległej i bliskiej przeszłości. Studia historyczno-geograficzne*, 1924, pp. 25, 34 ; cf. W. Taszycki, Słowiańskie nazwy miejscowe. Ustalenie podziału, *SPAU* XLVI (8), 1945, p. 188.

[2] " From among these Slavs, parties scattered throughout the country and were known by appropriate names, according to the places where they settled." Cross, pp. 137—8.

[3] *Ibidem*, p. 149.

[4] *Ibidem*, p. 138.

[5] L. Sedlaczek, Dregowiczanie, *PKAP* II, 1929, p. 5 ; K. Moszyński, *Kultura ludowa Słowian* II (2), 1939, p. 1542 ; M. Tikhomirov, *Istoricheskie svyazi*, pp. 63—4.

[6] Some scholars put forward another argument. In the Voskresensk Chronicle of the XVI century (*PSRL* VII, p. 240) a list of Rus cities is given, and amongst them figure some that are Bulgarian. N. Derzhavin, *Istoriya Bolgarii*, p. 205, assumes that this list is a proof " of a sense of ethnic unity between the Bulgarian and Russian peoples." Derzhavin's allegation cannot be accepted, as the term " Rus " had not in the period in question any ethnic meaning, but referred entirely to creed. At best, he could only prove the existence of religious unity between Kiev and Bulgaria, but Bulgarian cities could never have been " Russian ", as they were not under the authority of the Kievan Metropolitans. " Nestor " makes a clear distinction between the Rus and the Bulgarians. The misleading use of the term " Rus " in the Voskresensk Chronicle is by no means astonishing, as the significance of the term " Rus" underwent considerable changes in the 16th century, and was then referred back to previous events with this altered meaning ; cf. M. Priselkov, *Istoriya russkogo letopisaniya*, pp. 6—10.

[7] O. Balzer, O kształtach państw pierwotnej Słowiańszczyny zachodniej, *Pisma pośmiertne* III, 1937, p. 26.

[8] A. Brückner, *Encyklopedia Staropolska*, 1937, p. 386.

far apart, but that this does not prove that there were intimate connections of history and culture between them.[1] How much easier it is to explain everything if we admit that a field, a marsh, a moor, a wood, etc., was given the same name in the Balkans and on the Dnieper ! This merely proves the unity of the Slav language in early days. It seems impossible to draw any other conclusion from the similarities of Slavonic tribal nomenclature.

This problem deserves our attention from the standpoint of scientific method. Before advancing the thesis of a special kinship between the Eastern and the Southern Slavs, the names of all the Slavonic tribes should have been compared.[2]

What would have been the answer ?

Many of the fifteen tribes enumerated by " Nestor " appear not only in the Balkans but also in other regions, such as Bohemia and Poland. Dulebians (Dudleby) and Volynians lived in the South of Bohemia, Luchanians in the North-West ; the Croats in the North-East of Bohemia.[3] Vernadsky points out that the Ulichians on the Dniester figure in historical sources as *Luchane*, *Lutichi*.[4] The first term may be connected with the above mentioned Czech Luchanians, the second with the Lutichians, a tribe established between the Odra and the Elbe. There are further similarities : Volynians live near the mouth of the Odra, and there are Volynians on the Bug ; the Polyanians are known on the Dnieper, and also on the Warta.[5] Between the Odra and the Elbe then lived : Derevlians (*Drzewianie*), Smolinians, Severians, tribes bearing names we know well from eastern Europe.[6]

If we follow the reasoning of Derzhavin, Vernadsky, Mavrodin, and others, we should have to regard as Eastern Slavs not only the Bulgarians, but also the Poles, the Czechs and so on, and we should be obliged to admit that the territory of the " nation of Rus " included the Balkans, the Danube area, and Bohemia—whilst in the North-West, the Eastern Slavs were settled on the Warta and on the Odra, and extended to the Elbe.

A question might then arise : Where could non-Eastern Slavs be found ?

And another remark would not be out of place. If the same, or closely related, tribal names occur in the East as well as in the South and West, why should we suppose that all these tribes came from the East and not vice versa ?

Scholars who are inclined unduly to extend the Eastern Slavonic territories in the early stages of history, allege that the data relating to the

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[1] T. Lehr-Spławiński, Początki Słowian, *BSSUJ*, 1946, p. 22.
[2] In fact, the appellations of rivers, lakes, localities, etc., should also be taken into consideration.
[3] E. Simek, Dúdlebi, Volynané, Lucané, Cesti Chorvaté a Cechové, *SA* I, 1948, pp. 349—66.
[4] G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, p. 312.
[5] Cf. F. Bujak, *RH* I, 1925, pp. 290—6.
[6] T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Plemiona słowiańskie nad Łabą i Odrą w wiekach średnich*, 1947, pp. 12—3 ; K. Tymieniecki, *Ziemie polskie w starożytności*, 1951, pp. 7—8, 50. E.g. Udaltsov enumerates the names of east European rivers, remarkable for their similarity to the Odra and the Wisła (Vistula) ; cf. A. Udaltsov, Osnovnye voprosy etnogeneza slavyan, *S E* VI—VII, 1947, p. 10.

Eastern Slavs, contained in the Kiev Chronicle, are "not clear," or are "incomplete".[1] Here is to be sought the origin of the attempts made to "clarify" and "complete" the *Povest*.

What the chronicler says of the Eastern Slavs and of the territories in which they are settled does not date from the times about which he has heard, but represents the conditions existing in his lifetime. This shows how baseless Vernadsky's supposition is that "Nestor" copied his lists of Eastern Slavonic tribes from old records without any knowledge of the subject in a chaotic and haphazard manner.[2] Whenever "Nestor" gives a list of tribes, he indicates the places of their settlement. Some tribes reappear on such lists on different occasions, but their territories do not, while the chronicler, when he gives the name of a tribe for the first time, always supplies a geographical commentary. In short, "Nestor" knows very well what he is writing about, and remembers distinctly what he has said on any subject on a previous occasion.

It is interesting to note, on studying these lists, that some tribes appear on them, while others do not. These differences do not justify the conclusion that the lists were drawn up by different hands. The data contained in them are mutually complementary and indicate that they come from one pen. Such diversity as occurs proves that the tribes were listed according to carefully considered criteria.

What then are the distinguishing features on which "Nestor" has based his classification?

There are three: the origin of a tribe, the degree and strength of its domestic organization, and its religion. There are also chronological and geographical factors which are taken into account.

We pass to the first point, the common origin of the Slavs. "Nestor" has a distinct sense of this unity. In the very first pages of his work he gives the outline of the Slavonic territories after the tribes' departure from the Danubian region.[3] The principal proof of their common origin, according to the chronicler, is in their language. For this reason "Nestor" uses the term "Slav *yaz'yk*" in its textual meaning of language, and in a wider sense he designates by it all Slavdom as an ethnical entity.[4]

We can state that at the time when the *Povest* was written the term

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[1] M. Hrushevsky, Spirni pitannya staroruskoi etnografii, *Stati po slavyanovedeniyu* (ed. V. Lamansky) I, 1904, p. 305.

[2] G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, p. 308.

[3] Cross, pp. 137—8, 140, 147. The problem of the first homeland of the Slavs is dealt with in a vast amount of literature and is beyond the scope of this work.

[4] Relating to the division of the Slavs into groups, and enumerating the particular tribes of Moravia, Bohemia and Poland, and then the Polyanians, Derevlians, Dregovichians, etc., "Nestor" concludes this passage with the following sentence: "And thus the Slav *yaz'yk* was divided." Cross, p. 138. Similarly, when he speaks of the peoples descended from Japheth's sons, he says: "Among these seventy-two languages was also the Slav *yaz'yk* (embracing all Slavs)," *ibidem*, p. 137. Or: "When the Slav *yaz'yk*, as I said, lived along the Danube . . . ", *ibidem*, p. 140, etc.

" Slavs " had a double meaning : an old, general one, rather out of date[1] in view of the rise of new national names—and another, more precise meaning by referring to all those Slavs who were not Poles, Czechs, or Bulgars. With his usual accuracy, " Nestor " makes this distinction also in his terminology. In the first sense he uses the term " Slav *yazyk* " to define all the Slavs, while in a second sense, under the term " Slavs " he understands what contemporary historians call " Eastern Slavs."[2]

The part of the *Povest* which deals with the spreading of the Slavs in different directions after a period of life in common on one territory, is specially important. It appears from this description that the chronicler groups his tribes into two supra-tribal agglomerations, the Moravian-Czech and the Polish. In addition, the final passage enumerates six tribes inhabiting the banks of the Dnieper, the Dvina, and Lake Ilmen.[3] This special treatment reserved for the two western groups shows that this part of the Chronicle does not pretend to reconstruct the most distant past of the Slavs, although it narrates the first stage of the occupation of their historic territories. Within the framework of a tale of remote days, " Nestor " gives something which is rather a picture of the Slav world as it existed in much later times. Our previous remark that the chronicler tries to connect old events with his own times finds confirmation here.

It is very characteristic that the term " Lyakhs " is used in this passage to designate the Polish tribes, although it did not exist from the beginning, as the author himself remarks. This appellation was the outcome of a period of common life among the Slavonic tribes on the Odra, the Vistula, the Dniester, the Bug, etc. Evidently, in the days of " Nestor," and even earlier, the Lyakhs existed as a supra-tribal group, and from the 10th to the 12th century, a sense of distinctness developed between the Polish Slavs and the non-Polish Slavs, between the Lyakhs and the Polyanians, Dregovichians, Severians, etc.

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[1] When speaking of the most distant past, and only then, does " Nestor " use the term " Slavs " in the same general sense as " Slavonic *yazyk* ". For instance : the " Slavs " lived on the Danube before the separation of the tribes ; those who were later called Lyakhs are " Slavs ", etc.

[2] Our point of view is confirmed by the following passage of the *Povest* : " The Polyanians . . . were descended from the Slavs . . . , the Derevlians also from the Slavs . . . , the Radimichians and Vyatichians from the Lyakhs." Cross, p. 141. The chronicler quite obviously contrasts the "Slavonic" Polyanians and Derevlians with the "Lyakh" Radimichians and Vyatichians.

[3] " For many years, the Slavs lived beside the Danube, where the Hungarian and Bulgarian lands now lie. From among these Slavs, parties scattered throughout the country and were known by appropriate names, according to the places where they settled. Thus, some came and settled by the river Morava, and were named Moravians, while others were called Czechs. Among these same Slavs are included the White Croats, the Serbs, and the Khorutanians. For when the Vlakhs attacked the Danubian Slavs, settled among them, and did them violence, the latter came and made their homes by the Vistula, and were then called Lyakhs. Of these same Lyakhs some were called Polyanians, some Lutichians, some Mazovians, and still others Pomeranians. Certain Slavs settled also on the Dnieper, and were likewise called Polyanians. Still others were named Derevlians . . . Some . . . were known as Dregovichians. Other tribes . . . were called Polochians . . . The Slavs also dwelt about Lake Ilmen, and were known there by their appropriate name . . . Still others . . . were called Severians." Cross, pp. 137—8.

In contrast with the Moravian-Czech and the Polish groups, our chronicler makes no allusion to any closer unity between the six tribes mentioned, at the end of the passage under consideration, as living in the East of Europe; he introduces no common appellation comprising them all, but only stresses their common Slavonic origin. This deserves to be noted, as in the nature of things "Nestor" is most interested in and best informed about conditions in the East.

In "Nestor's" view there were five Eastern Slavonic tribes which had developed relatively strong tribal organizations: the Polyanians, Derevlians, Dregovichians, the Slavs of Lake Ilmen, and the Polochians.[1] The history of those times bears out his opinion.

It is superfluous to say anything about Kiev and Novgorod, as the facts are obvious. The three other tribes are deserving of comment. The so-called Bavarian Geographer of the 9th century knew the Derevlians of his time.[2] The Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in the 10th century, also mentions this tribe, which obviously was widely known. The long struggles between the first Kievan Rurikides and the Derevlians, which take up so much space in the *Povest* as still living in the memories of both tribes, confirm the assumption that the Derevlians were in considerable strength and had a highly developed organization. Hrushevsky emphasizes the vigour of the defence and the fierce antagonism between the Derevlians and the Polyanians.[3] It would appear that it was not only tribal antagonism, though this also undoubtedly existed, which produced this effect, but also the determination of the Derevlians to defend their independence against the lust for conquest of foreign rulers established in Kiev. Zaikin draws attention to the fact that as soon as Svyatopolk died (972) the Derevlians immediately broke away from the State of Kiev.[4] It is evident from "Nestor's" account that the Derevlians had their own native princes.[5]

"Nestor's" Chronicle speaks of Turov, the chief city of the Dregovich-

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[1] "After the death of these three brothers (Kii, Shchek, and Khoriv), their gens assumed the supremacy among the Polyanians. The Derevlians possessed a principality of their own, as did also the Dregovichians, while the Slavs had their own authority in Novgorod, and another principality existed on the Polota, where the Polochians dwell." Cross, p. 140.

[2] E. Kucharski, Polska w zapisce karolińskiej, zwanej niewłaściwie "Geografem bawarskim", *P IV ZHP* I, 1925, p. 8, observes that the continuator of the record knows the name *Forsderen liudi* as designating the Derevlians (*deren* standing for *derev*). Cf. E. Kucharski, Zapiska karolińska zwana niewłaściwie "Geografem bawarskim," *STNL* V, 1935, p. 81.

[3] M. Hrushevsky, *Istoriya Kievskoi zemli*, pp. 294—5.

[4] V. Zaikin, Khristiyanstvo na Ukraini za chasiv knyazya Yaropolka I, *AOBM* III, 1928—1930, pp. 385—6.

[5] The chronicler mentions the name of the Derevlian prince Mal. Cross, p. 164. S. Korf, Drevlyanskii knyaz Mal, *ZMNP*, 1912, pp. 332—42, agrees with H. Pipping that the mention of this Prince Mal was due to the fact that "Nestor" misunderstood a marriage vow formula (in a Scandinavian text). Other historians are of the same opinion, such as A. Brückner, Rozdział z "Nestora", *ZNTIS*, 141—3, 1925, pp. 6—7. Many historians admit the existence of this Derevlian prince; for instance, V. Parkhomenko, Iz drevneishei istorii vostochnogo slavyanstva, *IORYS* XXV, (1920) 1922, pp. 479—80. The same author, Kogda zhil Veshchii Oleg, *S* XIV, 1936—7, p. 171; G. Laehr, *Die Anfänge des russischen Reiches*, p. 129; D. Likhachev, *Povest Vremennykh Let* II, 1950, pp. 296—7.

ians, as having taken its name from a Varangian prince Tur.[1] Hrushevsky points out that the name Tur is of Scandinavian origin (Tur-Tor). The Norse tradition must have been strong there when one of the daughters of a local prince bore a Varangian name—Malfrida.[2] In the 11th century, the principality of Turov was a stepping stone to the throne of Kiev, a circumstance which points to the great political importance of that region.

As regards Polotsk, it is generally recognized today that this city, known to the Scandinavians under the name of Pallteskia,[3] was with Kiev and Novgorod, among the most important centres of eastern Europe.[4] " Nestor's " enumeration of the five strong tribal organizations among the Slavs of eastern Europe is in keeping with the realities of his time. If the chronicler neglected to mention other tribes he may well have had his reasons.

The religious beliefs of the Eastern Slavs are the third subject in respect of which information is given in the introduction to the *Povest*. This subject was dealt with to some extent in the previous chapter when we showed that under the terms : " Rus " and "*yaz̨yk* of Rus", " Nestor " understood Eastern Christendom, headed by the Metropolitan of Kiev. But such an idea of Rus could have taken shape only after Vladimir the Great's baptism ; that is after 988.

What then preceded it ?

Let us consider the first stage of the spread of Christianity amongst the Eastern Slavs before the "*yaz̨yk* of Rus " appeared. " Nestor " uses the term " Slavonic *yaz̨yk* " to denote a faith. The chronicler understands by the " Slavonic *yaz̨yk* " two different things : (1) the language of the Slavs and the general definition of all the Slavs (2) the Slavonic rite of S. S. Cyril and Methodius.

The earliest information relating to this question reads as follows : " There was one Slav *yaz̨yk* including the Slavs who settled along the Danube and were subjugated by the Hungarians, as well as the Moravians, the Czechs, the Lyakhs (Poles), and the Polyanians, the last of whom are now called Rus.[5] It was for these peoples that books were first translated

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[1] " Now Rogvolod had come from overseas, and exercised the authority in Polotsk just as Tur, from whom the Turovians get their name, had done in Turov." Cross, p. 178. M. Tikhomirov, *Drevnerusskie goroda*, 1946, p. 109, and A. Artsikhovsky, *VoI*, 1947, p. 123, who wrote an account of this book, presume that the note about Tur was due to an inaccurate reading of the Chronicle, a surmise which is hardly acceptable.

[2] A. Hrushevsky, Ocherk istorii Turovo-Pinskogo knyazhestva, *UIK*, 1901, p. 23. About the existence of the Norse settlements on the Pripet, see V. Moshin, Rus i Khazariya pri Svyatoslave, *SK* VI, 1933, p. 205.

[3] V. Danilevich, Ocherk istorii Polotskoi zemli do kontsa XIV st., *UIK*, 1896, p. 15.

[4] V. Brim, Put iz Varyag v Greki *IAN*, 1931 (2), p. 218 ; I. Trotsky, Vozniknovenie Novgorodskoi respubliki, *IAN* 1932 (4—5), p. 284 ; S. Yushkov, K voprosu o dofeodalnom (" varvarskom ") gosudarstve, *VoI*, 1946 (7), p. 46.

[5] The hypothesis propounded by A. Shakhmatov, Povest Vremennykh Let i ee istochniki, *TODRL* IV, 1940, p. 91, cannot be accepted; according to this, the passage in question says nothing about the Eastern Slavs, and under the " Polyanians " the Polish tribe of the Warta basin must be understood. " Nestor " would never have opposed the Polyanians of the Warta to the Lyakhs. Moreover, the chronicler explains the matter himself quite definitely : " The Polyanians, who are now called the Rus . . . "

in Moravia, and this writing was called Slav. This writing exists in Rus and among the Danubian Bulgarians."[1]

In this passage the chronicler most evidently used the term "*yaz̨yk*" to designate a faith, and not a language. If we were to understand that the Polyanians alone among the Eastern Slavs belonged to the "Slavonic *yaz̨yk*", in the sense that they spoke Slavonic, we would have to attribute to "Nestor" the opinion that the other Eastern Slavs, Derevlians, Severians, etc., did not speak that language. This evidently would be preposterous.

And here one more observation should be made. The last sentence is formulated by the author in the present tense, and excludes from the possession of "Slavonic writing" the Moravians, Czechs, and Poles because in the course of time they received the Latin faith.[2] In the opinion of the chronicler the Slavonic faith survived only among the Bulgarians and in Rus.

In other passages of this work, "Nestor" follows the same line of argument. Let us draw attention to the information of the Kiev Chronicle as to the godly customs of the Polyanians, and of the Polyanians alone amongst all the Eastern Slavs. To the Polyanians the author opposes the Derevlians, the Radimichians, the Vyatichians, the Severians, the Krivichians, "and the other pagans".[3] These latter must be the Dregovichians, the Polochians, and the Slavs (of Novgorod) as "Nestor", in his enumeration of the tribes, was obviously following the direction from South to North. This passage is especially striking, as the chronicler was conscious of the common origin of the inhabitants of the land of Kiev with other tribes, such as the Dregovichians, Derevlians, etc. A contrast

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[1] This text is inaccurately translated by Cross, p. 147.

[2] That we are justified in our judgement follows also from a text of the Czech Cosmas, in which he records that the Bishop of Prague was to be a priest "non secundum ritus aut sectam Bulgarie gentis vel Ruzie aut Slavonice lingue", but that this dignity should be conferred upon "clericum Latinis adprime literis eruditum." F. Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*, 1949, pp. 75—6.

[3] "For the Polyanians retained the mild and peaceful customs of their ancestors, and showed respect for their daughters-in-law and their sisters, as well as for their mothers and fathers. For their mothers-in-law and their brothers-in-law they also entertained great reverence. They observed a fixed marriage custom, under which the groom's brother did not fetch the bride, but she was brought to the bridegroom in the evening, and on the next morning his gifts were presented. The Derevlians, on the other hand, existed in bestial fashion, and lived like cattle. They killed one another, ate every impure thing, and there was no marriage among them, but instead they seized upon maidens by capture. The Radimichians, the Vyatichians, and the Severians had the same customs. They lived in the forest like any wild beast, and ate every unclean thing . . . Such customs were observed by the Krivichians and the other pagans." Cross, pp. 141—2. Chiefly on the basis of this fact, some scholars—such as V. Lebedev—V. Panov, *Drevnerusskie letopisi*, 1930, commentary 40; M. Priselkov, *Istoriya russkogo letopisaniya XI—XV vv.*, 1940, p. 38—consider "Nestor" as a remarkable ethnographer. And yet it has been shown by other authors dealing with the same subject (V. Istrin, *Ocherk istorii drevne-russkoi literatury*, 1922, p. 147; N. Gudzy, *Istoriya drevnei russkoi literatury*, 1938, pp. 123—4; A. Shakhmatov, Povest Vremennykh Let, *TODRL* IV, 1940, p. 30) that these descriptions of pagan customs are drawn by "Nestor" from Greek writers, in the first place Georgius Monachus (Hamartolos). It is enough to compare his text with "Nestor's" account of the customs of the pagan Polovtsians (Cross, p. 143), to see that the chronicler treated all pagans alike, even when they were not Slavs.

between the Polyanians and these other tribes existed only in the field of religion.

Between the official conversion of Vladimir the Great to Christianity and the propagation of the new faith among the tribes that were settled on the Dnieper, the interval was relatively short. It would therefore be difficult to assume any great difference of custom between the Polyanians and the Derevlians, Severians, etc. But things take a very different aspect if we admit that some hundred years before Vladimir's Christianizing activities the Polyanians had already been followers of the Slavonic rite. In such a case, the differences of custom developed under the influence of Christianity were perfectly understandable.[1]

Priselkov states that in the 11th and 12th centuries the Greek clergy then established at Kiev endeavoured to prohibit the use of the Slavonic language in the churches and to introduce Greek into the liturgy. Although these efforts were partially successful under certain princes, yet, as a whole, the results were disappointing.[2] This shows that there must have been in Kiev a strong tradition binding the population to its mother-tongue, which had long been used in religious rites.[3]

Thietmar, the German chronicler of the first quarter of the 11th century, relates that in 1018 there were in Kiev more than 400 churches.[4] So great a number could not have been built in the short period between 988 and 1017; they must already have existed before the baptism of Vladimir. This is confirmed by "Nestor" when he says that in the middle of the 10th century "many of the Varangians were Christians."[5] The influence of the Christian population of Kiev on new-comers would appear to have been fairly strong.

That influence must also have affected the decisions of the first Christian rulers of Kiev, Olga and Vladimir. "Nestor" writes that the "Slavonic" and the "Russian" faith are one and the same. He is right, especially with regard to the language of the liturgy maintained in the churches. Yet this transition from one rite to another involved more profound changes. When "the *yazyk* of Rus" became quite Greek, Cyril and Methodius, al-

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1 F. Konecczny, *Dzieje Rosji* I, 1917, pp. 17—8, considers that "Nestor" had a special liking for the Polyanians, and he is right to some extent, as Christianity already was a well established tradition with the Polyanians. But we cannot qualify the Kievan chronicler as a "Polyanian chauvinist" (see A. Pogodin, Der Bericht der russischen Chronik über die Gründung des russischen Staates, *ZOG*, 1931, pp. 213—4), or as a "nationalist" (V. Istrin, *Moravskaya istoriya*, pp. 39—40). Such conjectures only show that their authors have not really understood the text of the Chronicle.

2 M. Priselkov, Russko-Vizantiiskie otnosheniya IX—XII vv., *VDI*, 1939, p. 103.

3 A similar situation existed in Bulgaria. See R. Jakobson, The Beginnings of National Self-Determination in Europe, *RP* VII, 1945. p. 39. I. Duichev, Slavyano bolgarskie drevnosti IX veka, *BS* XI (1), 1950, pp. 6—31, stresses that it was only after their conversion that the term "the Bulgarians" began to convey the meaning of a Slavonic people; cf. A. Vaillant—M. Lascaris, La date de la conversion des Bulgares. *RES* XIII, 1933, pp. 5—15.

4 "In magna hac civitate, que istius regni caput est, plus quam quadringente habentur ecclesiae" . . . R. Holtzmann, Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg, *MGHSRG* IX, 1935, pp. 528—32; Jedlicki, Kronika Thietmara, *BTH* III, 1953, pp. 622—3.

5 Cross, pp. 163—4.

though bound to Constantinople,[1] desired also to have an intercessor and protector in the Pope of Rome.[2]

As is well known, Olga was a Christian and in the eyes of the following generations she became a patron saint of Rus.[3] A number of sources (Kedrenus, Zonaras, Regino Continuatus) relate that Olga received baptism in Constantinople. However, the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who received and entertained her, and who in his work *De Ceremoniis Aulae Byzantinae* describes Olga's arrival, does not make any allusion to her baptism, although he mentions many less important details connected with the visit of the Princess of Rus. Nowadays it is often supposed that Olga's baptism took place before her departure for Constantinople,[4] i.e. at Kiev.[5] In my opinion, Olga professed the new faith in the Slavonic rite. It is impossible to overlook the fact that she gave her son the Slavonic name of Svyatoslav, although he remained, all his life, a typical Varangian. Faithful to the tradition of the Saints Cyril and Methodius, she showed understanding for the idea of universal Christian unity. That is why she sought to establish contact with the West, and with the Church of Rome. There is nothing more characteristic than her embassy to the German King, requesting him to send missionaries to Kiev.[6]

In spite of many studies devoted to the subject, the baptism of Vladimir still remains an unsolved question.[7] Historians express divergent opinions with regard to the place and date of this event, its causes and circumstances,

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[1] F. Dvornik, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance*, 1933, shows that Great Moravia, at this time, was within the orbit of Byzantine cultural influence. The most recent archaeological excavations in Czechoslovakia have led to the discovery of the relics of Slavic churches, the foundations of which showed a decidedly Byzantine outline; cf. J. Poulik. *Staroslovanská Morava*, 1948; J. Böhm, New Archaeological Finds and Excavations in Czechoslovakia, *C* V, 1950, pp. 538—52; V. Fiala, Diskuse a dvou objevených kostelích z 9 stol. v Starém Meste na Morave, *S* XX (1), 1950, pp. 122—8, and others.

[2] The attitude of the Roman Catholic Church towards the Slavonic rite was somewhat vacillating. Some Popes, such as Hadrian II and John VIII, were favourably disposed towards the work of Cyril and Methodius, while others, such as Stephen V, quite definitely refused to support it. The Apostolic See yielded to the influence of the Latin, mainly the German, clergy who despised the language of the Slavs. Soon after the death of Methodius (d. 885) the Slavonic rite was largely ousted from Moravia and the neighbouring countries by the Latin rite; cf. P. Alexander, The Papacy, the Bavarian Clergy, and the Slavonic Apostles, *SYB* I, 1941, pp. 266—93; M. Małecki, Najstarszy literacki język Słowian, *BSSUJ* I, 1947, pp. 9—20; T. Lehr-Spławiński, Konstantyn i Metodiusz w walce o liturgię słowiańską, *PZ* V, 1949, pp. 626—38. The studies of Dvornik, already quoted, are of particular importance in relation to these problems.

[3] Cross, p. 173.

[4] The dates speak in favour of this conjecture. Olga received baptism in 954—5 (cf. D. Likhachev, *Povest* II, p. 307) and arrived in Constantinople in 957.

[5] A. Jelacić, Les description de voyages russes du moyen-âge à Constantinople, *SBN* V, 1939, p. 473; G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, 1948, p. 40, and others.

[6] German sources relate, under the years 959 and 960, that the Rus envoys (some sources specify that they were sent by Olga) came to the court of Otto I with the request that he should undertake missionary activities in eastern Europe. As a result, Adalbert, a monk of S. Maximian's Monastery at Trier, went to Rus. His mission failed.

[7] Many authors stress the inadequacy of the results hitherto obtained in these studies; cf. H. Koch, Byzanz, Ochrid und Kiev, 987—1037, *Ky* III, 1938, pp. 258—9; M. Levchenko, *Istoriya Vizantii*, 1940, p. 188; B. Grekov, S. Bakhrushin, V. Lebedev, *Istoriya SSSR* I, 1948, p. 83; A. Meyendorff—N. Baynes, The Byzantine Inheritance in Russia, in *Byzantium*, ed. by N. Baynes and H. Moss, 1948, p. 372; N. Zernov, Vladimir and the Origin of the Russian Church, *SEER* XVIII, 1949—50, p. 123, etc.

and, in the first place, with regard to the Kievan ruler's relations with Constantinople and Rome. Vladimir, upon being christened, took the name of the reigning Emperor of Constantinople, Basil II (976—1025), a fact which is of great importance in connection with our problem, but still does not solve it. For this reason the role of the Apostolic See in the conversion of Rus should not be exaggerated, as some scholars of the subject do,[1] nor should Vladimir be represented as a mere tool in the hands of the Eastern Empire.

In my opinion, Vladimir became a Christian according to the rite of Cyril and Methodius, i.e. not only Slavonic in liturgy, but also in traditional union with the Eastern and Western Church alike. Here are some arguments in support of this belief.

The point of view can often be met with that the most important sources concerning the baptism of Vladimir[2] originated in the 11th century, i.e. at a time when the events themselves had already faded from human memory.[3] The remark is by no means convincing. The baptism of Vladimir was a fact of a relatively recent date and of enormous importance. At that time the force of oral tradition was very great, and, furthermore, the clergy most interested in the decisions of the prince of Rus were perfectly able to write. If, for the years 985—8, there are in the *Povest* perceptible reticences and even contradictions, their cause lies in the desire that certain details connected with the Christianization of the Rus should be obliterated. These tendencies, originating with the Greeks, were particularly strong after the final split between the Churches (1054), and aimed against the traditions which—according to " Nestor "—existed among the Polyanians who considered the Western Slavs as their teachers in Christ.[4] As it was not possible to change the entire Chronicle, at least one complete passage was inserted, the so-called Legend of Korsun (Kherson).[5] This fragment related to the birth of Rus as a faith and described the baptism of Vladimir as having taken place on Greek, not on Slav territory. How much importance was attached to this detail is evident from the emphatic terms in which all those versions are denied, according to which Vladimir was baptised among the Slavs.[6] " One has the impression—writes Likhachev—that in the Chronicle (of " Nestor ") two statements are intermingled ; the one spoke of Vladimir's christening in Kiev, . . . and the other,

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[1] N. Baumgarten, Olaf Tryggwison, roi de Norvège et ses relations avec S. Vladimir de Russie, *OC* XXIV (1), 1931 ; *idem*, Saint Vladimir et la conversion de la Russie, *OC* XXVII (1), 1932 ; M. Jugie, Les origines romaines de l' Eglise russe, *EO* XXXVI, 1937, and others.

[2] A list of sources relating to the christening of Vladimir : G. Laehr, Die Anfänge des russischen Reiches, *HS*, 189, 1930, pp. 110—5 ; cf. R. Zhdanov, Kreshchenie Rusi i Nachalnya letopis, *IZ*, 1939 (5), pp. 3—30.

[3] Such is the opinion of S. Bakhrushin, K voprosu o kreshchenii Kievskoi Rusi, *IM*, 1937 (2), p 45.

[4] N. Nikolsky, Povest Vremennykh Let kak istochnik dlya istorii nachalnogo perioda russkoi pismennosti i kultury, *SRYS* II (1), 1930.

[5] A Shakhmatov, Korsunskaya legenda o kreshchenii Vladimira, *Sbornik statei posvyashchennykh V. L. Lamanskomu* II, 1908. There are many conjectures concerning the origin and character of the " Korsun Legend " (e.g. V. Komarovich, *Istoria russkoi literatury* I, 1941, p. 271) but they all provoke many objections.

[6] N. Korobka, K voprosu ob istochnike russkogo khristianstva, *IORYS* XI, 1906, p. 375.

of its taking place at Korsun . . . and the latter was inserted into the former."[1]

According to the "Legend of Korsun", Vladimir, in 988, undertook an expedition against the Crimea, took Kherson, was christened in that city and married the sister of Emperor Basil II.[2] Byzantine and Arabic writers confirm that sequence of events, with the exception of the christening. Greek sources move the date of the Rus expedition against Korsun to 989, a year which is also given by The Memory and Eulogy of Vladimir (*Pamyat i pokhvala Vladimiru*), a work dating from the middle of the 11th century, attributed to the monk James (*Yakov*). The author states that Vladimir received baptism at Kiev, and set out against Kherson in the third year after his conversion.[3] Among historians the opinion prevails that Vladimir was christened on the banks of the Dnieper, and this gives substance to my thesis that he was a Christian according to the rite of S. S. Cyril and Methodius. It is difficult to ascertain in what kind of dependence on Constantinople he remained, as the *Povest* contains no mention of the ecclesiastic organization of Rus during the fifty years following the year 988.[4] This omission could not have been purely accidental, especially as we know from other sources that such an organization did exist. Everything leads us to suppose that Constantinople needed considerable time in order to establish firmly Greek influences in Kiev.

Vladimir was in no way obliged to receive baptism.[5] If Emperor Basil II appealed to the prince of Rus for help against Bardas Phocas who had revolted (988) and received that help;[6] if Vladimir took Kherson and, later, voluntarily surrendered it to the Greeks, it is obvious that there could be no question of pressure and violence in relation to Kiev on the part of Constantinople. The two partners dealt with one another on terms of complete equality. Vladimir married the Emperor's sister, a truly extraordinary success for a ruler of Rus, and Basil prevailed upon Vladimir to abandon his enemies and join his allies. The agreement was advantageous to both sides.

Such a situation left Vladimir complete liberty in matters of faith.[7] His conversion which was in keeping with the old tradition still alive in Kiev could not be a source of gratification for the Empire[8] as it by no means

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[1] D. Likhachev, *Povest* II, p. 55.

[2] Cross, pp. 199—201.

[3] S. Bugoslavsky, K literaturnoi istorii "Pamyati i pokhvaly" knyazyu Vladimiru, *IORYS* XXIX, (1924) 1925, pp. 141—53. Priselkov believes that this work was written in 1037—8. M. Priselkov, Borba dvukh mirovozzrenii, *RZ* I, 1923, p. 39; cf. G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, 1948, p. 71.

[4] The baptism of Vladimir took place in 987—9. We accept the date most frequently assumed: 988. See G. Ostrogorsky, Vladimir Svyatoi i Vizantiya, in *Vladimirskii Sbornik*, by several hands, 1938, p. 39; G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, p. 63.

[5] E. Spektorsky, Svoeobrazie kreshcheniya Rusi, *Vladimirskii Sbornik*, 1938, pp. 55—61.

[6] V. Rozen, Imperator Vasilii Bolgaroboitsa, *ZIAN* XLIV, 1883; V. Vasilevsky K istorii 976—988 gg. *Trudy* II, 1912, pp. 56—124; G. Laehr, *op. cit.*, p. 114; G. Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 31—40.

[7] N. Lavrov, Religiya i tserkov, in *Istoriya kultury drevnei Rusi domongolskogo perioda*, by several hands, II, 1951, p. 90.

[8] The silence of the Greek sources on the subject of Rus after 989 testifies to the lack of interest at Byzantium in the newly-converted country.

excluded the establishment of intimate ties between Kiev and Rome, and especially between Kiev and the Western Slavs.

Contacts which had already existed in the days of Olga and Yaropolk (d. 980)[1] became especially frequent in the reign of Vladimir the Great. The sources mention Papal, Czech, and Polish missions sent to Kiev, and, on the other hand, the return of Rus missions from the West (A.D. 986, 988, 991, 994, 1000, 1001, etc.).[2] It should be emphasized that Vladimir's relations with the West suffered no impediments after the official Christianization of Rus in 988.

Among the many wives whom Vladimir took prior to 988 there were two Czechs and one Bulgarian.[3] Vladimir's son and principal heir bore the name of Svyatopolk, the famous ruler of Moravia. Svyatopolk was married to a Polish princess, the daughter of Bolesław the Great, and sought support in Poland for his ambitious plans.[4] This Svyatopolk, upon being defeated in 1019, made his way through Poland to Bohemia. Another of Vladimir's sons, Svyatoslav, sought refuge in Hungary (1015).[5] It would seem that their father had prepared for these princes ways and means of which they were able to take advantage in times of difficulty.

"Nestor" says that "Vladimir . . . lived at peace with the neighbouring Princes, Bolesław of Poland, Stephen of Hungary, and Odalrich of Bohemia, and there was peace and love among them (*i be mir mezhyu imi i lyuby*)".[6] When we consider that there were followers of the Slavonic rite in Hungary among the Slavs of the Danube, that they also existed in Bohemia[7] and that, in Poland, about A.D. 1000, a special Metropolitan see of this rite was founded, we shall conclude that the mutual "love" uniting the four countries must have in the first place found expression in the field of religion.

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[1] V. Zaikin, Khristiyanstvo na Ukraini za chasiv knyazya Yaropolka I (969—979), *AOBM* III, 1928—30; M. Taube, Rim i Rus v do-Mongolskii period, *KV* II, 1928, pp. 138—9; V. Moshin, Khristianstvo v Rossii do sv. Vladimira, *Vladimirskii Sbornik*, 1938, pp. 1—18.

[2] All these details are to be found in the Nikon Chronicle, *PSRL* IX, which is of the 16th century, but is undoubtedly based on earlier sources no longer extant. In the 16th century the antagonism between Moscow and the Latin West was so strong that it is impossible to imagine any chronicler inventing information of this kind. As for missions from Rus to the West in the 10th century, some of them are also mentioned in German sources.

[3] Cross, p. 181.

[4] S. Bakhrushin, *K voprosu*, p. 53, goes so far as to assume that he was received into the Latin Church.

[5] Cross, pp. 218, 222.

[6] Cross, p. 210, under the year 996. Bolesław reigned from 992 to 1025, Stephen from 1012 to 1038, Odalrich from 1012 to 1037, and Vladimir died in 1015. If we were to interpret this text literally we would have to assign the friendly intercourse of the four rulers to the declining years of Vladimir's life. However, exactly at that time, relations between Poland and Kiev were, on the contrary, strained and hostile. We are, therefore, led to the conclusion that in the extract quoted the chronicler was not thinking of agreements simultaneously concluded by the four countries. Vladimir came at different times to a friendly understanding with each of the three States.

[7] In spite of the destruction of the Moravian Empire and of the Greek cultural work in Moravia, Bohemia was still bi-liturgical and Slavonic letters flourished in Prague. Though the Latin liturgy was in favour, since German clergy held jurisdiction over the country, both ducal Houses of Bohemia, the Przemyslides and the Slavniks, were far from being hostile to the Slavonic liturgy and culture. It has been ascertained that the saints of the two Houses, S. Wenceslas and S. Adalbert, were favourable to the Slavonic clergy. F. Dvornik, Western and Eastern Traditions of Central Europe, *RP* IX, 1947, p. 473.

Cyril and Methodius had a special devotion to S. Clement and brought a part of his relics from the South-East to Moravia and thence to Rome.[1] Vladimir the Great continued that devotion, and after the taking of Kherson he transferred some relics of the saint to the banks of the Dnieper.[2] And Thietmar recorded an item of information of great value to our considerations, namely, that Vladimir was actually buried in the Church of S. Clement at Kiev.[3]

Religious architecture popular in Bohemia and perhaps also in the Moravian Empire, which had a preference for the small rotunda as the dominant architectural feature of its churches, was adopted by Poland.[4] Rotundas are to be found at Kiev, Vyshgorod, Halicz, etc.[5]

Long ago Golubinsky pointed out that under Vladimir the Great the clergy was being recruited not only among the Greeks, but also among men coming from Polish lands.[6] A priest from the Crimea who helped Vladimir in his Christianizing efforts in Rus, Anastasius of Kherson, later fled to Poland. This fact, as Zernov rightly remarks, suggests the existence of ties of friendship between the Church of Kiev and that of Poland.[7] The letter written in 1008 by Bruno of Querfurt to Emperor Henry II, in which the author speaks of the great good-will and help with which he met during his journey to the Pechenegs on the part of Vladimir, is of considerable importance to our subject.[8] In Constantinople such missionaries were assuredly not looked upon with any favour. Bruno may have undertaken his journey in agreement with Bolesław the Great; in any case, on his way back he went straight to Poland. Bruno was an enthusiastic supporter of Bolesław's plans for converting the nations which adjoined his domains.

In spite of the ties binding him to Constantinople, Vladimir set up a Church administration along western lines, basing it on the tithe system.[9]

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[1] Proof of this may be found in the frescoes at S. Clement's Basilica, representing Pope Nicholas I (858—867) between the two Slav apostles. See G. Ladner, Die italienische Malerei im XI Jahrhundert, *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, NF V, 1931, pp. 62—4.

[2] Cross, p. 204. At a later time, in the 12th century, the head of S. Clement was used at the consecration of Kliment of Smolensk as Metropolitan of Rus, against the will of Constantinople. This shows the great importance attached to these relics at Kiev.

[3] . . . "sepultus in Cuiewa civitate magna et in ecclesia Christi martiris et papae Clementis iuxta predictam coniugem suam, sarcofagis eorundem in medio templi palam stantibus" . . . *MGH*, Nova Series, IX, 1935, p. 488.

[4] J. Zachwatowicz, Rotunda Mieszka I w Gnieźnie, *SPAU* XLVII, 1946, pp. 151—2; T. Dobrowolski, *Sztuka Krakowa*, 1950, p. 29; P. David, The Church in Poland from its Origin to 1250, in *The Cambridge History of Poland from the Origins to Sobieski*, 1950, p. 60.

[5] V. Sichinsky, Rotondi na Ukraini, *NZUAN*, XXXII, 1929.

[6] E. Golubinsky, *Istoriya russkoi tserkvi* I, p. 168.

[7] N. Zernov, Vladimir and the Origin of the Russian Church, *SEER* XVIII, 1949—50, p. 428.

[8] *MPH* I, pp. 224—8.

[9] Many authors are of the opinion that the tithe was a form of endowment not practised in the Greek Church, and therefore they consider the procedure adopted by Vladimir to be proof of Western influences. See N. Suvorov, *Sledy zapadno katolicheskogo tserkovnogo prava v pamyatnikakh drevne-russkogo prava*, 1888 (unavailable to me); E. Golubinsky, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 508—12; A. Presnyakov, *Lektsii po russkoi istorii* I, 1938, p. 115, N. Zernov, *op. cit.*, p. 428; A. Ammann, *Ostslavische Kirchengeschichte*, 1950, p. 18. A different point of view is represented by E. Lipshits, Vizantiiskoe krestyanstvo i slavyanskaya kolonizatsiya, in *Vizantiiskii Sbornik*, by several hands, 1945, pp. 124—5.

The first grandiose cathedral, built of stone by the Prince at Kiev, was known as the "Church of the Tithe," because Vladimir allotted to it one tithe of the revenue from all Rus, to be paid by the Prince's treasury. And although Greek masters were brought in to supervise the building of Vladimir's cathedral, nevertheless it shows certain features peculiar to the West.[1] In the reign of Yaroslav the Wise, when Byzantium had definitely established its influence at Kiev, the erection of a new cathedral, dedicated to St. Sophia, was put in hand. Vladimir's conversion, like that of Olga, met with suspicion and distrust at Constantinople, as may be seen from the fact that for over 200 years the Prince of Rus was obstinately refused canonization.[2] This can only be explained by Vladimir's adherence to the Slavonic rite which in the opinion of the Greeks bound Kiev all too strongly to its Western neighbours.[3]

It is permissible to surmise, on the strength of certain fragments of the *Povest*, that "Nestor" knew the *Vita S. Methodii* and perhaps also other sources relating to the origin and development of the Slavonic rite.[4] Even the final separation of the Churches (1054) failed to obliterate those common traditions which bound Kiev to Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary. In Kiev St. Vitus continued to be venerated, although he was unknown to Byzantium, while devotion to the martyr was widespread in Bohemia. On the banks of the Dnieper, Czech Saints such as Wenceslas and Ludmila were the objects of religious cult.[5] Reciprocally, the worship of the Russian Saints Boris and Gleb, sons of Vladimir the Great, was practised in Bohemia. A prayer has been preserved in Rus, invoking not only S. S. Boris and Gleb, but also S. St. Cyril and Methodius and St. Wojciech (Adalbert).[6] In a Russian collection *Uspensky sbornik*, dating from the 12th century, we find a text celebrating the merits of Cyril and Methodius in the

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[1] N. Zernov, *op. cit.*, p. 428.

[2] The apparent reason for this refusal, the absence of miracles at the deceased prince's grave, was only a pretext. The problem of the canonization of Vladimir has been treated by: E. Golubinsky, Istoriya kanonizatsii svyatykh v russkoi tserkvi, *COID*, 1903, pp. 63—4; M. Priselkov, Borba dvukh mirovozzrenii, *RZ* I, 1923, pp. 38—42; G. Fedotov, Kanonizatsiya svyatogo Vladimira, in *Vladimirskii Sbornik*, 1938, pp. 189—95.

[3] It should not be overlooked that the religious writings of Rus at this time, directed against the Latins, were exclusively the work of Greeks. See A. Sobolevsky, Otnoshenie drevnei Rusi k razdeleniyu tserkvei, *IIAN*, 1914 (2), p. 98; V. Zaikin, Prepodobnyi Stefan, episkop Volodimirskii i Galitskii, *AOBM* III, 1928—30, p. 193; K. Viskovatyi, K voprosu ob avtore i vremeni napisaniya "Slova k Izyaslavu o Latinekh", *TODRL* II, 1935, p. 537. Nikolsky pertinently observed that, at the beginning of the 12th century, Metropolitan Nicephorus already knew that contacts with Poland resulted in Rus assimilating foreign customs and religious doctrines; cf. N. Nikolsky, K voprosu o sledakh moravo-cheshskogo vliyaniya na literaturnykh pamyatnikakh domongolskoi epokhi, *VAN*, 1933 (8—9), pp. 12—3. When Vladimir Monomakh (d. 1126) had to have the differences between the Greek and Latin faith explained to him, he thereby showed that he himself neither perceived nor understood them.

[4] A. Shakhmatov, Povest Vremennykh Let i ee istochniki, *TODRL* IV, 1940, pp. 81—92.

[5] R. Jakobson, Some Russian Echoes of the Czech Hagiography, *AIPHOS* VII, 1939—44, pp. 155—79.

[6] F. Dvornik, *The Making*, pp. 242—9, where the bibliography of the subject is given. See also F. Dvornik, The Kiev State and Its Relations with Western Europe, *TRHS*, 1947, pp. 37—40; V. Chaloupecký, Slovanská bohosluzba v Cechách, *VCAVU* LIX, 1950, pp. 65—80; D. Cyzevśkyj, Anklage an die Gumpoldslegende des hl. Václav in der altrussischen Legende des hl. Feodosij und das Problem der "Originalität" der slavischen mittelalterichen Werke, *WSJ* I, 1950, pp. 71—86; R. Jakobson, *MSS* I, 1953 pp. 37—48.

development of Christianity (" blessed be your *yaz'yk* ").[1] All such facts[2] would be unintelligible and inexplicable if the " Slavonic faith " had not reached the Dnieper and taken root there.

How did Christianity develop further in eastern Europe?

Whereas in the 10th century the Polyanians alone among the Eastern Slavs professed the faith of Christ,[3] important changes took place at the end of the century, and in the first half of the eleventh, in the reign of Vladimir and of his son Yaroslav. It is to this period that the entry in the Kievan Chronicle refers, which mentions the seven tribes won for the Russian faith. These were: the Polyanians, Derevlians, Novgorodians, Polochians, Dregovichians, Severians, and Buzhians.[4] " Nestor " prefaces the list with the restrictive particle " only," by which he indicates that among the other tribes Christianity was less firmly established.

Our examination of this item in the Chronicle, undertaken in the preceding chapter, showed that the seven Bishoprics of the province of Kiev corresponded with the seven tribes just mentioned, each one having been founded in a different tribal territory.

Now, we must once more consider that part of the Chronicle already mentioned, in which the difference between the customs of the Polyanians and those of their Slavonic kinsmen is emphasized. It contains certain data which we can regard as indicating, chronologically, the next stage in the development of Christianity in the East. When speaking of the pagan behaviour of the Derevlians, Radimichians, Severians, Krivichians, etc., the author uses the past tense, while in relation to the Vyatichians he uses the present one.[5] This seems to show that when this passage was written, at the beginning of the 12th century, only the Vyatichians remained unconverted to Christianity.

All these observations must lead us to the conclusion that the introduction to " Nestor's " Chronicle contains the most important material for the reconstruction of the earliest history of eastern Europe. The opinions hitherto prevalent among historians as to the chaotic character and unreliability of this great work cannot by any means be maintained. It is, indeed, a rare and astonishing occurrence in historical science that a source of such outstanding importance should be so falsely interpreted for so long a time as in the case of the Chronicle of " Nestor ". And it should be said in justice that this came about through no fault of the illustrious monk of the Crypt Monastery.

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[1] A. Shakhmatov—P. Lavrov, Sbornik XII v. Moskovskogo Uspenskogo Sobora, *COID*, 1899.

[2] See also M. Speransky, Yaroslavskii zbirnik XIII v., *NZUAN* XIX, 1925, pp. 29—36.

[3] Evidently we should not suppose that all the Polyanians were Christians; only a part of them is alluded to. Belief based on the tradition of centuries can nowhere be rapidly or easily eradicated. " Nestor " enumerates the gods, among which there were also Slavonic gods, the statues of which Vladimir destroyed at Kiev, when he had received baptism himself. Cf. V. Mansikka, *Die Religion der Oststaven*, 1922; A. Brückner, *Mitologia słowiańska*, 1918; A. Krappe, La chute du paganism a Kiev, *RES* XVII, 1937; N. Chadwick, *The Beginnings of Russian History*, 1946.

[4] Cross, p. 140.

[5] *Ibidem*, pp. 141—2.

Sufficient attention has not been paid so far to the immense difficulties of language which faced the chronicler when he proceeded to express his thoughts. The poverty of the vocabulary of his time caused the author to indicate diverse subjects and ideas by the same words. Such is the case with "Rus", the "*yaz'yk* of Rus", the "Slavonic *yaz'yk*", etc., while historians have only seen contradictions in his use of these terms.

The chronicler desired posterity to preserve a faithful memory of the earliest history of his country, and that is why he wrote an introduction and added supplementary commentaries to his work.[1]

By way of illustration, let us quote the following example. In the *Povest* it is said: "(The Polyanians) took the name of Rus from the Varangians, but originally they were Slavs. But although they called themselves Polyanians, (their) language (*rech*) was Slavonic. Polyanians they called themselves because they lived in the fields, but the Slavonic *yaz'yk* (language) was one."[2]

The chronicler indicates that the name of Rus, assumed by the Polyanians, originally designated the Varangians. Elsewhere, however, "Nestor" has written that the Varangians were Norsemen, and consequently not Slavs.[3] Hence, the author's misgivings lest his words should be incorrectly understood, and lest some should think that the Polyanians, having recently[4] adopted a new appellation which was foreign to them, had lost their former character and ceased to be Polyanians.[5] For this reason he tries to make it as clear as possible that the name of Rus, as assumed by the Polyanians, is without ethnical significance; that is why, in the passage we are analysing, he stresses twice over that the Polyanians speak Slavonic, so that no one should think that they used the language of the Norsemen; that is why he introduces the word *rech* for language, in order to render the meaning even clearer than it would be with the expression *yaz'yk*; that is, finally, why he indicates that the name "Polyanians" has a topographical sense, and yet designates a Slavonic tribe. The effort expended on this one paragraph by "Nestor" is really amazing.

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[1] It is known that the tribal name of the Novgorodians was "Slavs" ("The Slavs . . . dwelt about Lake Ilmen and were known by their appropriate name." Cross, p. 138). In describing different events, the chronicler calls the Novgorodians "Slavs", *ibidem*, pp. 144—6. But "Nestor" also uses the term "Slavs" in a much wider sense to denote all the "Eastern Slavs", in accordance with present day terminology. In order that the reader should correctly understand the text, "Nestor" frequently, in the introduction to the Chronicle, (*ibidem*, pp. 138—42) when referring to the population about Lake Ilmen, specifies that he is speaking of the Slavs "who built Novgorod" . . . , "who live where Novgorod is", or he simply says: "the Novgorodians". It is interesting to note that in the same passage of the Chronicle, when alluding to other tribes, he never says that the Polyanians live in Kiev, or the Severians in Chernihov. This supplementary explanation, given only in connection with the Novgorodian "Slavs", is very characteristic of "Nestor's" accuracy in dealing with these problems.

[2] Incorrectly translated by Cross, p. 149.

[3] Cross, pp. 144—6, etc.

[4] ". . . the Polyanians . . . are now called Rus," (Cross, p. 147); this indicates that in former times they were not called "Rus".

[5] The Chronicle emphasizes with special insistence: "They were called Polyanians, and there are Polyanians descended from them living in Kiev to this day." Cross, p. 139.

Why, with the lapse of time, did "*yaz̆yk* of Rus", in the sense of the faith, replace "Slav *yaz̆yk*"?

This change of terminology indicates considerable ethnic and political transformations. The Greek Church, strengthening her position on the Dnieper, preserved the Slav language in the liturgy,[1] because in her missionary activities she had to deal mostly with Slavs, and with a century-old tradition connected with the rite of S.S. Cyril and Methodius. But in her principles and designs, this Church did not wish to confine herself solely to the conversion of the Slavs.[2] The term "Rus" answered these aspirations better, as it could embrace not only the Slavs, but different ethnic elements which had been or were to be conquered by the Norse Varangians.

There was, however, another factor involved: after the Latin Church had been definitely established in Moravia, Bohemia, and Poland, the old name was not consistent with the new state of things. Some Slavs no longer belonged to the "Slav *yaz̆yk*" (faith), and they were the very ones who, so far, had been its chief support.

The new name for the faith had to fit the new realities and had to be linked with Kiev and the political entity established on the banks of the Dnieper.

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[1] J. Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind. Kievan Christianity*, 1946, p. 58.

[2] The sources show that the Church of Rus extended its missionary efforts to the Finnish Chud, the Bulgar on the Volga, the nomadic Polovtsians of the southern steppes, etc. *RIB* VI N 3, pp. 375—406; L. Goetz, *Kirchenrechtliche und kulturgeschichtliche Denkmäler Altrusslands*, 1905, pp. 252—3. In the chronicles we encounter eminent Polovtsians with Christian names, such as Gleb, George, and others. See J. Budovnits, Vladimir Monomakh i ego voennaya doktrina, *IZ* XXII, 1947, p. 93; D. Likhachev, *Povest* II, pp. 447, 475—6. The chronicler testifies, under the year 1155, that the Berendei, a tribe of Turkish origin, were prepared to perish "for the land of Rus." *PSRL* I, p. 345. The aforesaid nomads, or more accurately, a certain part of them—one should not exaggerate the successes of the Eastern Church—being won for Christianity, showed understandable hostility towards the neighbouring pagans.

CHAPTER III

THE POPULATION OF THE DNIESTER AND THE BUG REGIONS

Disparities between "Nestor" and Modern Historians Concerning the Number of East Slavonic Tribes. The Ulichians and the Tivertsians. The Croats. The Ethnical Character of the Bug Region. The Western Limits of the Settlements of Eastern Slavs. Transcarpathian Rus.

In the foregoing chapters, we have constantly spoken of the Eastern Slavs, but this term does not occur in any of our sources. The division of the Slavs into three groups—the Eastern, Western, and Southern—was accepted by historians in order to render more precise the rather vague and broad notion of Slavdom as a whole. To be truly exact, one should say: the so-called Eastern Slavs, or write these words in inverted commas.

We can speak of Eastern Slavs in the early days of their history, but only in a geographical sense, suggesting that they lived in the East of Europe, just as by Southern Slavs we understand those who settled in the South.

This purely conventional terminology, which was intended to simplify the problem, has only complicated it to an extraordinary degree. In spite of "Nestor", it has become the habit to treat the Eastern Slavs of the period we are studying as an ethnical and political unity. But such a unity did not exist,[1] either among the Eastern or, for that matter, among the Western Slavs.[2]

It is quite improbable, although such a supposition is often to be found in historical works, that the Eastern Slavs who lived in the immediate neighbourhood of the Western Slavs should have developed, with regard to the latter, any strong feeling of separateness and distinctness as early as the 10th century, while showing a sense of kinship and solidarity with tribes of the East and North, even when these lived hundreds of miles away.

In the course of time, the differences between the Poles and their eastern neighbours became more and more marked—as to that there is no

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[1] "Historical science usually assumes the unity of Slavonic culture and presents the Slav tribes of the east European plain as identical in their social, economic, and ethnical structure. Archaeological science . . . reaches quite different conclusions . . ." P. Tretyakov, Vostochnoslavyanskie plemena nakanune obrazovaniya Kievskogo gosudarstva. *IAN* II (3), 1945, p. 163.

[2] N. Derzhavin, *Proiskhozhdenie russkogo naroda*, 1944, p. 84, speaks of a "Western Slavonic nation"—though the history of Czecho-Polish relations definitely contradicts such a theory—in order to prove, by contrast, the existence of an "Eastern Slavonic nation."

doubt.[1] But this fact, confirmed by the sources, does not automatically prove the existence of any general solidarity among the Eastern Slavs.

How many East-Slavonic tribes were there ?

The number generally accepted is fifteen. However, in the well-known description of Slav origins and settlements which is to be found at the beginning of the *Povest*, only six tribes figure in addition to the Moravo-Czech and Polish Slavs. These six tribes which can be regarded as Eastern Slavs are : the Polyanians, the Derevlians, the Dregovichians, the Polochians, the Slavs of Novgorod, and the Severians.[2] Here we must stress the fact that all the other passages of the Kievan Chronicle are in harmony with this decisive text. We should also consider whether there is any foundation for doubling the number of these tribes.

One more observation : The introduction to the *Povest* contains, as we well know, several lists of tribes, but there is not one which includes all the proposed fifteen. Any such ethnical or political notion was unknown to "Nestor."

The tribes usually selected by scholars to complete the list of Eastern Slavs are : the Ulichians, the Tivertsians, the Croats, the Volynians, the Dulebians, the Buzhians, the Radimichians, the Vyatichians, and the Krivichians.

We now turn to the Ulichians and Tivertsians. Let us compare two passages of "Nestor's" Chronicle. The first passage (A) is the base of the hypothesis according to which both these tribes belonged to the Eastern Slavs, although it contains only a very general statement of the peaceful relations prevailing among a certain number of tribes.

(A)

. . . "The Polyanians, the Derevlians, the Severians, the Radimichians, the Vyatichians, and the Croats lived at peace. The Dulebians dwelt along the Bug . . . , but the Ulichians and the Tivertsians lived by the Dniester, and extended as far as the Danube."[3]

(B)

(The chronicler first mentions the Polyanians) "The Derevlians possessed a principality of their own, as did also the Dregovichians, while the Slavs had their own authority in Novgorod, and another principality existed on the Polota, where the Polochians dwell. Beyond them reside the Krivichians, who live at the head waters of the Volga, the Dvina, and the Dnieper . . . , and beyond them are the Severians. At Beloozero are situated the Ves, and on the lake of Rostov, the Merya."[4]

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[1] There are many reasons to account for this : in the first place, the existence of two different dynasties—those of Piast and of Rurik—and of two different Christian denominations. A. Sobolevsky, in his *Otnoshenie drevnei Rusi k razdeleniyu tserkvei*, pp. 96—102, rightly observes that even at the beginning of the 12th century, when "Nestor" was writing his Chronicle, both the Greek and the Latin clergy had to devote much energy to the task of instilling into their Slavonic congregations a sense of mutual estrangement.

[2] Cross, p. 138.

[3] *Ibidem*, p. 141.

[4] *Ibidem*, p. 140.

When examining the quoted passage A, historians are apt to treat it as standing alone, without taking into consideration the character and the peculiarities of the source. But when we compare the two passages A and B, not to mention other similar instances, we perceive clearly that "Nestor" has often introduced the geographical element into his Chronicle without its being strictly related to the subject.

In the second text (B), the chronicler first speaks of peoples who have developed strong tribal organizations. This part ends with the remark concerning the Polochians. Then "Nestor" mentions the Krivichians, not because they also had developed such an organization, but because they were living close to the Polochians. After this he goes on to enumerate the Severians and the Finns, all neighbours of the Krivichians.

In the first passage (A), the most important for our consideration, "Nestor" deals with two different matters: 1) the tribes which maintained peaceful relations with one another, and 2) the position of the Dulebian, Ulichian, and Tivertsian settlements. The first part of the paragraph ends with the mention of the Croats; in the second, "Nestor" speaks of the tribes which were their neighbours.

Vernadsky misinterprets the *Povest* when he asserts that in the Chronicle the Dulebians, Ulichians, and Tivertsians are classed in the same group with the other six tribes.[1] "Nestor" does not say that all those nine tribes lived together at peace.[2] And even if he had done so, a passing remark about friendly relations would not justify any inference as to the origin of the Ulichians and the Tivertsians.[3] We must not forget that the Kievan chronicler, when describing events, often dealt with Slavs and non-Slavs at the same time.[4] Therefore, the passage about the tribes living in peaceful relations does not necessarily refer only to the Slavs.

When "Nestor" describes Oleg's march on Constantinople (A.D. 907), the Tivertsians are called *tlkoviny*. What this word may have meant we do not know. Sreznevsky gives no explanation of the term in his

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[1] G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, 1946, p. 308. If we accepted this author's line of reasoning, it would follow from "Nestor's" Chronicle (passage B, quoted above) that the Finns (the Ves, the Merya) were Slavs. Both figure in the same paragraph, which is a logical whole.

[2] If we accept Vernadsky's thesis, the passage in question would have to run as follows: Thus the Polyanians, the Derevlians, the Severians, the Radimichians, the Vyatichians, the Croats, the Dulebians, the Ulichians, and the Tivertsians lived at peace.

[3] In the passage under consideration, "Nestor" does not list the tribes in respect of their origin, as he mentions the Radimichians and the Vyatichians whom he contrasts with the "Slavs", such as the Polyanians and the Derevlians. Cross. p. 141. The words: "lived at peace" do not necessarily imply that the tribes mentioned formed some inter-tribal union or a political organization. We do not know what the peaceful relations between the six tribes implied. Let us take, for comparison's sake, the well known story about the calling in of the Varangians. In this venture, which undoubtedly is a proof of close relations between several of the tribes, the Chuds, the Slavs of Novgorod, the Krivichians, and the Ves all took part. Cross, p. 145. Is it then permissible to conclude that the Finnish tribes—Ves and Chuds—were Slavs?

[4] Under the year 859, "Nestor" tells us that the Chuds, the Slavs of Novgorod, the Merians, the Ves, and the Krivichians were obliged to pay tribute to the Varangians. Cross, p. 144. Prince Oleg's army included the Varangians, the Chuds, the Slavs, the Merians, and the Krivichians. Cross, p. 146. Oleg led against the Greeks a great army, composed of Varangians, Slavs, Chuds, Merians, Polyanians, Severians, Derevlians, etc. Cross, p. 149. We could quote many similar examples.

Materials for a Dictionary of the Old-Russian Language. Many conjectures have been made. Some have thought that this was a term which meant allies, or interpreters of the Pecheneg language, others that it had a contemptuous meaning, etc.[1] None of these conjectures seem to be based on solid grounds. "Nestor" never uses this term again. The most probable hypothesis, in my opinion, is that the word *tlkoviny* is a distorted appellation of the Torks (*trkoviny*).[2] If such was actually the case, we should have some evidence as to the ethnical origin of the Tivertsians.

The two further and final references in the Kiev Chronicle to the tribes of which we are speaking, both of them brief and vague, do not add anything new to the problem under discussion.[3] Summing up our remarks so far, we come to the conclusion that the *Povest* is totally lacking in the evidence necessary to establish, with any degree of certainty, the origin of the Ulichian and Tivertsian tribes.[4]

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[1] D. Rasovsky, Tlkoviny, *SK* VIII, 1936, pp. 307—13.

[2] According to K. Menges, the Tivertsians were of Turkish origin; see G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, p. 24. This text is translated by Cross, p. 149, as follows: "Tivertsians who are Torks." I think this translation is correct, although for accuracy's sake the translator should also have quoted the term "*tlkoviny*". We cannot overlook the fact that as regards the origin of the Tivertsians, Cross contradicts himself, for in his *Slavic Civilization through the Ages*, 1948, p. 47, he considers them to be Slavs.

In support of the theory that *tlkoviny* is really *trkoviny* misspelt, the following may be advanced: Under the year 985, we read in the *Povest* about Vladimir the Great's expedition against the Bulgarians. "Vladimir set out by boat to attack the Bulgarians. He also brought Torks overland on horseback, and conquered the Bulgarians." Cross, p. 183. There is some controversy as to which Bulgarians are meant here—those of the Volga or those of the Balkans. Usually the first alternative has been accepted. See M. Martynov, "Dogovor" Vladimira s volzhkimi bolgarami 1006 g. *IM*, 1941 (2), pp. 116—7; S. Petshich, O "dogovore" Vladimira s volzhkimi bolgarami 1006 g. *IZ* XVIII, 1946, pp. 327—35. But M. Tikhomirov, Istoricheskie svyazi yuzhnykh i vostochnykh slavyan v drevneishee vremya, *IsZ*, 1941 (10—11), pp. 67—8, puts forward several pertinent arguments in favour of the Bulgarians from the Danube. Let us consider this alternative. (1) The Torks were nomads of the steppes. It seems improbable that they should have been able to cross on horseback the enormous forest-covered areas so far to the North-East. (2) If the Tivertsians, as "Nestor" informs us, lived in the region of the Dniester and as far as the Danube, geographical considerations would favour their taking part in an expedition to the Balkans. (3) The fact that Vladimir's army, in an expedition against the Bulgarians, made use of boats and horses, is corroborated by the Kiev chronicler. "Igor advanced upon the Greeks by ship and by horse." Cross, p. 158. All this seems to confirm the hypothesis that the Tivertsians were Torks.

[3] Under the year 885, we read in the *Povest* that Oleg waged wars with both these tribes, p. 147. Under the year 944, that the Tivertsians helped Igor against the Greeks, together with the Varangians, the Slavs, the Pechenegs, etc., Cross, pp. 147, 158. Certain data given by the chronicler when he describes the settlements of the two tribes living along the Dniester are no more helpful: "Hence they are called Great Scythia by the Greeks." Cross, p. 141. This term of Great Scythia appears again in connection with Oleg's expedition against Constantinople. Cross, p. 149. It is well known that the geographical names in the basins of the Dniester, the Prut, the Dnieper, and the Don, as well as those on the Black Sea coast, are mainly of Iranian origin and that these territories were sometime inhabited by Iranian Scythians and Sarmatians.

[4] The paragraph concerning the Ulichians and Tivertsians is followed in the Chronicle by a passage in which the differences of custom between the Polyanians and other tribes are discussed. In his translation of this passage, Cross, p. 141, uses the expression: "These Slavic tribes preserved their own customs . . ." The reader may have the impression that "Nestor" numbers among these Slavic tribes the Ulichians and Tivertsians mentioned in the preceding sentence. Such an impression would be mistaken, as the passage about customs is, in fact, without a grammatical subject, and "Slavs" are nowhere mentioned. All references to the Slavs are the translator's additions, distorting the original text of the source.

Let us try and elucidate the question independently of "Nestor". Names similar to those of the two tribes appear in several sources. Assuming that those names have been distorted, some information relating to the Ulichians and the Tivertsians may be found there. However, one might state with equal plausibility that there is no connection whatsoever between these names and the tribes settled along the Dniester. In any case, all this material from the sources should be treated with the utmost circumspection.[1]

Some historians think that the so-called Bavarian Geographer of the 9th century includes the Ulichians in a long list of central and east European tribes. It is difficult to affirm categorically that the *Unlizi*[2] mentioned in the source and described as *populus magnus* are none other than the Ulichians. Tikhomirov supposes that the *Attorozi* mentioned in the same source—characterized as *populus ferocissimus*—should be identified with the Tivertsians.[3] Such a supposition could be accepted only on condition that the *Attorozi* and the Torks are one. This, however, would be no evidence for the Slavonic origins of the Tivertsians.

The long list of tribes which appears in the so-called Bavarian Geographer was not compiled from the point of view of their origin. For this reason, the source contributes very little toward the solution of our problem.

Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De Administrando Imperio*), in the middle of the 10th century, becomes aware of an Oultines tribe living in the near neighbourhood of the Pechenegs. He mentions it together with the Derevlians, adding that it recognized the overlordship of Rus.[4] There are reasons for identifying the Oultines with the Ulichians. The Primary Compilation (*Nachalnyi Svod*), preserved in the Novgorod Chronicle and dating from the late 11th century, tells us how Igor, Prince of Rus, conquered the Ulichians in the first half of the 10th century. According to this source, Igor "fought wars with the Ulichians and the Derevlians."[5] Evidently some geographical connection, if not direct contiguity, must have existed between the two tribes. The fact that two different sources—totally independent of one another—both give us a series of almost identical details cannot be due to pure coincidence.

Against the logic of such a conclusion, one argument could be advanced. "Nestor" regards the Ulichians and the Tivertsians as tribes settled along the middle course of the Dniester, and certainly on its lower reaches, as

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[1] It would be very risky to identify the *Eugles* of French sources with the Ulichians. See A. Drobinsky, Rus i vostochnaya Evropa vo frantsuzskom srednevekovom epose, *IZ* XXVI, 1948, p. 106.

[2] Descriptio civitatum et regionum ad septentrionalem plagam Danubii. See S. Zakrzewski, Opis grodów i terytoriów z północnej strony Dunaju, czyli t. zw. Geograf bawarski, *ATNL* IX (1), 1917, p. 4. I am not acquainted with a later edition of the same source by J. Schnetz, *Itineraria Romana* II, 1940.

[3] M. Tikhomirov, *Istoricheskie svyazi*, p. 64.

[4] G. Moravcsik—R. Jenkins, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio*, 1949, pp. 168—9.

[5] A. Shakhmatov, Povest Vremennykh Let, *LZAK*, 1916, p. 373; A. Nasonov, *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis starshego i mladshego izvodov*, 1950, p. 109.

both "extended as far as the Danube." "They inhabited the banks of the Dniester almost down to the sea."[1] This statement makes the contiguity of the Ulichians and Derevlians open to doubt. This difficulty, however, can be removed, as the Ulichians changed their haunts under the pressure of the steppe nomads.[2]

Constantine states that the Pechenegs were neighbours of the Oultines—Ulichians, of the Dervlenines—Derevlians, of the Lenzenines—Lyakhs,[3] and "the rest of the Slavs." On this text we base our conclusion that the Ulichians were a Slavonic tribe, while we find in the sources no arguments proving the Tivertsians to have been Slavs.[4]

Now, in turn, we have to direct our attention to the Croats.

We are faced with a difficult and complicated problem, but what we are really concerned with is the actual number of Eastern Slavonic tribes. Therefore, we shall not try to reconstruct the Croats' earliest history,[5] nor to specify the relations between several tribes of the same name dwelling in different territories.

"Nestor" says very little about the Croats. But all the most important details that he gives about them are borne out by other sources: a) There were two distinct groups of Croats. One, "Nestor" calls the White Croats, while not adding any epithet in the case of the other group. b) He indicates two different territories in speaking of their settlements, including the White Croats in the Moravo-Czech group,[6] and locating the other Croats along the eastern Carpathians, as follows indirectly from the text of the Chronicle.[7]

Some scholars believe that the Croats lived not only in the basin of the upper Dniester, but also in that of the upper Vistula,[8] and they base their argument chiefly on the work of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, although, in

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[1] Cross, p. 141.

[2] See Appendix: "The Territory of the Ulichians."

[3] See Appendix: "The Lyakhs and the Origin of the Radimichians and Vyatichians."

[4] Although certain archaeologists—e.g. P. Zasurtsev, Slavyanskie poseleniya v Moldavii, *KSDPI* XXVII, 1949, pp. 102—3; Rabota slavyano—dnestrovskoi ekspeditsii, *IAN* VII (6), 1950, p. 579; G. Fedorov, Slavyane Podnestrovya, *VAN*, 1952 (2), pp. 92—101—assert that in the period under consideration Slavonic settlements extended as far as the lower reaches of the Danube, there are no convincing arguments in support of this conjecture.

[5] Many papers have been written on the name and descent of the Croats, and diverse suppositions have been put forward by A. Brückner, J. Brutskus, F. Dvornik, L. Geitler, H. Grégoire, L. Gumplowicz, L. Hauptmann, H. Howorth, V. Jagić, A. Meillet, L. Niederle, J. Peisker, J. Perwolf, F. Ramous, S. Sakac, A. Sobolevsky, A. Vaillant, M. Vasmer, G. Vernadsky, N. Zupanić, and others.

[6] After the Slavs had left the banks of the Danube, "some of them came and settled by the river Morava, and were named Moravians, while others were called Czechs. Among these same Slavs are included the White Croats, the Serbs, and the Khorutanians." Cross, p. 138. On the subject of the Croats of Bohemia, see E. Simek, Dúdlebi, Volynané, Lucané, Cesti Chorvaté a Cechové, *SA* I, 1948, pp. 365—6; M. Vach, Cesti Charvati, *CCH*, L, 1947—9, pp. 129—52; G. Labuda, *Pierwsze państwo słowiańskie, Państwo Samona*, 1949, pp. 214—5.

[7] See Appendix: "The Croat Territory."

[8] G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, 1946, p. 326 (map); T. Lewicki, Państwo Wiślan-Chorwatów w opisie al-Masudi'ego, *SPAU* XLIX (1), 1948, pp. 24—34; F. Bujak, Państwo i naród polski w XI w., in a collective work: *Studia z dziejów kultury polskiej*, 1949, pp. 35—6; F. Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*, 1949, pp. 18, 64, 81, 199, 270, etc.

my opinion, the text of that author does not justify any such conjecture,[1] and the other sources contradict it directly.[2] Even more improbable are the surmises of those historians who regard the White Croats as an East Slavonic tribe and quote " Nestor " as their authority,[3] although the Kievan Chronicle, as has been shown above, enumerates the White Croats among the Moravo-Czech group of Slavs.

Is it admissible to number the Croats of the eastern Carpathian foothills among the Eastern Slavs ?

Those among scholars who favour such a conjecture use two arguments. The first is the passage of the Kiev Chronicle already discussed in the foregoing pages, which mentions the Croats among the six tribes living together in peace.[4] The Radimichians and the Vyatichians figure in this list, although the author of the *Povest* does not consider them to be " Slavs " (" Eastern

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[1] J. Moravcsik-R. Jenkins, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus. De Administrando Imperio*, 1949, pp. 142—53. We learn from these texts that the White Croats lived in the vicinity of the Franks (the Germans), that they were subject to the Emperor Otto I, that they bordered on the Lusatian Serbs, etc. All these details cannot refer to Cracow, still less to lands situated further East.

Constantine mentions Pecheneg raids on the Croats. It is difficult to image those nomads of the steppe as threatening Cracow. Scholars have assumed that they were in Hungarian service, but the Byzantine Emperor treats the Pechenegs as a political and military power, independent of the Hungarians. These conjectures, therefore, are without foundation. But things become clear if we assume that a number of details, such as Croat-Hungarians contiguity across the mountains, Pecheneg raids, etc., relate to the Croats settled on the upper reaches of the Dniester. In my opinion, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, misled by the identity of name and by the fact that both the White Croats and the Eastern Croats were part of the Great Moravian Empire, confuses the Croats of the Carpathian foot-hills with the Croats of Bohemia. T. Lehr-Spławiński, Z rozważań nad zagadnieniem Chorwatów nadwiślańskich, *SPAU* LI (1), 1950, pp. 18—20, has pertinently remarked that if we limit ourselves to the data contained in Constantine's work, we can look upon the problem of the Croats on the banks of the Vistula as quite irrelevant.

[2] The supposition that the Croats lived in the region of Cracow is contradicted by a long series of sources. King Alfred's Description of Germany, in the 9th century, speaks of Croats (*Horithi*) independently of the land of the Vistula (*Visleland*). J. Bosworth, *A Literal Translation of King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of the Compendious History of the World by Orosius*, 1855, p. 37; H. Geidel, Alfred der Grosse als Geograph, *MGS* XV, 1904, pp. 25—99; K. Malone, King Alfred's North, *Sp* V, 1930, pp. 139—67. The privilege allegedly granted by the Emperor Henry IV, in 1086, to the Bishopric of Prague, though a forgery, is based on trustworthy foundations, such as some older text, and treats the region of Cracow as something apart from the land of the Croats, *CDERB* I, 1904—7, N 86, pp. 92—5. Also in the Hebrew book, Yosippon, of the 10th century, we find the Croats contrasted with Cracow. M. Gaster, The Chronicles of Jerahmeel, *Oriental Translation Fund*, New Series IV 1899 p. 77; J. Flusser, Zpráva o Slovanech v hebrejské kronice z konce X stol., *CCH*, 1949, p. 239. Master Vincent, who is so important a source for the history of southern Poland, writes a great deal about Cracow, but he speaks of the Croat territory as quite distinct from the region of Cracow.

The sources state that the banks of the upper Vistula were inhabited by the tribe of the Vistulians. E. Modelski, Z onomastyki i terminologii średniowiecznej, *KH*, 1920, p. 23, pertinently remarked that there is no room for the Croats in the region of the upper course of the Vistula, and his arguments are supported by J. Widajewicz, *Początki Polski*, 1948, pp. 32—3, and G. Labuda, *Pierwsze państwo słowiańskie*, 1949, pp. 209, 214. T. Lehr-Spławiński, Zagadnienie Chorwatów nadwiślańskich, *PS* II, 1951, 25—6, assumes that the Croats lived on the upper Vistula earlier than the Vistulians.

[3] V. Picheta, Konets vekovomu raschleneniyu ukrainskogo i belorusskogo narodov, *IZ* VI, 1940, p. 3; *idem*, Obrazovanie polskogo gosudarstva, *SS*, 1947, p. 46; *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*, special volume: Soyuz Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik, 1947, p. 303; V. Mavrodin, Ocherk istorii drevnei Rusi, in *Istoriya kultury drevnei Rusi*, by several hands, I, 1948, p. 16.

[4] Cross, p. 141.

Slavs " according to present day terminology).[1] The whole of this passage is not concerned with the question of tribal origin. Moreover, we do not know what the author has in mind when he speaks of peaceful relations.

The second argument put forward is the Croats' participation in Oleg's expedition against the Greeks in 907, as testified by " Nestor."[2] Some scholars question the reality of such an expedition against Constantinople. But even if we assume that it did take place and that the author of the *Povest* has preserved reliable information concerning the Croats, what would follow ? Only that Oleg first conquered the Croats and then forced them to take part in the expedition. This, however, does not imply anything concerning the origin of the tribe. It should be remembered that " Nestor " depicts, as serving under Oleg's command in 907, not only Slav tribes, but also non-Slav, such as the Varangians, Chuds, Merians, etc.

The weakness of both these arguments is obvious.[3] And if we further take into consideration the fact that the *Povest* does not mention the Croats together with the " Slavonic " (" Eastern Slavonic ") group of tribes,[4] nor among those who developed strong tribal organizations,[5] nor yet among the Slavs of the Russian faith,[6] then we must conclude that there is no foundation in the sources for numbering the Croats among the Eastern Slavs. Many scholars shared this opinion, and omitted to mention the Croats when enumerating the tribes belonging to the Eastern Slav group.[7]

At the same time it should be stated that the term " Croats " undoubtedly referred to a Slavonic people.[8] The Balkan Croats were Slavs, and " Nestor " regards the White Croats as Slavs of the Moravo-Czech group. The undeniable fact remains, that the Croats, in the 10th century, belonged to the Piast realm, as is shown in Chapter IV. Likhachev enumerates the Croats along with all the other Polish tribes.[9] It should be remembered

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[1] Cross, p. 141.
[2] *Ibidem*, p. 149.
[3] Under A.D. 942, " Nestor " alludes in general terms to the expedition of Simeon of Bulgaria against the Croats. Cross, p. 158 ; but from this no conclusion can be drawn concerning the origin of the Croats.
[4] Cross, p. 138.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 139—40.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 140.
[7] L. Niederle, Najdawniejszy podział Słowian na szczepy, in *Początki kultury słowiańskiej*, by several hands, 1912, pp. 29—30 ; D. Zelenin, *Russische (ostslavische) Volkskunde*, 1927, p. 4 ; A. Orlov, *Drevnyaya russkaya literatura*, 1939, pp. 12—3. On the map attached to the translation of the Chronicle of "Nestor" and entitled : *The Eastern Slavs*, Cross does not insert the Croats ; but in his work *Slavic Civilization through the Ages*, 1948, p. 47, he enumerates them among the " Eastern Slavs." T. Lehr-Spławiński, Stosunki pokrewieństwa języków ruskich, *RS* IX (1), 1921, p. 41 and J. Widajewicz, *Początki Polski*, 1948, p. 33, also consider the idea that the Croats were " Eastern Slavs " as doubtful.
[8] The opinion prevailing among historians is that the Croats were originally not Slavs. Yet it is accepted that they mixed with the Slav element over which they ruled and to which they gave their name.
[9] D. Likhachev, *Povest Vremennykh Let* II, 1950, p. 213. Master Vincent relates that Bolesław the Great conquered the Hungarians, Croats, and Pechenegs. It might be concluded from such an enumeration of peoples that the Croats were as foreign to Poland as were the Hungarians and Pechenegs. But the same chronicler also repeats after " Gallus " a characteristic remark on the northern neighbours of Poland. " Gallus " says : " Ad mare autem septemtrionale vel amphitrionale (Polonia) tres habet affines barbarorum gentilium ferocissimas naciones, Selenciam, Pomoraniam, et Pruziam, contra quos regiones Polonorum dux assidue

that the Croats disappeared from the stage of history early in the 11th century,[1] that is at a time when the contrasts and differences between the Eastern and Western Slavs became increasingly marked.

It is impossible to say with any certainty whether the Croats continued to exist on their territory,[2] or whether they were pushed into other territories by the pressure of the steppe nomads.

The next problem which presents itself concerns tribal conditions in the region of the Bug, a tributary of the Vistula.

"Nestor" mentions as inhabitants of this territory: the Dulebians, the Buzhians, and the Volynians. The first two tribes appear only in the introduction to the *Povest*; the Dulebians, furthermore, are supposed to have taken part in the expedition of Oleg against Constantinople, A.D. 907.[3]

The poverty of our sources favours the rise of many contradictory conjectures. Some scholars affirm that the Dulebians, Buzhians, and Volynians constitute one tribe.[4] Others identify the Buzhians and Volynians,[5] still others the Buzhians and Dulebians,[6] or the Dulebians and Volynians.[7] All this guesswork is based on the supposition that tribes changed their names. But we cannot hope to explain conditions of a period now grown dim by assuming quite unusual developments. And the change of tribal names, fixed by tradition, belongs to the category of such unusual

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pugnat . . ." From this passage it might follow that the Pomeranians were completely foreign to the Poles, as foreign as the Prussians. And yet "Nestor" numbers the Pomeranians among the Lyakhs. Witnesses from Pomerania who, in the 14th century, testify before the Papal commissioners, state that the population of Pomerania speaks the same language and belongs to the same nation as the other Poles; cf. *Lites ac res gestae inter Polonos Ordinemque Cruciferorum* I, 1890.

1 "Nestor" speaks of the Croats for the last time under A.D. 992; Master Vincent does so in connection with the reign of Bolesław the Great (992—1025), but without mentioning a precise date.

2 Proceeding from an anthropological point of view, Czekanowski supposes that the Huculs, resident in the foot-hills of the eastern Carpathians, are perhaps descended from the Croats. Cf. J. Czekanowski, *Polska-Słowiańszczyzna, Perspektywy antropologiczne*, 1948, pp. 314—5. See also, J. Janów, Uwagi o gwarach huculskich, *STNL*, 1928, pp. 51—9; S. Hrabec, Nazwy geograficzne Huculszczyzny, *PO* II, 1950.

3 Cross, pp. 140—1, 149.

4 N. Barsov, *Ocherki*, pp. 85—6; M. Hrushevsky, *Istoriya Ukraini-Rusi* I, pp. 180—1; R. Jakimowicz, Szlak wyprawy kijowskiej Bolesława Chrobrego w świetle archeologii, *RW* III, 1934, pp. 15—6; N. Derzhavin, Ob etnogeneze drevneishikh narodov dneprovsko-dunaiskogo basseina, *VDI*, 1939 (1), p. 285; *Naris istorii Ukraini*, by several hands, 1942, p. 25; T. Lehr-Spławiński, Początki Słowian, *BSSUJ*, 1946, p. 48; L. Białkowski, Początki dziejowe Słowiańszczyzny wschodniej, *RHKUL* I, 1949, p. 10; D. Likhachev, *Povest* II, 1950, p. 222, and others.

5 L. Niederle, *Najdawniejszy podział*, pp. 29—30; A. Orlov, *Drevnyaya russkaya literatura*, pp. 12—31; N. Derzhavin, *Proiskhozhdenie russkogo naroda*, pp. 47—8; *idem*, *Slavyane v drevnosti*, p. 25; *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*. Special volume: Soyuz Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik, 1947, p. 303, etc.

6 D. Zelenin, *Russische (ostslavische) Volkskunde*, p. 4; B. Włodarski, Wołyń pod rządami Rurykowiczów i Bolesława Jerzego Trojdenowicza, *RW* III, 1934, pp. 107—8; G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, p. 321; *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya* VII, 1927, pp. 807—8, etc.

7 B. Grekov, Obrazovanie russkogo gosudarstva, *IAN* II (3), 1945, p. 136; P. Lyashchenko, *Istoriya narodnogo khozyaistva SSSR* I, 1947, p. 49; V. Mavrodin, Osnovnye etapy etnicheskogo razvitiya russkogo naroda, *Vol*, 1950 (4), p. 58; Ya. Rudnitsky, Nazvi "Galíchina" i "Volin", *O* III, 1952, pp. 18, 28—9.

events. Shakhmatov asserts that these three names designate three different tribes which, at different times, lived on the banks of the same river.[1]

" Nestor " indicates that the Dulebians lived on the Bug, " where now the Volynians live."[2] The chronicler distinctly opposes the Dulebians to the Volynians by stressing that they lived in the same territory, but not at the same time, i.e., that the Dulebians occupied this territory before the Volynians. It is not clear from this text whether the Dulebians still existed at the time of " Nestor " or had emigrated to other areas.

In any case, conjectures resulting in the identification of the Dulebians with the Volynians are not admissible, as they are contradicted by the text of the *Povest*. Lekhnitsky has pointed out that in speaking of the Dulebians the chronicler uses the expression : " lived " (*zhivyakhu*), while, when treating of other tribes, he says : " settled " (*sedosta* or *sedosha*), and thence draws the conclusion that the Dulebians were not a fixed population, but only temporarily lived on the Bug as nomads.[3] One thing is certain, in later times than those with which this study deals the Dulebians were no longer on the Bug.

Many scholars took this view, and that is why they transferred this tribe to other territories. The foundation of such conjectures are the place-names which in any way resemble the word *Duleby*. This method is very risky and misleading. Orlov and Derzhavin think that the Dulebians, some time in the 9th century, found their way into Dregovichian territory, between the Pripet and the Dvina.[4] Dvornik locates them either in the region of Minsk or in the Carpathian foot-hills.[5] Grekov also places the Dulebians in the sub-Carpathian zone,[6] and even assigns Przemyśl to their territory.[7] Vernadsky is of the opinion that a part of the Dulebians passed into Hungary or, more precisely, into the basin of the upper Tisa.[8] Simek supposes that the Dulebians emigrated into Bohemia because there a tribe with a similar name existed, *Dudleby*, *Doudlebi*.[9] Jakimowicz points out that places named Duliby, or with names derived from this, were known

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[1] A. Shakhmatov, K voprosu ob obrazovanii russkikh narechii i russkikh narodnostei, *ZMNP*, 1899, p. 19. The same problem is solved in yet another fashion by R. Jakimowicz, Okres wczesnohistoryczny. Prehistoria ziem polskich, *EPPAU* IV (1), 1939—48, p. 418. This scholar thinks that the Buzhians lived by the side of the Volynians, and as for the Dulebians, they never were on the Bug. They were located there as a consequence of the misinterpretation of a chronicler's entry. The opinion of Jakimowicz is shared by G. Labuda, Okres " wspólnoty " słowiańskiej, *SA* I, 1948, p. 205.

[2] Cross, p. 141. G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, p. 321, shares Barsov's opinion that the allusion to the Volynians, in connection with the territory inhabited by the Dulebians, is not from " Nestor's " hand, but has been added by later copyists. It is difficult to accept this conjecture, which is not based on any argument, because the Kievan chronicler, when describing past events, continuously refers to his own times.

[3] M. Lekhnitsky, *Istoriko-kriticheskii ocherk o sushchestvennom znachenii i proiskhozhdenii imeni Slovyane ili Slavyane . . . po letopisi Nestora*, 1896, p. 17.

[4] A Orlov, *Drevnyaya russkaya literatura*, pp. 12—3 ; N. Derzhavin, *Slavyane v drevnosti*, p. 25.

[5] F. Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*, p. 283.

[6] B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus*, p. 252.

[7] *Idem*, Na zare russkogo gosudarstva, *IsZ*, 1942 (7), p. 30.

[8] G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, p. 190.

[9] E. Simek, *Dúdlebi*, p. 349.

later in central Russia.[1] In a word, the material is so fluid and uncertain that there is no possibility of deciding what was the later fate of the Dulebians.

It would appear to follow from the well-known passage in " Nestor " concerning the Avars and the Dulebians, mentioned in connection with events occurring during the 6th and 7th centuries, that the Dulebians were Slavs.[2] Yet when describing very remote epochs the chronicler very often uses the term " Slavs " not only for designating the " Eastern Slavs ", but also in referring to the tribes which were in time to become Czechs, Poles, etc.[3] Therefore, when some distant epoch is being described, we cannot attach too great importance to this statement.

" Nestor " furthermore mentions the Dulebians in connection with the fact of their bordering on the Croats,[4] but produces no more exact date concerning the time when these tribes were neighbours. Therefore, there are not sufficient grounds for drawing the conclusion that the Dulebians lived as long on the Bug as did the Croats in the Carpathian foot-hills. The assertion that both tribes took part in Oleg's expedition against the Greeks in the year 907 is so vague that we can base no conjectures upon it.

On no list of Eastern Slavs contained in the *Povest* do the Dulebians ever figure,[5] and we must say that the reasons for this are fairly obvious. This tribe disappeared from the banks of the Bug at a time when there was as yet no question of any differences between Eastern and Western Slavs. And most important of all, " Nestor " does not consider the Bug region as Eastern Slavonic territory, a subject that is treated at greater length in the pages to follow. In conclusion, there are no foundations for numbering the Dulebians among the Eastern Slavs.

It is undeniable that we know exceedingly little about the tribe in question, but the supposition that it conquered its near and distant neighbours before founding a powerful State is extremely unlikely.[6]

Let us now consider the past and the destiny of the Buzhians. " Nestor " says of them: " . . . the Buzhians (went by that name) because they lived on the Bug, later Volynians (*buzhane, zane sedosha po Bugu, poslezhe zhe velynyane*). This is the only passage in the Chronicle relating to this tribe, and it allows of a twofold interpretation: a) The territories

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[1] R. Jakimowicz, *Szlak wyprawy kijowskiej*, p. 21.

[2] Cross, p. 140.

[3] Certain students of the subject, such as Westberg and Presnyakov, think that " Nestor's " references to the Avars and Dulebians concern the Bohemian Dulebians, not those who lived on the Bug. G. Labuda, *Pierwsze państwo słowiańskie*, pp. 183—4, refers to Dulebians settled in the basin of the Danube. In one word, it is difficult to establish, with any degree of exactness, to what Slavonic group these Dulebians should be referred.

[4] Cross, p. 141.

[5] B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus*, p. 252 asserts that " the Russian Chronicle, in its list of Eastern Slavonic tribes, knows the Russian tribe of Dulebians." The quoted source contradicts this assertion. The author in question refers to a proverb that had been preserved in Rus. But the proverb alluded to the Avars, not to the Dulebians. " The Avars were large of stature and proud of spirit, and God destroyed them. They all perished, and not one Avar survived. There is, to this day, a proverb in Rus which runs: They perished like the Avars." Cross, p. 141.

[6] See Appendix: " The Dulebian League."

where the Buzhians lived of old were later occupied by the Volynians, and we have to do with two different tribes. b) There was only one tribe which first called itself Buzhians, and later Volynians.[1]

Hrushevsky (and with him many other scholars) thinks that the name " Buzhians " was derived from Busk or Buzhsk.[2] There is no doubt that the Volynians took their name from the city of Volyn, also situated on the Bug.[3] In this case we should have to assume, as do many writers on the subject, that both names were not tribal but provincial. Things evolved in a similar fashion on the Dnieper and elsewhere. In place of the " Polyanians " we encounter in the chronicles the " Kievans ", in place of the " Severians ", the "Chernihovians", etc. There are, therefore, two possible alternatives; either the Buzhians lived on the head waters of the Bug, at Busk, or else they had no exclusive connection with that city, and were spread far and wide along the banks of the river.

Which of the two possibilities is the more probable ?

There can be no doubt that it is the second. When Hrushevsky traces the origin of the name of Buzhians from Busk, he distorts the text of " Nestor ", as the chronicler clearly states that the name of the Buzhians derives from the river Bug. Provincial names sprang up through the formation of principalities carved out of the ancient tribal territories. In these principalities particular descendants of the house of Rurik were established. But in the Bug region there was no dynastic factor capable of breaking up the old tribal territory. Moreover, the appearance of provincial appellations in the East is a secondary development much later in time than the period we are considering in the Bug country.

If we read the text of the *Povest* with necessary attention, we come to the conclusion that " Nestor " treats the name " Buzhians " as a tribal appellation. To the tribal names the chronicler is in the habit of adding geographical commentaries, by which he indicates the territories occupied by the different tribes. He does nothing of the kind in the case of names derived from cities, such as " Turovians ", " Ryazanians ", " Smolenians " etc., as here the geographical connections were obvious.

" Nestor " tells us where the Buzhians lived and why they bore this name. He does not say as much about the Volynians, although he knows very well where the city of Wołyń was situated.[4] It follows that the term " Volynians " had a narrower sense, and referred to a particular district. Thus, the passage under consideration clearly indicates that the name " Buzhians " is used here with a broad meaning. That a Buzhian tribe did exist is confirmed by the " Bavarian Geographer," in the 9th century, who

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[1] This last interpretation is put on our text by Cross, p. 140: " . . . the Buzhians, who . . . were later called Volynians." " Nestor's " text is similarly understood by V. Lebedev—V. Panov, *Drevnerusskie letopisi*, 1936, p. 10, and by D. Likhachev, *Povest* I, p. 209, II p. 222.

[2] M. Hrushevsky, *Istoriya Ukraini-Rusi* I, pp. 181—2.

[3] The city of Wołyń (Volyn) was situtated on the right bank of the Bug, opposite the mouth of the river Huczwa.

[4] " 1018 . . . Yaroslav marched forth against Boleslav (of Poland) and upon arriving at Volyn, they camped on both sides of the river Bug . . . " Cross, pp. 220—1. Wołyń (Volyn) is also mentioned by the *Povest* under 1077; Cross, p. 225.

wrote of a tribe of *Busani*.[1] The text of "Nestor" quoted above should therefore be translated as follows: ". . . the Buzhians (were thus called) because they lived on the Bug, and later the Volynians (were derived from them)."

All our further negative observations, considered against the background of the Chronicle as a whole, confirm us in our opinion. If we assumed that the Buzhians lived only at the head waters of the Bug, they would be only a small, relatively unimportant tribe. However, "Nestor" is interested only in large tribal units. If the Buzhians had lived between the Bug and some other river, the chronicler would undoubtedly have circumscribed their territory by the courses of these rivers, as he proceeds to do in analogous cases.[2] If the Buzhians were settled in the region of Busk, and the Volynians in that of Wołyń (Volyn),[3] "Nestor" would locate them both on the Bug, as he locates, for instance, a number of Finnish tribes on the Oka.[4] The chronicler expressly speaks of the Krivichians as living on the headwaters of the Volga, Dvina and Dnieper.[5] He would therefore make a similar remark if the Buzhians lived only around the source of the Bug. Since, however, this tribe was so strongly linked with the river that it took its name from it, we must acknowledge that the Buzhians lived along a large stretch of the river Bug.

Shakhmatov supposed that the mention of the Buzhians was not from the hand of "Nestor", but was an addition of a later copyist. This is by no means likely. All the Slavonic tribes mentioned in this passage of the Chronicle, which contains an enumeration of those who profess the faith of Rus, have been previously located. As for the Buzhians, the author introduces them here into his work for the first and only time, and it is quite natural that he should add a geographical commentary, as is his habit.

Now, a further observation: The chronicler could not well mention the Volynians beside the Polyanians, Derevlians, Severians, etc., and place tribal and provincial terminology side by side. A reference to the Buzhians became a necessity through the very nature of the text. And yet the derivation of the name from that of a city also finds its justification. The original territory of the Buzhians was torn asunder and divided between the Piasts and the Rurikides as a consequence of their political antagonism. A territorial, more accurate name was necessary to the chronicler, as corresponding more accurately with the idea he wished to express.[6]

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[1] S. Zakrzewski, *Opis terytoriów*, p. 4. Furthermore Conrad, Prince of Mazovia, mentions the Buzhians in one of his documents, of the year 1228—32, *CDCMG* I, No. 267, p. 291.

[2] The Dregovichians lived "between the Pripet and the Dvina", the Ulichians and Tivertsians "by the Dniester, and extended as far as the Danube." Cross, pp. 138, 141, etc.

[3] Such is the erroneous opinion of V. Gitermann, *Geschichte Russlands* I, 1949, p. 33 (map). Nor are the conjectures of Macùrek acceptable according to which there were three tribes on the territory in question: the Buzhians, Volynians, and Luchians; see J. Macùrek, *Dejiny východních slovanu* I, 1947, p. 17 (map).

[4] "Along the river Oka . . . Muroma, the Cheremisians, and Mordva (dwell)." Cross, p. 140.

[5] ". . . the Krivichians . . . live at the head waters of the Volga, the Dvina, and the Dnieper." *ibid.*, p. 140.

[6] For the same reason "Nestor" introduces into his work the term "Cities of Czerwień (Cherven)" to designate the Buzhian territory on the left bank of the river Bug.

Did "Nestor" number the Buzhians among the Eastern Slavs? The Kievan Chronicle answers this question very distinctly, both in a negative and in an affirmative manner. The Buzhians do not occur in the enumeration of "Slavonic", i.e., "Eastern Slavonic" tribes.[1] They do figure among the tribes which profess the faith of Rus. But the adherence of the Buzhians to Rus in this sense conveys nothing as regards their ethnical character. Greeks, Varangians, Finns, and others were also "Rus". In this enumeration of followers of Eastern Christianity one detail is noteworthy: Six of the tribes enumerated, the Polyanians, Derevlians, Severians, Dregovichians, Polochians, and the Slavs of Novgorod, are always alluded to by the chronicler as "Slavs", i.e., according to present-day terminology, as "Eastern Slavs." Now, in the passage which we are studying he does not use the term "Slavs", but "Slavonic *yaz̆yk*,"[2] thus adopting an expression of wider scope, which covers all the Slavs, including those of the West. The choice of this term could only be due to the necessity of including the Buzhians. It appears that the chronicler did not consider them as "Slavs", i.e., as "Eastern Slavs." He treated the Radimichians and the Vyatichians in a similar fashion.

In addition to Busk and Wołyń, the Buzhians had yet other cities, and among them, Czerwień (Cherven).[3] The proximity of Czerwień to the Bug excluded the existence of any different tribe on the banks of that river.[4]

To whom, then, did Czerwień belong? When recounting the ex-

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[1] Cross, pp. 138—40.

[2] "And this only is the Slav *yaz̆yk* in Rus (only this Slav *yaz̆yk* professes the faith of Rus): the Polyanians, the Derevlians, the people of Novgorod, the Polochians, the Dregovichians, the Severians, and the Buzhians." Cross, p. 140, gives a defective translation.

[3] Czerwień was situated between Bełz and the later town of Chełm; it lay, probably, in the territory of Czermno, on the Huczwa. At no great distance was the city of Wołyń (Volyn), where the Huczwa flows into the Bug. Cf. S. Cercha, Gdzie znajdowały się Grody Czerwieńskie? *Litwa i Ruś* III, 1912, pp. 21—40, 166—85; *idem*, Chełmszczyzna—ziemią Grodów Czerwieńskich, *Świat słowiański* I, 1913, pp. 261—71. The Cities of Czerwień comprised a territory situated on the left bank of the Bug. However, many scholars apply the name also to the basin of the upper Dniester which used to be called Red Rus. They believe that this appellation was derived from Czerwień. See S. Yushkov, *Istoriya gosudarstva i prava SSSR* I, 1947, p. 145; N. Vakar, The Name "White Russia", *ASEER* VIII, 1949, p. 203; R. Smal-Stocky, The Origin of the Word "Rus", *Sl* VI, 1949, p. 14; *idem*, *Slavs and Teutons, The Oldest Germanic—Slavic Relations*, 1950, p. 99, and others. Such an opinion cannot be maintained. W. Semkowicz, Geograficzne podstawy Polski Chrobrego, *KH*, 1925, pp. 309—10, rightly declared himself against this conception, and pointed out that the notion of Red Rus, with which Czerwień used to be linked, is of a much later provenance and originated in the 15th century, while Czerwień ceased to exist in the 12th century. I do not know the study by I. Chrząszcz, Terytorium i ludność Grodów Czerwieńskich, *STNL* XVIII, 1938—9. See also Z. Wartołowska, Nowe odkrycia na Grodzie Czerwieńskim Sutiejsk, *STNW* XL, 1949, pp. 36—8; Z. Rajewski, Grody Czerwieńskie na warsztacie archeologów i historyków polskich, in *Nauka polska* I, 1953, pp. 195—7.

[4] Certain scholars, such as Marquart, assume the existence of a Chervian tribe, although "Nestor" knows nothing of its existence. They base their hypothesis entirely on the so-called Bavarian Geographer, who mentions the tribal name *Zerivani*, besides others sounding somewhat alike: *Verizani*, *Zuiverani*, *Nerivani*, etc. The "Bavarian Geographer" contains many distorted names. That *Zerivani* should signify Chervians is a very unlikely conjecture.

This term has also been commented upon in another way. Certain students, such as S. Zakrzewski, located this tribe on the Danube; others, among them K. Tymieniecki, in West Pomerania; others still, among whom J. Otrębski might be mentioned, were of the opinion that this name was a phonetic connotation of the Serbs or of the Severians: Zerivani, Zerviani, Serviani, Serbiani, etc.

pedition of Vladimir the Great in 981, the Kievan chronicler says: "Vladimir marched upon the (Poles) Lyakhs (*k Lyakhom*)[1] and took their cities: Peremyshl, Cherven, and other towns . . ."[2] And in 1031, Vladimir's sons, "Yaroslav and Mstislav collected a large force and marched into Poland (*na Lyakhy*)". "Nestor" says clearly that the expedition was aimed at the Cities of Czerwień. During this invasion, both princes "ravaged the Polish countryside (*povoevasha Lyadskuyu zemlyu*). They also captured many Poles (*Lyakhy*) and distributed them as colonists in various districts."[3]

It is impossible to define more distinctly the ethnical character of the Buzhian tribe.

And yet another detail deserves our attention. The Kievan chronicler notes that the Slavonic rite of S. S. Cyril and Methodius was followed by the Danubian Slavs, the Moravians, the Czechs, the Lyakhs or Poles, and the Polyanians on the Dnieper.[4] Now, it is known that the limits of the archdiocese of St. Methodius and those of the Moravian Empire, in the East, reached the Styr.[5] It is impossible to imagine that the missionary activity of the Apostles of the Slavs, which extended from the upper Vistula to Kiev, could omit tribes living on the way to the Dnieper. If the Styr is mentioned, the Buzhians were necessarily involved. If the *Povest* considered the Buzhians as Eastern Slavs as were, for example, the Polyanians on the Dnieper, the text which enumerates the followers of the Slavonic rite should have read: "The Moravians, the Czechs, the Lyakhs, the Buzhians, and the Polyanians."[6] Since "Nestor" considered the Lyakhs or Poles the nearest Christian neighbours of the Polyanians, and attributed to that term a supra-tribal meaning, it follows that under the name of Lyakhs he comprised also the Buzhians. This point of view of the Kievan chronicler is fully borne out by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the 10th century. This author states that the Pechenegs bordered on the Derevlians and Lyakhs.[7] The fact that he places the Derevlians and Lyakhs side by side, shows that the Byzantine Emperor numbered the Buzhians among the Poles, as the Buzhians lived territorially beside the Derevlians.

The problem touched on here is differently envisaged by Grekov. When describing the expedition of Vladimir the Great against the Lyakhs,

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[1] On the character and meaning of the term "Lyakhs" see Appendix: "The Lyakhs and the Origin of the Radimichians and Vyatichians."

[2] Cross, p. 182. The problem of "Peremyshl" is discussed in Chapter IV of the present work.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 225. H. Łowmiański, Problematyka historyczna Grodów Czerwieńskich, *KH*, 1953.

[4] Cross, p. 147.

[5] The Privilege of the Emperor Henry IV granted to the Bishopric of Prague, in 1086, indicates this. More is said on the subject in Chapter IV of the present work.

[6] We should not suppose that the Buzhians have been passed over in the quoted passage because they continued to be pagans. I would draw the reader's attention to another passage of the *Povest*, where the Christian customs of the Polyanians are contrasted with those of their pagan neighbours. Among these last figure the Derevlians, Severians, Radimichians, Vyatichians, Krivichians, "and the other pagans." Cross, pp. 141—2. These unmentioned pagans are the Dregovichians, the Polochians, and the Slavs of Novgorod, as the chronicler, in his enumeration, obviously followed the direction from South to North. If the Buzhians had been pagans, they should have figured here, especially as they were immediate neighbours of the Polyanians.

[7] See Appendix: "The Lyakhs and the Origin of the Radimichians and Vyatichians."

in 981, this author writes as follows: "When the chronicler says: and he took their cities (Peremyshl, Cherven, etc.), he means fortified cities, which were, as it seems, occupied by Polish garrisons and largely colonized by Poles, as a result of their endeavour to advance towards the East."[1]

In answer to this opinion, I venture to quote two passages from the *Povest*. The first concerns the taking over of a new territory by the Varangians.

"862. He (Rurik) assigned cities to his followers, Polotsk to one, Rostov to another, and to another Beloozero. In these cities there are thus Varangian colonists, but the first settlers were, in Novgorod, Slavs; in Polotsk, Krivichians; at Beloozero, Ves; in Rostov, Merians; and in Murom, Muromians. Rurik had dominion over all these districts."[2]

"981. Vladimir marched upon the Lyakhs and took their cities: Peremyshl, Cherven, and other towns, all of which are subject to Rus even to this day."[3]

From this juxtaposition, one can see that the chronicler is careful to note when foreign elements were introduced into the cities of conquered tribes, and knows full well who were the original inhabitants of a territory. If events had followed the pattern suggested by Grekov, some allusion to a former conquest of foreign territories by the Poles would have imposed itself on the chronicler, all the more so as all his connections were with Kiev, not with Poland.

Now, there is nothing of the sort in the entry for the year 981. When relating the conquest by Vladimir of a number of cities, "Nestor" adds: "all of which are subject to Rus even to this day", thus clearly intimating that the incorporation of these lands in the Kiev State took place as a consequence of the conquest achieved in 981.[4]

And one more comment. When the sons of Vladimir the Great, in 1031, undertake an expedition against Poland, in order to retrieve the Kievan losses of 1018, the chronicler says: "They recaptured the cities of Cherven" (*i zayasta grady chervenskyya opyat*),[5] which shows that he was capable of defining the situation with perfect clarity when there was a question of regaining a lost territory. But he uses no such expression with reference to the year 981. There is no doubt that Vladimir's campaign of 981 was the first achievement of the rulers of Kiev on a grand scale and

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[1] B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus*, p. 274. Grekov's opinion is shared by N. Riasanovsky, Old Russia, The Soviet Union, and Eastern Europe, *ASEER* XI (3), 1952, p. 175.

[2] Cross, p. 145.

[3] Cross, p. 182.

[4] S. Kuczyński, O wyprawie Włodzimierza W. ku Lachom roku 981, *SPAU* LII (4), 1951, pp. 320–1, thinks that the expedition of Vladimir, just mentioned, was not of a warlike but of a peaceful character. This surmise is explicitly contradicted by "Nestor's" text.

[5] Cross, p. 225.

of a durable character, as a part of the conquered territory was retained by them for nearly forty years.[1]

If we now consider the line of action which is followed whenever Vladimir the Great and his successors conquer a tribe, we shall always find the same things repeating themselves; the chief tribal cities become centres of government for the conquerors, here the prince's sons or his governors are established, and if a territory is especially difficult to control, new cities arise which are at the same time outward signs of the military superiority of the conqueror over the conquered. These cities generally receive the names of the Rurikides. The new names symbolize and express the new order of things.[2]

This is precisely what happened in the territory of the Buzhians. The Kievans broke with the old tribal traditions, rapidly reduced the ancient city of Wołyń on the Bug to a subordinate rank, and founded a new fortified town named Vladimir, after their ruler.[3] Here the dukes of Kiev established their sons, here they erected a Bishopric, here they created the chief political centre for the entire region.

The three facts we have mentioned: the foundation of a new capital, as well as of other towns,[4] its name, and position,[5] all show that Vladimir

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[1] This expedition of Vladimir, however, is not the beginning of the conquests of Norse Rus in the lands of eastern Poland. Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions in the middle of the 10th century the Lenzenines—Lyakhs among the peoples subject to Rus. It follows that Vladimir, in 981, was, after some scores of years, resuming the endeavours of his ancestors to extend their sway to the West, an object hitherto attained only temporarily, and in an insufficient degree.

A hostile attitude towards the foreign conquerors who came from Scandinavia was adopted both by the Eastern Slavs, (among whom the Derevlians for instance put up a determined resistance as is testified by "Nestor",) and by the Lyakhs. The latter could have been reduced by the Norsemen for a short time only. Since Igor and Olga had to carry on a long and desperate war against the Derevlians, there is little likelihood, on geographical grounds, if on no others, that they would have been able to keep the Buzhians in subjection. Olga's son, Svyatoslav, left only Derevlian territory to his descendants; obviously, he did not possess any Polish country.

What then induced Rus to undertake the conquest of Polish lands? In my opinion, economic reasons, for they played a decisive role in the entire expansion of the Norsemen in eastern Europe. The Kiev *Paterikon* relates that there was scarcity of salt in "the whole of Rus" when it had not been brought from Przemyśl and Halicz; cf. P. Lyashchenko, *Istoriya narodnogo khozyaistva SSSR* I, 1947, p. 209. These conditions existed not only in the 12th century, but also earlier. F. Bujak, *Studia geograficzno-historyczne*, 1925, pp. 260—8, pertinently points out that at this time obstinate wars were waged in Europe for the possession of territories which contained salt. The production of salt was a source of enormous income. The salt deposits in the region of Cracow contributed largely to the fact that Cracow became for centuries the capital of Poland. Bujak shows that in the 14th century the land tax in the entire Polish State brought in only half as much as the salt mines of Cracow.

[2] Vladimir the Great, or his descendant Vladimir Monomakh (d. 1126), founded Vladimir on the Klyazma, in the Volga region. The person of the founder is of minor importance, as we are only concerned with the system adopted by Kievan rulers for consolidating their domination over conquered territories. Yaroslav the Wise founded Yaroslavl on the Volga. Having vanquished the Finnish tribe of Chud, he erected the city of Yurev, in 1030, etc.

[3] The wooden castle built by Vladimir the Great, on the emplacement of an old settlement, stood where the river Smocz flows into the Ług. Vladimir was about 15 miles distant from Wołyń.

[4] Dlugossius relates that Vladimir also founded the city of Łuck (Lutsk) which played an important role in later centuries. The same author has preserved a number of trustworthy indications in the field of historical geography concerning the territory in question. For instance, he supplies the most exact data concerning the ancient city of Wołyń, on the Bug. Łuck appears in the sources only after A.D. 1085, a date which would seem to be in accordance with

here proceeded to organize and consolidate his domination of a newly conquered territory. We are confirmed in this view by two further details, which are curious because they illustrate the attitude of the population in the Bug country towards the new-comers from the East.

We shall proceed here by analogy.

The inhabitants of the city of Vladimir, on the Klyazma, generally go under the name of *Vladimirtsy*, but on the western confines of the Kievan State this appellation is seldom to be met with. Although Vladimir the Great and his successors tried to wipe out the city of Wołyń, an endeavour in which they were eventually successful, the population of this territory, in spite of changed conditions, preserved its name of Volynians, thus stressing their connection with their old city.

Noteworthy information on the political tendencies of the population in question is also contained in the German Chronicle of Thietmar, dating from the early 11th century. When describing the Polish-Kievan war of 1018, this source states that Bolesław the Great after his victory on the Bug, "*optata prosperitate inimicos* (the armies of Yaroslav the Wise) *palantes insequitur et ab incolis omnibus suscipitur multisque muneribus honoratur.*"[1] The chronicler lays stress on the extraordinarily rapid march of the Poles from the Bug to Kiev,[2] a circumstance which indicates that Bolesław did not meet

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Dlugossius. Certain historians suppose that the territory of Łuck was, in the past, inhabited by a particular tribe, the Luchians. But the following considerations contradict this assumption: the name would be that of a district, not of a tribe; furthermore, "Nestor" knows nothing of such a tribe, and the small distance of Łuck from the Bug forbids the assumption of the presence there of another tribe besides the Buzhians; finally, had Łuck had a tribal tradition, its district would not have been named Volynia. P. Tretyakov, Rasselenie drevnerusskikh plemen po arkheologicheskim dannym, *SAr* IV, 1937, p. 43, expresses the opinion that the tribe of the Luchians disappeared in the 11th century, i.e., at the very time when Łuck begins to appear in the sources.

[5] Powerful fortresses were generally erected on large rivers. However, it is striking that Vladimir the Great was desirous of avoiding the line of the Bug. The position of Vladimir and of Łuck shows this. For if the princes of Kiev used the river routes of the Pripet and the Bug in their expeditions against Poland, as the sources testify, Polish counterstrokes starting from Mazovia could easily take place by way of the Bug. This caused the newly founded political centres to be removed further to the East.

[1] *SRG*, Nova series IX, 1935, pp. 528—32. It is difficult to suspect this German author of partiality for Poland, as he is, on the contrary, well known for his hatred of the Piast Kingdom. When describing Bolesław's expedition undertaken to establish at Kiev his son-in-law Svyatopolk, a son of Vladimir the Great, Thietmar emphasizes the friendly welcome received by the Polish armies, not by Svyatopolk. "Nestor" indirectly bears out Thietmar's account, as he does not say a word of any part taken by the Buzhians in the struggle against Poland, although military operations proceeded on their territory.

[2] The Polish armies marched through the country of the Buzhians into that of the Polyanians. The march started from Wołyń, on the Bug, and continued through Peresopnitsa, Kozhets, Radomysl, Zdvizhen, Belgorod on the river Irpen, and further on to the Dnieper. I quote the line of this march after R. Jakimowicz, Szlak wyprawy kijowskiej Bolesława Chrobrego, *RW* III, 1934, pp. 86—90. The same route, with irrelevant modifications, namely: Vladimir in Volynia, Łuck, Peresopnitsa, Ushomiezh, Kiev, is also known to the Arab geographer Idrisi. Cf. T. Lewicki, La voie Kiev-Vladimir (Włodzimierz Wołyński) d'après le géographe arabe du XII siècle, al-Idrisi, *RO* XIII, 1937, pp. 97—105. On the 22nd July, 1018, the Polish army reached the Bug. Later, a battle was fought on this river, followed by the march of the Polish army and the siege of Kiev. Finally, on the 14th August, Bolesław the Great entered the capital of Rus. The distance from the city of Wołyń to Kiev is about 250 miles as the crow flies. If we take into consideration the deviations rendered necessary by the terrain, we must conclude that the Polish warriors must have covered about 310 miles in scarcely 24 days.

with any resistance on the part of the local population.[1]

Grekov, without being able to quote a single source, puts forward the conjecture that foreign garrisons were stationed in the land of the Buzhians, as a force contrary to the traditions and the order of things prevailing there previously; our examination of the sources fully bears out his thesis, though giving to it a sense directly opposed to what he has in mind.

Let us now pass in review Grekov's further arguments concerning the population of the territory we are concerned with in the earliest historical period.

" Community of language, of historical tradition, of faith, pagan at first, later Christian, received from Byzantium, linked this country with Kievan Rus . . . Russian Law (*Pravda Russkaya*) was in force in the land of Halicz-Volynia, just as it was in other parts of the Kievan State. The Halicz-Volynian Chronicle is a branch of those of Kiev . . . It presents the same literary tradition and the same language. Art testifies to the same close connections of the Western Ukraine with the Kievan State."[2] And, in another of his studies, Grekov states: " The ancient population of this land, the Dulebians, are a branch of Eastern Slavdom . . . Archaeological, linguistic, and legal data are evidence of a cultural unity reaching from the Carpathians to the Dnieper."[3]

Grekov's argument concerning the Eastern Slavs on the Dniester and Bug cannot be accepted without qualifications of a fundamental nature. When analysing the term " Rus ", I have quoted numerous examples which show that the lands of Volynia and Halicz were not considered and did not consider themselves as Rus. The aforementioned scholar discloses the great weakness of his argument when he appeals to present-day political terminology, and alludes to the region he is dealing with as the " Western Ukraine," because he knows of no other historically warranted name. His mention of the Dulebians brings no clarification, because the *Povest* has very little to say about this tribe, and does not number it among the Eastern Slavs.

Archaeological studies in the territories in question are in an initial phase, because nobody has as yet explored the entire region from the Carpathians to the Dnieper. " If the problem . . . of the northern and south-eastern (Slavonic) tribes can be considered as more or less solved (in any case they can now be determined in time and space) . . . , the tribes on the right bank of the Dnieper still remain a riddle . . . As long as the archaeological monuments of the Slavonic tribes on the right bank of the Dnieper are not sufficiently explored, we can only formulate conjectures . . . " This is Tretyakov's striking appraisal of the present state of archaeological

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[1] This fact is also confirmed by " Gallus ": " . . . Bolezlavus, nullo sibi resistente . . . " C. Maleczyński, Galli Anonymi Cronica, *MPHNS* II, 1952, p. 22.

[2] B. Grekov, Drevneishie sudby slavyanstwa v Prikarpatskich oblastyakh, *VAN*, 1940 (11—12), pp. 158—9.

[3] B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus*, p. 274.

research in the territories connected with the subject under discussion.[1]

However, Grekov formulated his synthesis and published the results of the archaeological investigations before the research work was carried out on the spot. In controversial problems of history, he gave the greatest weight to archaeological and linguistic evidence, and ended by contradicting himself. For, on another occasion, he wrote: "The combination of the data of archaeology and linguistics, the necessary room being left for folklore, undoubtedly extends the limits of historical knowledge. Nevertheless, all this is not sufficient, in the ultimate outcome, to change controversial opinion into unquestionable evidence."[2]

It is not safe to assert that the population on the Bug and the Dniester shared tenets of pagan belief with the Polyanians of Kiev, but differed in this respect from the Lyakhs or Poles, as we know exceedingly little about the creed of that population.[3] We lack tangible elements for making any comparison whatever, not even traditions and historical legends have been preserved on the Bug and the Dniester. How then is it possible to affirm that they resembled those of Kiev and differed from those of the Polish tribes ?[4]

Unquestionably, all arguments alluding to events of later centuries but arbitrarily related by Grekov to earlier times, such as works of art or legislative acts, should be removed from historical discussions. Their art was not independently produced by the inhabitants of the lands of Kiev, Wołyń, and Halicz, but was largely based on foreign, Byzantine models. Similarly, the general character of the chronicles of Kiev, of the 11th and 12th centuries, and that of Halicz—Volynia, of the 13th, had their common origin in that community of creed and culture which only developed in the course of time. The fact that all these chronicles were written in Slavonic, proves nothing whatever as Slavonic writing was not the achievement of either Polyanians on the Dnieper or of the Buzhians, but was brought into the East from the West (Moravia, Bohemia, and Poland), and from the Balkans (Bulgaria.)

Whoever becomes acquainted with the arguments of Grekov, and of many other historians who share his views, such as Derzhavin, Picheta, Tikhomirov, Mavrodin, etc., to quote only the most recent writers, will be confirmed in the opinion of the fundamental importance for early East

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[1] P. Tretyakov, Vostochnoslavyanskie plemena nakanune obrazovaniya Kievskogo gosudarstva, *IAN* II, 1945, Nr. 3, p. 162, *idem*, *Plemiona wschodnio słowiańskie* (transl. by Z. Wójcik), 1949, 188; cf. also R. Jakimowicz, *Szlak wyprawy*, p. 27, where the author emphasizes the poverty, up to the present, of archaeological findings in Volynia.

[2] B. Grekov, *Feodalnye otnosheniya*, p. 4; *idem*, *Kievskaya Rus*, pp. 9—10.

[3] "Nestor," while he stresses the Polish origin of the Radimichians and Vyatichians, at the same time remarks that the pagan beliefs of both these tribes were identical with those of the Derevlians, Severians, and other Eastern Slavs. Cross, pp. 141—2.

[4] Furthermore, Grekov weakens his own arguments. In his study: "Russkaya Pravda" i ee slavyanskoe okruzhenie, *VAN*, 1952, p. 47, he writes: "The Polish nation has always lived in the immediate, neighbourly proximity of the Russian nation . . . The relationship between the Polish and Russian language is undoubted . . . It is quite natural that among the two nations the pre-Christian religion and many customs and customary laws (the author has *Russkaya Pravda* in mind) were bound to be closely related."

European history of that passage of the Kievan Chronicle in which its famous author, after having enumerated the Moravian-Czech and Polish tribes, continues as follows: "Certain Slavs settled also on the Dnieper, and were likewise called Polyanians. Still others were named Derevlians . . . Some also . . . were known as Dregovichians. Other tribes . . . were called Polochians . . . The Slavs also dwelt about Lake Ilmen, and were known there by their appropriate name . . . Still others . . . were called Severians."[1]

In the quoted passage "Nestor" enumerates only six tribes of "Slavs", or "Eastern Slavs" according to present-day terminology, descended from the same ancestry as the Moravo-Czechs and Poles. It is natural that the chronicler does not mention all the Slavonic tribes established in the West, as he does not deal with their history and may have had no knowledge of some of them. But it is clear from the text of the *Povest* that the author was familiar with the Ulichians, Tivertsians, Croats, Dulebians, and Buzhians. These tribes occupied enormous territories, stretching from the Bug, which is a tributary of the Vistula, to the Black Sea shores. Now, they all mysteriously vanished from the scene of history, although, according to the *Povest*, all or nearly all of them still existed in the 10th century. "Nestor" evidently did not consider their further fate as noteworthy, just as he did not take notice of the fall of the Khazar State, or of the emigration of the Pechenegs from the steppe region, etc. These problems went beyond the subject which he had undertaken to treat, and were not objects of interest for him.

The lack of interest in the five above mentioned tribes, the absence from the Chronicle of any allusions which would allow us to number them among the Eastern Slavs, their omission in the list of East Slavonic tribes, all this is quite consistent and throws sufficient light on "Nestor's" attitude. Some of these peoples, such as e.g. the Tivertsians, may not have been Slavs. Others, such as the population on the banks of the Bug and of the upper Dniester valley, were Slavs, but the chronicler considers them as Lyakhs whom he always seems to regard as a people apart. This finds additional confirmation in "Nestor's" treatment of the Radimichians and the Vyatichians. What remains most difficult to explain is the omission from this list of the Krivichians. Unless some new sources are discovered, any attempt at elucidating this fact must, in my opinion, remain inconclusive.[2]

One thing, however, is undoubted: the fact that the number of Slavonic tribes, established in the East of Europe and united in a common descent, has been reduced to only six—Polyanians, Derevlians, Severians, Dregovichians, Polochians, and the Slavs of Novgorod—is not the result of errors or omissions on the part of later copyists, but of the considered decision of "Nestor" himself. As has already been said, whenever "Nestor" mentions a tribe for the first time, he is always careful to in-

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[1] Cross, p. 138.
[2] See Appendix: "The Krivichians."

dicate where it lives. Now, after having enumerated the six tribes, he deems it necessary to mention the lands of the Ulichians, Buzhians, Krivichians, Radimichians, etc.; it follows that he was well aware of not having mentioned these tribes before.[1] Thus "Nestor" must have had weighty reasons for drawing up his list of Eastern Slavonic tribes in the form in which we know it. Conjectures aiming at an arbitrary multiplication of the number of Eastern Slavs cannot be accepted as being of any scientific value.

How far were East Slavonic settlements extended to the West?

Three tribes must be considered here: the Polyanians, the Derevlians, and the Dregovichians. Barsov says: "Kievan possessions, in the West, reached from the source of the Ros to the eastern Boh . . . Further, they extended along the upper reaches of the Boh to the head waters of the Horyn; they bordered first on the steppe and then on Halichian domains . . . Near the source of the Horyn, Kievan and Volynian possessions met."[2]

The subject is similarly presented by Andriyashev: By "land of Kiev" a territory was understood which lay along the middle course of the Dnieper, limited in the North and South by the Ros and Teterev and in the West by the Boh.[3] Hrushevsky, in his *History of Ukraine-Rus*, also shows that the territory of the Polyanians reached the Boh in its upper course. Our sources contain a number of unmistakable indications to this effect, and as writers on the subject are agreed on this point, I refrain from going into the details of the problem.

There is also no difference of opinion as to the western limits of Derevlian settlement. The border between the Derevlians and Buzhians was a wide belt of territory situated between the Styr and the Horyn.[4] In the 12th century, it was the object of numerous litigations and conflicts pursued with changing fortune, by the princes of Vladimir and those of Kiev.[5] Wars between the princes of the house of Rurik often resulted from old tribal antagonisms over borderlands. This occurred also in the present case. The Buzhian territory proper ended on the line of the Styr. The utmost limit we would be justified in assuming instead of the Styr would be the Horyn with its chief tributary, the Sluch.[6] Our investigations permit us to fix, with some accuracy, the western borderline of Derevlian and Polyanian territory. It ran along the river Boh in its upper course and along the Styr.

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[1] The only geographical indication given twice over by "Nestor" is that the Polochians live on the river Polota. Cross, pp. 138, 140.

[2] N. Barsov, *Ocherki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii*, pp. 139—40.

[3] O. Andriyashev, *Naris istorii kolonizatsii Kiivskoi zemli*, p. 34.

[4] The population of this belt was mixed, Derevlian and Buzhian, partly also Dregovichian, but with general Derevlian preponderance.

[5] About the middle of the 11th century, the Derevlian territory, with the Horyn region (*Poboryna*), was incorporated into the domain of Kiev.

[6] According to R. Jakimowicz, Okres wczesnohistoryczny. Prehistoria ziem polskich, *EPPAU* IV (1) 1939—48, p. 418, the frontier between Buzhians and Derevlians probably ran along the Sluch. B. Grekov, Obrazovanie russkogo gosudarstva, *IAN* II (3) 1945, p. 138, considers that the Derevlian territory formed the western borderland of the Kievan State facing Poland.

" Nestor " does not trace the frontier between the Dregovichians and the Mazovians ; he only says that the former live " between the Pripet and the Dvina."[1] As the chronicler does not mention the Bug when defining Dregovichian territory, the conclusion imposes itself that the Dregovichian country did not extend to the Bug. A belt of thicket and marsh, difficult to outline with any degree of exactitude, separated the two tribes. Archaeology has made it clear that in the 10th and 11th centuries there was a mutual interpenetration of Dregovichian and Mazovian influences in this zone.[2]

In connection with East Slavonic settlement in the West we must refer to Transcarpathian Rus. Our survey of the sources allows us to establish a series of facts concerning that country. As Rus (the Polyanians) only extended to the upper Boh, and as the country of Halicz was not Rus, a fact we have demonstrated in Chapter I of the present work, even less could more distant mountainous districts sparsely inhabited by an agricultural and pastoral Slavonic population be comprised in that appellation. We do not know to what tribe, or tribes, the inhabitants of this region may have belonged.[3] Neither " Nestor " nor the Chronicle of Halicz—Volynia mention the existence of Carpatho-Rus.

Barsov writes : " The course of historical (events) does not show, and there is no ground for supposing, that the princes of Halicz, in the 12th and 13th centuries, made any acquisitions beyond the Hungarian mountains. Consequently, the Transcarpathian Slavs were united to the Russian State by the first princes of Kiev, so that the origin of Hungarian Rus must be assigned to the end of the 9th century, in any case, to a date not later than the beginning of the 10th century."[4]

This opinion, which up to the present time may be found in historical works, is, nevertheless, false. Our sources do not contain the slightest indication that the region in question ever belonged to the Kievan State. Barsov's argument is based on a misunderstanding of the term " Rus."

Many scholars attach great importance to the territory under consideration, because it came by the name of Rus, although neither Varangians nor members of the Rurik dynasty were ever known to have lived there.[5]

How very long the tradition maintained itself that the Sluch was the borderline between the " Eastern " and " Western " Slavs appears in the demand of the Kozaks, in the 17th century, that Poland should recognize the Sluch as the frontier of their State, expressed in the slogan : " Mark my words, Pole, up to Sluch all is ours (*Znai, lyashe, shcho po Sluch nashe*) "; cf. I. Krypyakevich, *Istoriya Ukraini*, 1941, p. 48.

[1] Cross, p. 138.

[2] R. Jakimowicz, Wschodnia granica osadnictwa mazowieckiego w X—XI w. z Jaćwieżą i Rusią i zasiąg kolonizacji mazowieckiej na wschodzie, *PVI ZHP*, I, 1935, p. 248.

[3] On this point we can only have recourse to more or less likely conjectures. Geographical conditions would favour the supposition that a part of the Croats settled beyond the Carpathians. S. Cross, *Slavic Civilization through the Ages*, pp. 42, 48—9, favours the idea that this was done by the Ulichians and Tivertsians.

[4] N. Barsov, *Ocherki*, p. 112.

[5] B. Grekov, Drevneishie sudby slavyanstva v prikarpatskich oblastyaskh, *VAN* 1940 (11—12), pp. 35—6 ; B. Grekov—S. Bakhrushin—V. Lebedev, *Istoriya SSSR* I, 1948, p. 74. The example of Carpatho-Rus clearly shows the fallacy of V. Klyuchevsky's assumption that by Rus only territories subject to descendants of Rurik were designated ; cf. V. Klyuchevsky, *Kurs russkoi istorii* I, 1908, p. 201.

Beyond the Carpathians, the name of Rus occurred only in its religious sense.[1] This denominational distinction could only originate after the baptism of Vladimir the Great, i.e., after 988. Thus, all conjectures which assign the beginnings of Carpatho-Rus to the 9th and 10th century automatically collapse. The turn of the 10th century is the earliest date that can be reckoned with.[2] It is noteworthy that in Slavonic sources of the 12th and 13th centuries the Carpathians are called Hungarian, not Russian, mountains.[3]

The penetration of Slavonic elements into the wilds of the southern Carpathian foot-hills proceeded for a number of centuries in a manner nowhere described, so that it is impossible even approximately to fix its beginning or its end. It was a peaceful migration in small groups, brought about chiefly, though perhaps not exclusively, by economic motives.

The Slavonic population beyond the Carpathians professed the faith of Rus and lived in primitive conditions on a culturally low level. It never played a prominent part in any sphere of life.[4]

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[1] A. Petrov, *Drevneishie gramoty po istorii karpatorusskoi tserkvi i ierarkhii*, 1930, p. 61, remarked that *Orosz-Ruthenus*, in Hungary, designated a follower of the Eastern Church, as contrasted with the Catholic population of Hungary.

[2] A. Bonkáló, Die ungarländische Ruthenen, *UJ* I, 1921, pp. 215—25, supposes that Slavonic settlers did not cross the mountains earlier than the 13th century. Divergent opinions can be found in works dealing with the same subject, by K. Kadlec, K. Matousek, and others. In my opinion, speaking theoretically, the Slavs were quite able to occupy this mountainous region before 988, but at that time the new-comers were not called Rus.

[3] Under this name they figure in the text of "Nestor" (K. Likhachev, *Povest* II p. 210, gives a pertinent commentary), in the Chronicle of Halicz and Volynia, in the Discourse on the Ruin of the Land of Rus; cf. S. Kętrzyński, Ze studiów nad Gerwazym z Tilbury, *RPAU* XLVI, 1903, p. 5: "Porro inter Alpes Hunniae (Hungariae) et Oceanum est Polonia."

The Carpathians go under the name "Ruthenorum Alpes" in the Hungarian sources as from the 13th century (The Chronicle of Simon de Kéza, Gesta Hungarorum, *SRH* I, 1937, p. 165). The Chronicle of Poland Major (*Kronika Wielkopolska*), of the 13th and 14th centuries, says that the Hungarians began hostilities against the Poles "in montanis Russiae et Hungariae." *MPH* II, p. 487.

[4] In *Annales Hildesheimenses*, under the year 1031, the son of King Stephen of Hungary figures as "dux Ruizorum", *MPH* II, p. 765. Z. Needly, Istoriya zakarpatskoi Rusi do 14 stoletiya, *IAN* II (4), 1945, p. 209, considers this information as the first proof, drawn from the sources, of the existence of Transcarpathian Rus. There is no evidence to show that this information relates to the territory in question. "Nestor" says that the Danubian Slavs subject to Hungary followed the rite of SS. Cyril and Methodius, Cross, p. 147. On the subject of the Slavs in Hungary see I. Kniezsa, Ungarns Völkerschaften im XI Jahrhundert, *AECO* IV, 1938, pp. 291—342. Greek influences in Hungary have been studied by G. Moravcsik, The Role of the Byzantine Church in Mediaeval Hungary, *ASEER* VI, 1947, pp. 134—51.

We may readily assume that the Church of Rus, under the Metropolitan of Kiev, extended its activity to Hungary. "Nestor" mentions the friendly connections which existed between Vladimir the Great and Hungary. Cross, p. 210. That ruler's sons had Hungarians among their retainers and, at critical moments, sought help and refuge in that country; Cross, pp. 215, 218. The Life of St. Moses represents a Hungarian who is supposed to have lived at the beginning of the 11th century, as a hero and martyr, suffering for the faith of Rus. D. Abramovich, Kievo Pecherskii Paterik, *PMPDU* IV 1931, pp. 142—9. In western Europe Hungary was sometimes alluded to as Rus; cf. L. Koczy, Polska i Skandynawia za pierwszych Piastów, *PKH* VIII (3), 1934, p. 111.

To return to the son of King Stephen who was "dux Ruizorum". Since the Polish Piasts could be princes of Rus—as we show in our Appendix "Origins of Halicz"—and the same may be said of the Lithuanian rulers (see Chapters VIII—X), there is no reason to suppose that members of the Arpad dynasty might not have been similarly described. This would confirm our thesis that the term "Rus" was without any ethnical significance.

CHAPTER IV

THE PROBLEM OF RUS IN EARLY POLISH HISTORY

The Upper Dniester and Bug Regions in the 10th Century. The Slavonic Rite as a Relic of Great Moravian Domination. The Faith of Rus in Eastern Poland. Religious Division among the Poles. Halicz-Volynia and Poland in the 12th and 13th Centuries.

In the three preceding chapters an attempt has been made to define the significance of a number of concepts and terms of fundamental importance for the history of eastern Europe. The results of all research in this field ought to be checked with the help of western sources, which are often disregarded, or insufficiently taken into account in the reconstruction of the past of the Eastern Slavs.

For geographical reasons, Poland takes the first place among the neighbours of Rus. It is not by accident that, of all the Slavs, if we except the Eastern branch, " Nestor " devotes by far the greatest attention to the Poles. In the present chapter, therefore, we introduce into our study a fragment of Polish history, the subject of which is directly linked with " Rus ", with the " Slavonic language ", with the scope of East Slavonic settlements in the West, etc. In this way we shall be able to attain a fuller picture and a deeper understanding of the problem of Rus as a whole.

How far to the East did Polish settlements extend in the first phase of history ? In putting this question, we reverse the problem which was previously discussed, when we were attempting to fix the western limits of the lands of the Polyanians, Derevlians, and Dregovichians.

We must begin our research by examining the privilege drawn up in 1086 by the Emperor Henry IV for the Bishopric of Prague. This document contains a number of details dating not so much from the 10th as rather from the 9th century. They could not have been mentioned if the entire document had not been based on reliable testimony, going back to a more distant past.[1]

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[1] In 1086, a document was confirmed which had allegedly been issued in 973, in connection with the foundation of the Bishopric of Prague. The Emperor Henry IV had submitted to him, for confirmation, a deed allegedly indicating the original limits of the diocese of Prague. The then Bishop of Prague desired to see the diocese of Moravia abolished and its original boundaries united with his own diocese.

The privilege of 1086 is not a description of the frontiers of the diocese of Prague and of the Czech Kingdom as they existed in 973, for it relates to Moravia as well as to Bohemia, and in 973 Moravia constituted a diocese apart. The document, therefore, reproduces other, earlier conditions.

The privilege of Emperor Henry IV presents a picture of the boundaries of the Great Moravian State, and of the Metropolitan see of St. Methodius, after the conquest of the lands situated in the basin of the upper Vistula by Great Moravia.[1] At that time, the Cracow region belonged to the said Metropolitan see, and so did the lands situated further to the East, as far as the " Bug " and " Ztir ".[2] Which rivers had the author of the document in mind ?

Later Czech sources are not without significance for the subject under discussion. The Chronicle of Pulkava, dating from the 14th century, asserts that the Great Moravian Empire comprised also Polish and Russian (Russian in the sense which that term possessed in the 14th century) territories.[3] So it is there, without doubt, that we should seek the two rivers with which we are concerned.

As to the " Ztir ", there can be no doubt that what is meant is the Styr, a southern tributary of the Pripet. It is more difficult to locate the " Bug ". Two rivers going under this name are known ; one an eastern tributary of the Vistula, and another (Bug—Boh) which flows down into the Black Sea.[4]

The data supplied by chroniclers contain no indication that the Bug, a tributary of the Vistula, constituted the original frontier between the realm of the Piasts and that of the Rurikides.[5] On both sides of this river lay the territories occupied by the tribe of the Buzhians. Furthermore, the Bug and the Styr flow in directions which are more or less parallel,

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The Czech chronicler Cosmas knew a *Privilegium Moraviensis ecclesiae* which still existed in his day. That the document of 1086, even if not authentic, was nevertheless based on some old text, is rightly pointed out by J. Widajewicz, Kraków i Poważe w dokumencie biskupstwa praskiego z 1086 r., *PKH* XI, 1938, pp. 6, 86; T. Silnicki, Dzieje i ustrój kościoła na Śląsku do końca wieku XIV, in *Historia Śląska od najdawniejszych czasów do r.* 1400, by several hands, II, 1939, pp. 8—9 ; Z. Wojciechowski, *Polska nad Wisłą i Odrą w X w*, 1939, pp. 17—9 ; *idem*, *Państwo Polskie w wiekach średnich*, 2nd ed., 1948, p. 13, etc.

1 "The Life of St. Methodius" mentions a powerful prince whose domains were on the Vistula, and who was constrained by force to receive baptism. The observations of archaeologists also confirm the opinion that the valley of the upper Vistula and the territories further to the East belonged to Great Moravia. See R. Jakimowicz, Kilka uwag nad relacją o Słowianach Ibrahima ibn Jakuba, *SA* I 1948, p. 449; W. Hensel, Geneza państwowości polskiej w świetle badań archeologicznych, *PVII ZHP* I, 1948, p. 214.

2 . . . "Inde ad orientem hos fluvios habet terminos: Bug scilicet et Ztir" . . . *CDERB* I N 86, pp. 92—5. Other textual variants : Bou, Brig, Bugur, Ztiz, Zur, Ztyr, cf. B. Stasiewski, Untersuchungen über drei Quellen zur ältesten Geschichte und Kirchengeschichte Polens, *BSHT* XXIV, 1933.

3 . . . " regnum Moraviae, cui suberant Boemia, Polonia et Russia et quam plures ducatus alii " . . . *FRB* V, pp. 15—6.

4 J. Rozwadowski, Studia nad nazwami wód słowiańskich, *PO* I, 1948, pp. 238—43.

5 A different opinion is expressed by K. Potkański, Przywilej z 1086 r. *KH* XVII, 1903, pp. 22—3 ; S. Zakrzewski, Nad Wieprzem i Bugiem w wieku XI i XII, *PH*, 1905, pp. 359—60; W. Semkowicz, Geograficzne podstawy Polski Chrobrego, *KH*, 1925, pp. 259—60, and others. Both " Gallus " and " Nestor " state that a bloody battle was fought between Poland and Rus on the Bug (1018). All these scholars attach great importance to this fact. The choice of the point where the battle was to be fought, made by Yaroslav the Wise, was conditioned in the first place by military considerations. And since Czerwień, before 1018, belonged to the Rurikides, the frontier, at least on this sector, could not well follow the Bug. The victorious expedition of Vladimir the Great, in 981, changed Poland's territorial status in these parts.

from South to North. It would be astonishing if these two rivers were chosen, in the document of 1086, in order to fix the eastern frontier of Great Moravia, for in that case one would never be able to say which of the two rivers was the actual line of delimitation.[1]

The case presents itself in an entirely different light if we assume that in the privilege of Henry IV granted to the Prague Bishopric the writer has the Boh in mind.[2] It is enough to look at a map to be confirmed in the conviction that the Boh and the Styr do convey the idea of a territorial limit. It should also be noted that the upper Boh and Styr constituted the western limits of Polyanian and Derevlian settlements. The contiguity of the Moravian State and the Polyanians also explains the reception of the Slavonic rite of Cyril and Methodius at Kiev.

In 906, under Hungarian pressure, Great Moravia collapsed, and the political structure comprising a wide zone extending from Cracow to the two afore-mentioned rivers was destroyed.

What then happened in these lands at a later period? Our sources allow of the conclusion that Cracow fell to the Czech Przemyslides,[3] while the territories lying further to the East passed under Piast domination probably at the beginning of the 10th century.[4] Cosmas, when completing the Chronicle of Regino, says that Poles took part in the contest for the Great Moravian heritage.[5] These were, without doubt, the ancestors of

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1 W. Kętrzyński, Granice Polski w X wieku, *RPAU* XXX, 1894, p. 15, pertinently remarks: "The Styr, which rises in the same parts as the Bug, flows in the same direction as that river, only with the difference that it deviates to the East and discharges its waters into the Pripet, while the Bug turns to the West and joins the Vistula. Thus, the Styr, which is a tributary of the Pripet and the entire course of which lies beyond the Bug, could not be the boundary of Poland . . . in the East, if the Bug formed that boundary." The last sentence should be reversed in this sense: that if the Styr was the frontier, that frontier could not, at the same time, lie on the Bug.

2 If we assume that the Great Moravian State extended to the upper Boh, we must acknowledge that the Croats, established in the foot-hills of the eastern Carpathians, were probably subject to its overlordship. But there is no ground for asserting that the rulers of Great Moravia were of Croat descent, according to the conjecture of G. Vernadsky, Great Moravia and White Chorvatia, *JAOS*, 1945, pp. 257—9.

3 The Jewish traveller, Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub who was in central-eastern Europe in 966 (cf. J. Widajewicz, Studia nad relacją o Słowianach Ibrahima ibn Jakuba, *RPAU* XLVI, 1945, pp. 15—6, where a pertinent justification of that date is given; additional remarks in G. Labuda, Ibrahim ibn Jakub. Najstarsza relacja o Polsce w nowym wydaniu, *RH* XVI, 1947, pp. 147—63; L. Koczy, Relacja o Słowianach Ibrahima ibn Jakuba, *TH* III, 1949, pp. 15, 19—20) calls the Czech Boleslav King of Prague, Bohemia, and Cracow. J. Kowalski, Relatio Ibrahim ibn Jakub de itinere slavico quae traditur apud Al-Bekri, *MPHNS* I, 1946, pp. 48—9. Cosmas mentions Cracow as a Czech possession in the 10th century. The Hebrew Chronicle *Yosippon* has also some importance for the history of Cracow in the second half of the 10th century; cf. J. Flusser, Zprava o Slovanech v hebrejské kronice z konce X stol., *CCH*, 1949, pp. 239—40. Although J. Dąbrowski, Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego, *SPAU* LII, 1951, pp. 318—23, dismisses the fact that Cracow ever belonged to Bohemia, his arguments are not convincing.

4 J. Widajewicz, *Świętopełk morawski a Bolesław Chrobry*, 1946, p. 8; *idem*, Państwo Wiślan, *BSS* II, 1947, p. 84; *idem*, *Początki Polski*, 1948, p. 94; Z. Kaczmarczyk, Czynniki geograficzne w rozwoju dziejowym Polski, *RH* XVI, 1947, pp. 14—5.

5 Cosmas recounts how the heritage of Svyatopolk of Moravia "filii eius pauco tempore, sed minus feliciter tenuerunt; partim Ungaris illud diripientibus, partim Teutonicis orientalibus, partim Poloniensibus solo tenus hostiliter depopulantibus." B. Bretholz, Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum. *MGH. Script.* Nova series, II, 1923, p. 34.

Mieszko, the first historically known ruler of Poland.[1] "Gallus" stresses that they made important additions to the realm.[2] This very early connection of the lands on the Bug and the Dniester with Poland finds confirmation in our sources.

We will begin our considerations with the year 981 and then go back to earlier times. It is under that year that "Nestor" records Vladimir the Great's expedition against the Lyakhs (Poles), which ended with the conquest of "their cities: Peremyshl, Cherven, and other towns."[3] There is no doubt that by Czerwień and the other towns we have to understand territories situated on the left bank of the Bug, a tributary of the Vistula (see Chapter III), but difficulties occur when we wish to locate "Peremyshl." Recently two authors, quite independently of one another, have put forward in their studies the hypothesis that "Nestor" has in mind a place situated on the upper Styr, Peremyl-Peremil, which has often been confused with Przemyśl on account of the similarity of the two names.[4] That this last city is referred to when the *Povest* speaks of "Peremyshl" would seem to follow from the fact that it was well known in the 11th century, no less than in later times, and played a prominent part in the life of the country. Yet arguments are not wanting which speak in favour of Peremil: in the first place, the direction of Vladimir's march. For Peremil lay on the route leading from Kiev to Czerwień, while Przemyśl lay far away to the South, on the banks of the San. Peremil, today only a hamlet, was in former times the centre of a district, which fact indicates that some tradition was connected with the place. The territory situated between the rivers Styr and Horyn was the borderland of two tribes—the Buzhians and the Derevlians—and Peremil was a frontier fortress of the former. Hoffman has observed the extensive vestiges of a fortified city still to be seen at Peremil on the left bank of the Styr, high above the river, so that it definitely dominated the whole neighbourhood.

If Peremil lost its importance in the course of history that does not mean that it could not have played an outstanding role in the military history of A.D. 981. Czerwień, which figures in "Nestor's" entry, also disap-

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[1] Mieszko appears in the sources for the first time in the seventh decade of the 10th century (963), but there is no doubt that he was ruling before that time. Quite recently W. Meysztowicz, Poselstwo Mieszka I do Abderamana III, *Ku*, 1950, pp. 3—13, has advanced a conjecture in the light of which Mieszko would have been on the throne in 955. O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, 1895, pp. 19—21, supposes Mieszko to have been born about 922. We consider this as much more probable than S. Kętrzyński's hypothesis (Przyczynki do dziejów XI w. Data urodzin Mieszka I. *PH* XXXIX, 1949, pp. 170—1) which places the birth of Mieszko in the years 940—5. The whole of Mieszko's reign is described by Z. Wojciechowski, *Mieszko I and the Rise of the Polish State*, 1936.

[2] "Gallus" asserts that before Mieszko, three generations of Piasts had reigned in Poland. The chronicler quotes three names in his ancestry, his father, Ziemomysł, his grandfather Leszek, and his great-grandfather, Ziemowit. C. Maleczyński, Galli Anonymi Cronica, *MPHNS* II, 1952, pp. 12—3. Photographic reproduction of the oldest manuscript of the Chronicle—J. Krzyżanowski, *Galli Anonymi Chronicon. Codicis saeculi XIV Zamoscianus appellati reproductio paleographica*, 1948.

[3] Cross, p. 182.

[4] S. Kuczyński, O wyprawie Włodzimierza Wielkiego ku Lachom roku 981, *SPAU* LII (4), 1951, pp. 320—1; J. Hoffman, Uwagi do wczesnohistorycznych dziejów Wołynia, *TH*, 1952, pp. 32—4.

peared from the scene of history. Summing up our remarks we come to the conclusion that it is difficult to decide which of the two places the chronicler had in mind when he wrote about Vladimir's expedition. Before 981, the lands drained by the San and the upper reaches of the Dniester (for "Przemyśl" signifies the entire district, probably within much the same limits as in later times) as well as those East of the Bug belonged to the domain of the Piasts. Thus, "Nestor's" relation of how the ruler of Kiev set out in arms against the Poles, could refer to Przemyśl as well as to Peremil. The last named place is connected with our remarks contained in Chapter III of the present work and relating to the Buzhians. Here we should like to draw attention to Przemyśl.

The Arabic geographer of the middle of the 12th century, al-Idrisi, when enumerating Polish towns, such as Cracow, Gniezno, Wrocław, etc., also mentions Przemyśl and states that it belonged to the territory of Sandomierz.[1]

Rabbi Jehuda Hakohen, who lived at Mainz between 1028 and 1070, when recounting the raid of undefined aggressors on the town of "Primut" or "Primusz" (the earliest Polish form for Przemyśl being probably Przemysz), and the abduction of the local Jewish population, remarks that the said city was in Poland, *in Polonia*.[2] He also mentions the Slavonic population of the surroundings of Przemyśl and refers to it as different from the "Greek Slavs".[3] If the population of the land of Przemyśl, in the 11th century, did not yet profess the faith of Rus, and was considered as belonging to Poland,[4] this state of things must have prevailed all the more in the 10th century. We are confirmed in this opinion by Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub (966). This author relates that the domain of Mieszko bordered upon Rus to the East.[5] Had the lands on the Bug, the San, and the upper Dniester belonged to Rus, Poland being in possession of Mazovia[6] would have had Rus as a southern, not as an eastern neighbour. Our analysis of the term "Rus" has shown that its meaning was twofold. The first, which was older and narrower, was of a geographical and political character, and comprised the land of the Kievan Polyanians as well as that of the Severians, while the other meaning was broader in scope and religious in character.

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1 T. Lewicki, Polska i kraje sąsiednie w świetle "Księgi Rogera" geografa arabskiego z XII w. al Idrisiego, *PKO* XXXIV, 1945, p. 139.

2 Yu. Brutskus, Pershi zvistki pro Evreiv u Polshchi ta na Rusi, *NZUAN* XXVI, 1927, pp. 9—10; cf. J. Schall, *Historia żydów w Polsce, na Litwie i Rusi*, 1934.

3 For this reason, Brutskus (*op. cit.* p. 10) considers that the raiders who pillaged Przemyśl were Kievans.

4 Yu. Brutskus, *op. cit.*, p. 10, expresses the opinion that before 1073 Przemyśl only belonged to Poland in the years 1015—1031. However, the city was in possession of the Poles both before 1015 and after 1031. In 1031, Yaroslav the Wise reconquered the Cities of Czerwień, but not Przemyśl. If Casimir the Restorer (d. 1058) could establish his brother-in-law, Bela of Hungary, at Halicz (see Appendix: "Origins of Halicz") without possessing the Cities of Czerwień, it follows from geographical considerations that Przemyśl must at that time have been part of the Piast domains. That the city belonged to Poland before 1015 becomes evident in the further course of this study.

5 T. Kowalski, Relatio, *MPHNS* I, 1946, p. 50; S. Rapoport, On the Early Slavs: The Narrative of Ibrahim Ibn Yakub, *SEER* VIII, 1929, p. 337.

6 Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub testifies that Mieszko's domain adjoined the land of the Prussians to the North, and thus comprised Mazovia.

The latter could have originated only after the baptism of Vladimir the Great, i.e., after 988. For Ibrahim, in 966, Rus could only signify the land of Kiev.[1] This observation certainly implies the wide extension to the East of the Polish State.

This fact is confirmed by another piece of information supplied by Ibrahim: namely, that the territory subject to Mieszko was the largest of the Slavonic countries.[2] Buczek quite rightly remarks that in the Middle Ages no method was known of accurately or even approximately determining the size of States. Effective comparison could take place only when one country very obviously surpassed others in size.[3] Therefore, Mieszko's Poland, in the seventh decade of the 10th century, must have conspicuously exceeded its neighbours. We must not forget that in the West it stretched as far as the Odra.[4]

The Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in the middle of the 10th century, enumerates the *Lenzenines*—Lyakhs and the Derevlians among the Slavonic tribes which were dependent on Rus and neighbours of the Pechenegs.[5] Both features point to the fact that the Lyakhs or Poles lived at no great distance from the Derevlians. The Derevlian country extended westwards to the Horyn river, and, in a wider sense, to the Styr. The Lyakhs, therefore, inhabited the lands situated to the West of these rivers, i.e. the basin of the Bug. In the middle of the 10th century, Rus extended its sovereignty to the Buzhians. The country on the upper Dniester cannot be taken into consideration as it was separated from Kiev by the territory of the Pechenegs which extended to that of the Derevlians.

We have now analysed four different sources, which came from different lands, and originated independently of one another. There are no grounds for suspecting them of being intentionally misleading. Two of them are approximately of the middle of the 10th century. The Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, by reason of his position, had access to the most reliable data in the possession of the court of Byzantium. Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub personally visited central Europe. "Nestor" belonged to later times, but was obviously interested in the past of Kiev's neighbours.

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[1] For this reason, the hypothesis of K. Maleczyński, Polska a Czechy w średniowieczu, *Sob* II, 1947, pp. 5—6, according to which Mieszko is supposed to have conquered Poland's eastern territories only in the years 973—91, is unacceptable. Another conjecture is equally unlikely. G. Labuda, Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego, *BH* I, 1946, pp. 221—30, supposes that Vladimir the Great, in 981, took Przemyśl from the Czechs. Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub (966) relates that the State of Mieszko bordered on Rus. If Bohemia had bordered on it, the author would have been careful to set down the fact. He mentions the dependence of the region of Cracow on Bohemia, and refers to the commercial relations between Bohemia and Rus.

[2] T. Kowalski, *op. cit.* pp. 49—50. G. Jacob, *Arabische Berichte von Gesandten an germanische Fürstenhöfe aus dem IX and X Jh.*, 1927, explains this text in the sense of territorial extension. Cf. M. Małowist, Problematyka gospodarcza badań wczesnośredniowiecznych, in *Studia wczesnośredniowieczne*, by several hands, I, 1952, p. 16.

[3] K. Buczek, Pierwsze biskupstwa polskie, *KH* LII, 1938, p. 196—7.

[4] For details cf. Z. Wojciechowski, *Polska nad Wisłą i Odrą w X w.*, 1939; *Monografia Odry* (by several hands), 1948.

[5] G. Moravcsik—R. Jenkins, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio*, 1949, pp. 168—9.

Finally, the privilege of Henry IV, though not authentic, was, nevertheless, based on some old and reliable text, probably dating from the 9th century.

What inferences can be drawn from these sources? Let us begin with a general remark. All four sources contain a number of items of information which not only do not contradict one another, but, on the contrary, tally with and complement one another to an astonishing degree. Henry IV's privilege of 1086 traces the frontiers of the Great Moravian State up to the river Styr and the upper reaches of the Boh, and this corresponds with the limits of the Derevlian and Polyanian territories. The contiguity of Moravia and the Polyanians explains the adoption of the rite of Cyril and Methodius at Kiev, a development described by "Nestor". This author speaks of the Lyakhs as the nearest Christian neighbours of the Polyanians.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions the contiguity existing between the Derevlians and the *Lenzenines*—Lyakhs. Constantine does not mention the Buzhians as neighbours of the Derevlians, but uses the broader, supra-tribal term of Lyakhs,[1] in a manner identical with the usage of the *Povest*. "Nestor" does not regard the Buzhians, the nearest neighbours of the Derevlians, as "Slavs"—which would mean "Eastern Slavs" according to present day notions—but as men of "Slavonic *yazyk*"; this was a broader designation, under which the Czechs, Lyakhs, and others were included.

The Kievan Chronicle states that the Cities of Czerwień were inhabited by Lyakhs (Poles). If "Peremyshl" mentioned in 981 signifies Peremil, we have in that case a further argument in support of the assumption that it was the region of the Styr which constituted the border of Poland. If, on the contrary, "Peremyshl" means Przemyśl, we have a confirmation of those Jewish and Arabic sources which attribute a Polish character to the country of the San and of the upper Dniester. Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub relates that the domain of Mieszko bordered on Rus in the East and not in the South. In 966, Rus could only signify the Polyanian territory of Kiev stretching in the West as far as the upper Boh. The broader, religious meaning of Rus was at that time as yet not in being.

Thence follows the conclusion that the links between Poland and the lands on the Bug and the upper reaches of the Dniester must indeed have been of long standing. They existed a long time before the middle of the 10th century (Constantine Porphyrogenitus died in 959). These lands became part of the Piast domain shortly after the downfall of the Great Moravian Empire which took place in 906. It may be that they belonged to the Lyakhs even before the Great Moravian period, which was of relatively short duration, if the name of Lyakhs, with its definitely supra-tribal character, had become so strongly fixed in the minds of the neighbours of the population inhabiting the Bug and the Dniester regions, such as the Polyanians and the Hungarians.

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[1] This detail deserves to be noted because the same author, when speaking about Eastern Slavs, uses the tribal names exclusively.

Let us consider the arguments of those students of the subject whose views on the delimitation of Poland and Rus, at the dawn of history, differ from ours. They think that Mieszko could not possess Przemyśl and Czerwień without first holding Cracow. Topography, according to them, decided political events.

The region of Przemyśl was at that time separated from Sandomierz by the great forest, vestiges of which are still extant within the fork formed by the Vistula and the San, and along the river Tanew. For the same reason, namely, the existence of a forest belt, these authors think it impossible that the Cities of Czerwień could have been reached across the regions of Radom and Lublin.

Now, let us consider some examples dating from the period in question. The region of the river Noteć, well known for its impenetrable forests and marshes, certainly hampered the Piasts in their conquest of Pomerania, but did not prevent it. The basin of the Pripet, where, up to the present day, the terrain is eminently boggy and densely wooded, was no impassable obstacle for the princes of Kiev in their expeditions against Mazovia.[1] The region of Grodno was a sort of large clearing in the midst of great forests, a circumstance which did not prevent princes of Rus from holding Grodno in their possession.[2] To the North of Brześć (Brest), there was a great virgin forest,[3] yet the town of Bielsk arose there.[4] Mazovian and Halicz—Volynian princes in the 13th century frequently marched through so-called impassable thickets against the Yatvingians, beyond the Narew. The predominance of forest in the land of the Vyatichians rendered the marching of foreign troops across their territory difficult, but nevertheless not impossible, and did not effectively protect the independence of that tribe.[5] There are important sources which are more especially concerned with the ways in which difficult terrain was traversed in the Middle Ages, and these are the reports on the expeditions of the Teutonic Knights into the very depths of the Lithuanian forests.[6]

These examples, which might easily be multiplied, refer to much greater expanses of virgin forest than those to be met with in the regions of Przemyśl or Czerwień. Students of these matters who exaggerate difficulties of terrain underestimate the importance of the river routes. Since Sandomierz was in Polish hands—and this is not subject to discussion—the advance to Przemyśl by forces taking full advantage of the course of the San did not present any serious difficulty, and the San is within easy reach of the head waters of the Dniester. The Bug played a sim-

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[1] "1041. Yaroslav attacked the Mazovians by boat." Cross, p. 227.

[2] As late as the 16th century, forests occupied more than half the district. See J. Jakubowski, Powiat grodzieński w XVI w. *PKAHP* III, 1934, pp. 4—9.

[3] *PSRL* II, pp. 875—6.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 819.

[5] That the territory of the Vyatichians was densely wooded can be seen from the miniatures preserved in copies of the chronicles. Cf. A. Artsikhovsky, *Drevnerusskie miniatyury kak istoricheskii istochnik*, 1944, pp. 14—5.

[6] Die litauischen Wegeberichte, *SRP* II, pp. 662—708.

ilar part in expeditions undertaken from Mazovia against Volynia or Czerwień.[1]

Let us establish some comparative data. The distance between Chełm and Halicz used to be covered in three days.[2] Prince Danilo, going from Uhrowesk to Halicz, reached his destination on the third day.[3] The distance from Chełm to Lublin was one day,[4] as was that from Lubomla to Vladimir.[5] Prince Vasylko, leaving Vladimir in Volynia, was on the third day at Drohiczyn,[6] etc.

The distance between Sandomierz and Przemyśl was less than two days. It is obvious that Poland's possession of the Bug, San, and upper Dniester basins has no connection with the conquest of Cracow by Mieszko from the Czechs. This conquest, as we know, was only accomplished in the final phase of that ruler's reign, and he died A.D. 992. Contrary to the argument of those scholars who doubt the possibility of direct links being maintained between Sandomierz and Przemyśl, Idrisi, whom we have already mentioned and who describes ancient conditions and traditions, states that Przemyśl belonged to the province of Sandomierz. As to Polish possession, before 981, of the lands on the Bug, the fact is confirmed by "Nestor" with extreme clarity. And both the above authors are supported by Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub (966) who supplies the information about Poland as neighbour of the territory of Kiev, at that time identical with Rus.

We now pass to the second argument advanced by historians on the question of the Polish position in the East at the time under consideration. They base their views chiefly on the title deed of the donation by Mieszko of his domain to the Apostolic See, effected between 985 and 992.[7] Without taking account of the entire text,[8] and of the character of the source,[9] certain

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[1] The chronicles quote numerous instances of voyages from Mazovia by way of Drohiczyn and Brześć to Chełm and vice versa. The Yatvingians often traversed Brześć for incursions into Volynia. The princes of Halicz and Vladimir, for their part, marched through Brześć against the Yatvingians. In one word, the line of the Bug was often used for purposes of war, commerce, etc. It is possible that salt from the region of Halicz was transported into Mazovia by way of the river Bug. See R. Grodecki, Znaczenie handlowe Wisły w epoce piastowskiej, *Studia historyczne ku czci S. Kutrzeby* II, 1938, pp. 280—6.

[2] *PSRL* II, p. 777.

[3] *Ibid.*, under the year 1229.

[4] *Ibid.*, under the year 1245.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 919.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 799.

[7] The document is designated by the first words of its content as *Dagome iudex*, and was drawn up by Mieszko I during the pontificate of John XV (985—996). This period must be limited to 992, the year in which Mieszko died. Cf. Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Repertorium polskich dokumentów doby piastowskiej* I, 1937, No. 2.

[8] Mieszko conferred upon the Apostolic See "unam civitatem in integro, quae vocatur Schinesne (Szczecin, Stettin, on the Odra) cum omnibus suis pertinentiis infra hos affines, sicuti incipit a primo latere longum mare, fine Pruzze usque in locum, qui dicitur Russe, et fine Russe extendente usque in Craccoa, et ab ipsa Craccoa usque ad flumen Oddere recte in locum, qui dicitur Alemure, et ab ipsa Alemura usque in terram Milze, et a fine Milze recte intra Oddere et exinde ducente iuxta flumen Oddera usque in praedictam civitatem Schinesne." (The text follows R. Holtzmann, Böhmen und Polen im X Jahrhundert, *ZVGS* LII, 1918, p. 18, with the correction of L. Koczy, Dagome iudex, *RH*, 1936, p. 19; *CDES* I (1), pp. 3—9).

[9] *Dagome iudex* has not been preserved in the original nor in a copy, but only in the copy of a register, perhaps not the first copy. The document was very negligently summarized by Papal clerks, who were not even aware which country was in question, and did not relate the document to Poland. The text has been read erroneously in many places.

historians, such as Hrushevsky, Barvinsky, Florovsky, and others, affirm that at that time Rus extended as far as Cracow.[1] In many publications this question is presented in a similar light.[2] However, the said source leads to entirely different conclusions.

The document *Dagome iudex* was drawn up about the time of the baptism of Vladimir the Great (988), and as the new usage of referring to Rus in a religious sense could not have developed in a day,[3] one is forced to the conclusion that in this document, Rus is alluded to as a geographical entity and signifies the country around Kiev. This fact throws much light on the fate of the lands we are concerned with, in the period following 981. As the Cities of Czerwień, between 981 and 1018, were in the hands of Vladimir, and after him of Yaroslav, the contact between Poland and the territory of the Dnieper Polyanians, evidenced by the *Dagome iudex*, could only take place on the territories South of the Bug. This is in accordance with written records which show that, after 981, the region of the upper Dniester belonged to Poland.

In 992, the expedition of Vladimir the Great against the Croats took place. Here is what the Kievan Chronicle says on the subject: "Vladimir set out against the Croats. When he had returned from the Croatian war, the Pechenegs arrived on the other side of the Dnieper from the direction of the Sula. Vladimir set forth against them and encountered them on the banks of the Trubezh."[4]

We must envisage the course of these events against the background of conditions on the Dnieper at that time, as we know them from "Nestor." The Pechenegs used to attack Kiev when the prince was not present in his capital. Such convenient moments used to be chosen for beginning hostilities.[5] Vladimir's expedition against the Croats was the signal for the

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[1] Such conclusions are drawn from the following words of the document: "fine Pruzze usque in locum qui dicitur Russe et fine Russe extendente usque in Craccoa et ab ipsa Craccoa usque ad flumen Oddere . . . " In this passage it is said that the frontier of Mieszko's domain reached Rus, and then passed along the frontier of Rus, and after this the Polish frontier extended to Cracow. Historians are apt to forget that the document delineates the frontiers of Poland, not of Rus, a circumstance rightly pointed out by J. Modelski, Sprawa pogranicza polsko-ruskiego w badaniach ruskich, *PIVZHP* I, 1925, p. 4.

If the quoted text is interpreted in the sense that the frontier of Rus extended to Cracow, then, in order to remain consistent, one would have to assume that it ran even further, to the Odra, and, along the Odra, to the Baltic. The improbability of such a deduction is obvious. If Mieszko considered his whole country to be Rus, he could not be a neighbour of Rus.

[2] E.g. V. Picheta, Obrazovanie polskogo gosudarstva, *SS*, 1947, p. 46, when enumerating the Polish tribes, omits the Vistulians on the upper Vistula. G. Vernadsky, on his map of *Ancient Russia*, shows East Slavonic territory extending as far as Cracow, etc.

[3] N. Chubaty, The Ukrainian and Russian Conceptions of the History of Eastern Europe, *PSSS* I, 1951, p. 17, states it was only in the 13th century that the lands on the Dniester, with Halicz, began to be referred to as Rus.

[4] Cross, p. 207.

[5] When Svyatoslav, father of Vladimir the Great, was campaigning in 968, the Pechenegs attacked Kiev. Cross, p. 171. In 997, the Pechenegs laid siege to Belgorod, near Kiev, when Vladimir was in Novgorod (*ibid.*, p. 221). In 1024, Vladimir's son Mstislav took advantage of his brother Yaroslav's absence from Kiev and made an incursion into his territory (*ibid.*, p., 223). In 1036, the Pechenegs attacked Kiev when Yaroslav was in Novgorod (*ibid.*, p. 225), etc. Invaders would also take advantage of the ill health of a prince, which rendered his presence on the field of battle impossible, to organize a raid (*ibid.*, p. 212).

The events just mentioned, of the second half of the 10th century and of the beginning of

Pechenegs to march, but we have abundant evidence to show that the Kievan princes, even when absent from the city, were very rapidly informed of any danger by which they were threatened.[1] It is, therefore, a plausible supposition that, although he was engaged against the Croats, Vladimir was immediately warned of the critical situation on the Dnieper. The chronicler does not say when the ruler of Kiev was informed that the Pechenegs were taking hostile action. He only states that while Vladimir was returning from the Croat war the Pechenegs appeared on the Sula. It is worth noting that the Kievan army had time to return to the capital before the enemy delivered his attack. This indicates that the prince of Kiev either interrupted his operations against the Croats or gave the order for retreat before he had reached them. We are confirmed in this opinion by another detail: the chronicler does not say anything about any successes achieved by Vladimir against the Croats, a thing which he is in the habit of doing whenever an expedition has been victorious.[2]

The correctness of our inference is confirmed by a German source of the period. The *Annales Hildesheimenses* inform us, under the year 992, in connection with the military plans of the Emperor Otto III, that Boleslav II of Bohemia appeared in person in support of the Germans, while Bolesław the Great of Poland sent the Emperor some auxiliaries, but was unable to come himself because "*imminebat . . . illi* (*Boleslao*) *grande contra Ruscianos bellum.*"[3] The annalist stresses the fact that a Polish-Kievan war very nearly broke out, but says nothing about any actual fighting. This is in accordance with "Nestor," and proves that on account of the Pecheneg menace Vladimir cut short his action against the Croats.

The above mentioned German source contains a detail of considerable political importance. If the campaign against the Croats signified war with Bolesław the Great, it is evident that this tribe was dependent upon Poland. The Croats lived at the foot of the eastern Carpathians.

Three facts show that the Croatian war was linked with events which were simultaneously taking place in Poland. The first is the date of the outbreak of hostilities on the part of the Kievans. Mieszko died in May, 992.[4] Vladimir the Great chose this precise moment for his attack on the Croats. Now, Thietmar relates that Mieszko, towards the end of his life, divided his domain "among many."[5] Thus expectations might well arise on the Dnieper that in view of Bolesław the Great's hostility towards his stepmother Oda and his half-brothers, which was no secret, inevitable

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the 11th, were not symptomatic of a new situation, but were rather the simple continuation of the past. Already, in the middle of the 10th century, Constantine Porphyrogenitus had stated that the Rus could not undertake any expedition into foreign countries unless they had guarantees of peace on the part of the Pechenegs, for these had a preference for raiding at such moments.

1 Cross, pp. 220, 220—1, 223, 235, etc.

2 Cross, pp. 182, 183, 225, 227, etc.

3 *MGH* V, *Script.* III, p. 69.

4 O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, pp. 19—21.

5 Mieszko died, "relinquens regnum suimet plurimis dividendum . . ." Thietmar, pp. 196—8.

disturbances would weaken Poland for a certain time. Such a situation might well encourage the Kievans to pass to the offensive.

There is certainly some analogy to be found between these events and those which followed the death of Bolesław the Great in 1025. "Nestor" describes, in very glaring colours, the anarchy which at that time submerged the realm of the Piasts, and relates to it the victorious undertakings of Yaroslav against Poland.[1] Kievan policy was the same in the years 992 and 1030—1031. But if events in the two cases did not follow the same course, it was because the internal commotion in Poland in 992 was only an episode without significance,[2] and because the Pechenegs, by their invasion, threw Vladimir's whole plan into confusion.

That the operations against the Croats were anti-Polish in character appears from the fact that in 992 the Prince of Kiev founded a Bishopric of the Eastern Church at Vladimir of Volynia,[3] in addition to the other sees which he erected at this time in eastern Europe. It is certain that the Bishopric of Vladimir was a powerful political instrument of the house of Rurik, which was destined to form, by means of religion, durable links between its domain and the land of the Buzhians. Bolesław the Great understood these ambitious plans of his adversary, and quickly undertook measures intended to counter them and strengthen the Slavonic rite in Poland.[4]

The Nikon Chronicle preserves another striking detail under the year 992. We learn from it that at that time envoys from Bolesław the Great arrived at the court of Vladimir the Great.[5] Tatishchev, who drew on certain no longer extant sources, relates that the Polish embassy brought peace proposals. The moment at which it was sent makes such a conjecture appear very credible.[6]

There is a source which explicitly confirms our conclusion drawn from the description of the events of 992 in the *Annales Hildesheimenses* and in "Nestor's" Chronicle, that the Croats acknowledged Polish overlordship. Master Vincent, who writes at the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century, and was connected with southern Poland by his origin as well as by his preoccupations, preserves a detail of information which is generally overlooked by historians. When speaking of the warlike deeds of Bolesław, he complements "Gallus", and mentions, among the tribes subject to that ruler, the Croats and the Pechenegs.[7] There is no reason

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1 "1030. Yaroslav captured Belz . . . At this same time, Boleslav the Great died in Poland, and there was a revolt in the Polish country. The people arose and killed the bishops, the priests, and the boyars, and there was rebellion among them . . . 1031. Yaroslav and Mstislav . . . recaptured the cities of Cherven, and ravaged the Polish countryside." Cross, p. 225.

2 In the *Annales Hildesheimenses*, we find the following characteristic information: "992. Misaco obiit successitque ei filius illius Bolizlavo." *MGH* V, *Script* III, p. 69. In the opinion of contemporaries, Bolesław immediately secured the entire inheritance of Mieszko.

3 *PSRL* IX, p. 65.

4 See Appendix: "A Polish Metropolitan See of the Slavonic Rite."

5 *PSRL* IX, p. 64.

6 Having succeeded to the throne on his father's death, Bolesław the Great wished to avoid a war with Kiev as long as he had not sufficiently strengthened his position.

7 *MPH* II, p. 279.

whatever to discard this information,[1] as it is fully borne out by Thietmar. It is unthinkable that the German chronicler, a contemporary of Vladimir the Great and Bolesław the Great, notorious for his hostility towards the Piast realm, should have recorded facts proving the wide extension and far-reaching influences of Poland in the East, if they did not correspond to reality.

Thietmar states that the Pechenegs often sent auxiliaries to Bolesław in his armed conflicts with Vladimir and Yaroslav. When describing the expedition in 1018, the chronicler relates that there were, in support of the Poles, 500 Hungarians and 1000 Pechenegs. When the whole army reached the Dnieper, the Polish ruler gave the Pechenegs the order to attack Kiev.[2]

The Pechenegs were in the service of Bolesław even earlier than this. At the time of the Polish expedition against Rus in 1013, these nomads came to his aid.[3] The contacts of the Pechenegs with the Poles were of long standing, since Constantine Porphyrogenitus states, in the middle of the 10th century, that these two peoples were neighbours. These contacts probably developed not only in time of war, but existed also in time of peace, and they found expression in many fields,[4] in the first place in that of religion. The mission of S. Bruno of Querfurt, undertaken in 1008, in

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[1] The only objection one could make to Vincent's narration is that he places the relations between the Croats and Poland within the reign of Bolesław the Great only. It would rather follow from "Nestor" and the *Annales Hildesheimenses* that they existed already in the days of Mieszko. Vincent, in his general outline of events, relies on "Gallus", and "Gallus" hardly mentions Mieszko, except for recording his baptism, and ascribes all his merits to Bolesław the Great. It is clear that in the eyes of the following generations the great figure of Bolesław completely overshadowed his ancestors, without excepting his father. Z. Wojciechowski, *Polska nad Wisłą i Odrą w X w*, pp. 31, 101, rightly remarks that Mieszko has been treated by "Gallus" with partiality and prejudice. There may, however, be a certain amount of truth in Vincent's text, in so far as Bolesław may have played a role in military events in the East on the initiative and under the orders of his father, before 992. Since 985, at least, Bolesław had taken a hand in the military and political measures of Mieszko. Cf. Z. Wojciechowski, Bolesław Chrobry i kryzys stosunków polsko-niemieckich, *PZ* IV (10), 1948, p. 376.

[2] "Urbs autem Kitawa nimis valida ab hostibus Pedeneis ortatu Bolizlavi crebra inpugnacione concutitur et incendio gravi minoretur." Thietmar, pp. 528—32.

[3] ". . . (Bolizlavus) Ruciam . . . petiit et magna regionis illius parte vastata, cum commotio inter suos et hospites Pezineigos fieret, eosdem quamvis suimet fautores iussit interfici omnes." Thietmar, p. 382. The detail given here by Thietmar, of the massacre of all the Pechenegs by order of Bolesław, deserves attention. Such a decision on the Polish side is not easy to understand. It is difficult to imagine how, after such an experience, the Pechenegs could five years later have helped Bolesław of their own free will. The impression one has is that Bolesław's severe order was rather the expression of the relationship between a ruler and subjects whom he wished to keep within the bounds of obedience and discipline, and who were notorious for their cruelty and savage behaviour. In 1018, the Pechenegs show subordination. In response to an order from Bolesław, they storm Kiev, and at his command they return to their territory, although the Poles still remain on the Dnieper.

[4] As to the trade relations between Poland and the Pechenegs, the following detail deserves our attention. It is well known that the nomads of the south-eastern steppes commonly used camels. The *Annales Quedlinburgenses* note, under the year 986, that Mieszko presented a camel to the German Emperor. The conjecture would seem to be permissible that he himself received it from the Pechenegs. It is by no means impossible that Mieszko also maintained trade relations with the Khazars, settled on the shores of the Caspian Sea. See P. Kokovtsov, *Evreisko khazarskaya perepiska v X veke*, 1932, pp. 62—5.

the South-East, testifies to this.[1] It is known that when this missionary arrived in Kiev, Vladimir the Great advised him to give up his dangerous journey. This proves that Vladimir was not its promoter. At the same time, it is difficult to imagine Bruno's undertaking as completely independent of all political agencies. Therefore we must suppose that Bruno set out for the Pecheneg country with the direct or indirect encouragement of Bolesław the Great.

Bruno had relations with Poland. In one of his works, *Vita Quinque Fratrum*, he shows a thorough knowledge of Polish affairs, and in his well-known letter to the Emperor Henry II he gives expression to his enthusiastic friendship for Bolesław the Great.[2] Some scholars think that Bruno was in Poland before starting on his mission to the Pechenegs.[3] In any case, the attempt to convert the Pechenegs followed the line of policy which Poland had laid down for herself.

From among the Pechenegs, Bruno returned to Bolesław's court, in order, as it would seem, to report on the results of his labours, and then, in agreement with Bolesław, to continue the work of Christianization among the pagans beyond the Polish border. The interest taken by Bolesław in the conversion of the Pechenegs would be unintelligible if the interests of Poland had not been at stake in the south-eastern steppes.

We may review further arguments in support of our thesis.

Great Moravia left not only a territorial and political, but also an ecclesiastical and religious heritage. In connection with the organization of the Church in Poland, and the foundation of the Metropolitan see of the Latin rite at Gniezno, in 999—1000, another Metropolitan see of the Slavonic rite was also founded, probably at Sandomierz.[4] On such occasions, the final decision lay in the hands of the Pope. Thoroughly aware of the difficulties involved, and of the lack of sympathy among the Latin clergy with the rite of S. S. Cyril and Methodius, Mieszko wished to enter into relations of special intimacy with the Holy See, and by the document *Dagome iudex* placed his domain under its sovereignty. It is worthy of note that this important decision was taken already by Mieszko, not by Bolesław the Great. If we further consider that Christianity was more strongly rooted in the " Slavonic " parts of Poland than in the " Latin ", as there it had an older tradition behind it, and that in consequence the need for organization of religious life must have been greater there; and finally, if we consider that at the time of the creation of the Metropolis at Gniezno,

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[1] V. Lyaskoronsky, K voprosu o mestopolozhenii v predelakh yuzhnoi Rossii raiona, v kotorom propovedyval episkop Brunon w nachale XI v, *ZMNP*, 1916, p. 294, thinks that Bruno must have chiefly been active in the region of Pereyaslavl.

[2] . . . " certe diligo eum (Boleslaum) ut animam meam, et plus quam vitam meam." *MPH* I, p. 226.

[3] A series of arguments in support of this thesis was put forward by S. Kętrzyński, O zaginionej metropolii czasów Bolesława Chrobrego, *PIHUW* I, 1947, p. 40. S. Zakrzewski, *Bolesław Chrobry Wielki*, 1925, p. 220 and A. Baranowski, Znajomość wschodu w dawnej Polsce do XVIII w., *LTN* III 1950, assume that Bruno came to Poland as early as 1006. I share Kętrzyński's opinion that H. Voigt's study (*Brun von Querfurt*, 1907) is in need of revision, especially concerning the last period of Bruno's life, after 1001.

[4] See Appendix: " A Polish Metropolitan See of the Slavonic Rite."

the whole country had to be divided between the two ecclesiastical provinces, we shall see how circumstances corroborate the supposition that the Metropolitian see of the Slavonic rite was also founded in the years 999—1000. This is supported by Master Vincent.

The Slavonic Metropolitan see comprised those eastern districts of Poland which remained outside the jurisdiction of the Latin Metropolitan. Thus the Slavonic Metropolitan see must have had quite a large extent,[1] and in the first place included the region of the upper Dniester, because the lands of the Bug region, the Czerwień Cities, were from 981 to 1018 under Kievan domination. Our sources show that, in the period under consideration, the territories of the Croats and, partly, of the Pechenegs were dependent on Poland. The *Dagome iudex* document indicates that Mieszko's realm bordered upon the territory of Kiev (Rus).

That Poland was in possession of the Halicz region in the 10th and 11th centuries is testified by the Hungaro-Polish Chronicle which had recorded a series of noteworthy facts. According to this source, Halicz was situated on the border of three countries : Hungary, Rus (the territory of Kiev), and Poland and belonged to the last mentioned country. Bolesław the Great hunted in the province of Halicz, and his grandson, Casimir the Restorer (d. 1058) established at Halicz his brother-in-law, Bela, when the latter was expelled from Hungary.[2]

If " Peremyshl " in " Nestor's " entry for 981 signifies Peremil, in that case, in the period we are concerned with, that city with the entire territory of the Buzhians belonged to Vladimir the Great. If, on the contrary, it was Przemyśl that was taken by that ruler in 981, then there is only one possible inference : he must have lost it again soon afterwards, and further struggles between Mieszko and Vladimir must have taken place.[3]

Historians allowed themselves to be too much impressed by the *Povest* which does not mention these wars, and extended the alleged state of peace to a period of nearly 30 years. However, Thietmar, who is much older than " Nestor ", gives a different picture of the events. The German chronicler lived during the years in question and could draw his information from his countrymen who had taken a direct part in the fighting. Thietmar stresses that Germans took part in both expeditions against Rus, in the years 1013 and 1018, when they served as auxiliaries with the Poles, while Yaroslav the Wise's offensive against Bolesław the Great, in 1017, was undertaken in understanding with the Emperor Henry II. In a word, Thietmar supplies information only on conflicts between Kiev and Poland in which the Germans were politically or militarily engaged. But how often did fighting take place without their participation ?

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1 " Gallus " indicates that both provinces were composed of a number of bishoprics.

2 For details see Appendix : " Origins of Halicz."

3 Even if we assume that in " Nestor's " entry for 981 " Peremyshl " does not mean Przemyśl and that the banks of the San and of the upper Dniester were not at stake in the conflict between Poland and Rus, the loss of the entire Buzhian territory would have been a sufficient reason for further wars between Poland and Rus.

We find echoes of these wars in later Russian chronicles.[1] Certain details which are contained in them deserve our attention, or even bear the marks of striking probability.[2]

It is probable that Vladimir conquered Brześć (Brest) and Drohiczyn before 983.[3] As it is difficult to imagine that Prince gaining mastery over the enormous territory in the course of the year 981, I am inclined to think that about 981 the Kievans undertook more expeditions than the one recounted by "Nestor."

The sources do not give any direct and explicit answer to the question whether Vladimir was able to keep Brześć with Drohiczyn after 983, but indirectly they would seem to us to indicate that Poland recovered these towns before 1018.[4] Therefore, combats of which we know nothing must

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[1] For a list of these sources cf. I. Linnichenko, *Vzaimnye otnosheniya Rusi i Polshi do poloviny XIV stoletiya*, 1884, pp. 78—80.

[2] We learn from these sources that Mieszko undertook a number of expeditions, and pushed as far as the Horyn. The lands between this river and the Styr formed a border between the Buzhian and Derevlian territories. The Polish monarch would thus appear to have desired to recover the entire territory of the Buzhians. As a matter of general probability, one should assume retaliatory expeditions on the part of Mieszko after 981. Mieszko played a most active part on the other borders of his State, as can be seen in the Chronicles of Widukind, of Thietmar, of Cosmas, etc. It is difficult to imagine that his conduct was different in the East. The Russian sources fill this gap.

In 990, Vladimir is said to have penetrated as far as the Vistula, and perhaps even further, while Mieszko sought salvation in flight to Cracow. Cracow, at that time, was already in his possession (cf. G. Labuda, *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego*, 1946, p. 229; K. Maleczyński, Polska a Czechy w średniowieczu, *Sob* II, 1947, pp. 5—6; G. Labuda, Znaczenie prawno polityczne dokumentu "Dagome iudex," *NP* IV 1948, pp. 40—1; F. Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*, 1949, pp. 105—7). The date of this conflict appears probable. The Poles' weakness in relation to Rus may find its explanation in the fact that Mieszko was fully engaged against the Czechs. Some Czech-Kievan collaboration may also have taken place. A. Orlov, *Vladimir Monomakh*, 1946, p. 31, assumes it as a fact. This unusually deep penetration by the forces of Rus into Polish country is echoed in the 13th century, when the Chronicle of Halicz-Volynia, in describing the successes of the contemporary Prince Daniel, son of Roman, declared that no member of the house of Rurik ever advanced so far into Poland, excepting Vladimir the Great.

[3] Having, in 981, become master on the upper reaches of the Bug by occupying Czerwień and other cities, Vladimir could then venture to attack the Yatvingians: "983. Vladimir marched on the Yatvingians, conquered them and seized their territory." Cross, p. 182. The Yatvingians lived to the North of the river Narew. After Vladimir's son Yaroslav had again reached the Bug, in 1030—1, Cross, p. 225, he undertook, in 1038, an expedition against the Yatvingian country, *ibid.*, pp. 227, and in 1041 and 1047 other expeditions against Mazovia, *ibid.*, pp. 227—8.

The campaigns conducted in the 12th and 13th centuries by Poland and Halicz-Volynia against the Yatvingians had to be based on Drohiczyn and carried thence across great tracts of forest. Since the sources indicate that the route most frequently used to reach the Yatvingian country led through Brześć and Drohiczyn, it seems evident that Vladimir must have been in control of these two places when, in 983, he undertook the expedition referred to above.

[4] In 1019, Svyatopolk, defeated by his brother Yaroslav, went to Poland by way of Brześć. Cross, p. 222. In 1022, Yaroslav of Kiev set out against Brześć, *ibid.*, p. 223. As "Nestor" does not in connection with the events of 1018 mention Bolesław the Great as having recovered that place, the conclusion seems logical that he must have possessed it before that date. Under the year 1017, Thietmar relates that Rus (Yaroslav) besieged one of Bolesław's fortresses without avail. Historians, such as S. Zakrzewski, R. Holtzmann, J. Jodkowski, and others, think that this fortress was Brześć.

We must also keep in mind that Brześć and Drohiczyn were not situated in East Slavonic territory. "Nestor" traces the limits of the Dregovichian territory on the Pripet and the Dvina, not on the Bug (cf. Cross, p. 138).

have taken place in this region between Rus and Poland.[1]

We have followed the first phase of the antagonism of two political entities, which entered the lists with youthful ardour. Foremost amid these stormy events appear the powerful figures of two fathers and their sons—Vladimir the Great with Yaroslav the Wise, and Mieszko with Bolesław the Great, as both " Gallus " and " Nestor ", without hesitation, call this son of Mieszko.

This political antagonism, rendered more intense by religious differences and by the rivalry of the two Churches, of Rome and of Constantinople, broke up the old tribal organizations and territories, obliterated the names of the tribes themselves and produced a new terminology, based on the names of cities and districts, which was truer to the conditions prevailing in lands which the two adversaries continued to wrest from one another. To the men of that time, fortified towns were the capitals of certain regions, and at any given moment served as landmarks fixing the territorial status of the two rivals.

At first sight it might appear that the limits of Polish settlements, as well as the Polish political frontiers in the East, as defined in these pages, are contrary to the evidence of later sources, which usually refer to the country situated on the banks of the Bug, and on the upper reaches of the Dniester, as Rus.

Grekov states that " the contemporary, chiefly Ukrainian rural population of the country is not composed of immigrants, but of natives. There is nothing to show that Poles were living there before the Ukrainians."[2]

We admit that the sources do not mention any uprooting of the inhabitants of this geographical region, or any mass influx of another population. But Grekov, in the sentence quoted, lays bare the weakest point of his argument when he calls the inhabitants of the territories we are concerned with " Ukrainians ". Never, in the course of history up to the end of the 19th century, did they bear that name. Our sources invariably refer to this population as Rus or designate it, according to the names of their cities, as Haliczians, Vladimirians, etc.

Here again we are faced with the problem of Rus, but we have already decided upon the meaning of that term. In the period under consideration Rus comprised two different conceptions: the one, which is the older of the two, is geographical and political in character and designates the land of Kiev, Chernihov and Pereyaslavl; the other, which is broader in scope and religious in character, embraces all the Slavonic and non-Slavonic followers of the faith represented by the Metropolitans of Kiev. Our sources contain a long stream of evidence which shows that neither Halicz nor Volynia considered themselves as Rus in the first sense, yet they were Rus

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[1] S. Kuczyński, O wyprawie Włodzimierza Wielkiego ku Lachom roku 981, *SPAU* LII (4), 1951, p. 321, thinks that the first expedition of Vladimir the Great against Poland, undertaken with the object of territorial conquest, only took place about 1012. The analysis of the sources we have carried out above contradicts any such conjecture.

[2] B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus*, p. 274.

in the religious meaning of that word. And since there were Finns on the Volga, Varangians, Greeks, Lithuanians, etc., answering to this denomination, there were obviously also Russian Lyakhs (Poles).

The sources which we now proceed to enumerate are noteworthy, because, up to the present time, they have not been made use of in historical works, and because at the same time, they can render valuable service in verifying the statements that we have made on the subject of Rus.

There is no doubt that current appellations and ideas are not formed in a day and do not disappear overnight. As the sources relating to earlier times, including the 12th century, are not too numerous, we introduce within the scope of our investigations, sources of the 13th and 14th centuries, which are still a living testimony to the more remote past.

How do the men of that time envisage Rus ?

The Year-book of the Holy Cross Monastery (*Rocznik Świętokrzyski*) uses most explicit terms and says that Bolesław the Great in 1018 "*superavit Rutenos seu Grecos.*"[1] The Jewish rabbis of the 11th century define the Kievan State as the land of Greek Slavs (*Kenaan Jawan*).[2] The Chronicle of Poland Major (*Kronika Wielkopolska*) mentions Odo, whose son Roman was a "prince of Rus".[3] We show the credibility of this report in another place of the present study,[4] and need not here go into the question of its truth, but the fact remains that, in the eyes of the chronicler, princes of the house of Piast were recognized as being of Rus, for we must not forget that Odo-Otto was a son of Bolesław the Great, and Roman, his grandson. The Hungaro-Polish Chronicle takes a similar view when it calls another son of Bolesław, Mieszko, a " prince of Rus."[5]

There cannot be any question of a " Ukrainian " population being driven out, or a Polish population flowing into the country, because there was only one people there, namely that which the sources call Lyakhs. Originally, it belonged, in the terminology of " Nestor ", to the " Slavonic *yazyk* ", i.e., to the rite of Cyril and Methodius. " Gallus " says that the whole of Poland grieved at Bolesław the Great's death and that all her inhabitants mourned the King, those of the Latin as well as those of the Slavonic rite, *Latini* and *Slavi*. After the downfall of the Polish Metropolitan see of the Slavonic rite, the Latin rite finally prevailed in the greater part of the Piast Kingdom, but a split occurred among the Lyakhs.[6]

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[1] *MPH* III, p. 62.

[2] Yu. Brutskus, Pershi zvistki pro Evreiv u Polshchi ta na Rusi, *NZUAN* XXVI, 1927, pp. 9—10.

[3] . . . " Romani principis Russiae filii Odonis . . . " *MPH* II, p. 485.

[4] See Appendix : " Origins of Halicz."

[5] " Origins of Halicz " (Appendix).

[6] The ground was prepared for this rupture by the Eastern clergy, who were active in Poland in the days of Bolesław the Great. " The Life of St. Moses " states that monks from the Holy Mount (Athos) resided, in the 11th century, in the domain of the Piasts. D. Abramovich, Kievo Pecherskii Paterik, *PMPDU* IV, 1931. On the significance of the great religious centre on Mount Athos for the development of the faith in Rus cf. M. Priselkov, Afon v nachalnoi istorii Kievo Pecherskogo monastyrya, *IORYS* XVII, 1912, pp. 186—90; A. Solovev, Istoriya russkogo monashestva na Afone, *ZRNIB* VII 1932, pp. 137—56; V. Moshin, Russkie na Afone i russko vizantiiskie otnosheniya v XI — XII vv., *BS* IX (1), 1947, pp. 55—85, XI (1), 1950, pp. 32—60.

It is not without significance that the two sources which are most important in this connection, and which both date from the beginning of the 12th century, " Nestor " and " Gallus ", have a different approach to the western and central part of Poland than to its south-eastern districts.[1] This is undoubtedly connected with the split to which we allude.

Following an old tradition, Dlugossius writes down these characteristic words : " The just and continuous possession of the lands of Rus . . . was withdrawn from Polish domination because the Rus felt extreme hatred for Polish overlordship, not so much on the grounds of an unjust and avaricious government, as on account of the difference of rite and faith."[2] Dlugossius was justified, therefore, in attributing the split which occurred among the Polish population to religious motives.

The changes in the geographical use of the term " Lyakhs " during later centuries were connected with the developments just mentioned. Here the name of Podlachia, once *Podlasze*, today *Podlasie*, deserves our attention. Brückner shrewdly remarks that this was the land *przy Lachu*, bordering on the Lyakhs.[3] Now, Master Vincent considers the Yatvingians as one of the Prussian tribes and calls them Podlachians (*Pollexiani*).[4] The sources of the 13th century confirm the geographical information of Master Vincent and indicate that Podlachia was contiguous to Prussian Galindia.[5] Vincent opposes Drohiczyn to Podlachia.[6] However, later centuries understood Podlachia to be simply the region of Drohiczyn, Mielnik, and other neighbouring towns. In the 15th century, Dlugossius, accepting the authority of Vincent, recognizes the Yatvingians as Podlachians, and, using the meaning attached to the word " Podlachia " in his time, locates the Yatvingians at Drohiczyn.[7] This error is extremely characteristic.[8]

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[1] For details of these questions, see Appendix : " A Polish Metropolitan See of the Slavonic Rite."

[2] . . . " terrarum Russiae iusta et continuata possessio . . . a Polonorum ditione subducta est, Ruthenis non tam ex iniusto et avaro regimine, quam ex ritus in fide disparitate Polonorum imperium quam maxime abhorrentibus." *Joannis Dlugossii . . . Historiae Poloniae Libri XII* I, 1873, pp. 402—3.

[3] A. Brückner, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*, 1927, p. 289.

[4] " Sunt autem Pollexiani . . . Prussorum genus . . . " *MPH* II, pp. 421—2.

[5] . . . " super terris Polexia et Golenz " . . . *PU* I No. 303, pp. 224—7 ; . . . " terras paganorum, que Golens et Polexia vulgariter appellantur . . . " *ibid.*, No. 331, p. 240, etc.

[6] *MPH* II, p. 422.

[7] . . . " principalis . . . et metropolis (Jaczwingorum) . . . erat arx et civitas Drohiczyn." Dlugossius, *op. cit.*, I, p. 497.

[8] F. Bujak, in the discussion of a paper by R. Jakimowicz, Wschodnia granica osadnictwa mazowieckiego, *PVI ZHP* II, 1936, p. 117—8, puts forward the conjecture that in the 12th and 13th centuries the Yatvingians seized the region of Drohiczyn, and hence took the name of Podlachians. There is little probability in this hypothesis. Had they become the temporary masters of these parts, it is impossible to imagine that they would have so rapidly appropriated the name of the newly conquered country. What is more, in the 13th century the Yatvingians, far from indulging in territorial expansion, were on the verge of extinction. Their aggressive activities were limited to raids undertaken for loot. W. Wielhorski, *Polska i Litwa. Stosunki wzajemne w biegu dziejów* 1947, p. 48, also supposes that the Yatvingians held a number of fortresses, such as Drohiczyn, Mielnik, etc., in Podlachia. St. Zajączkowski, Kaip jotvingiai buvo vadinami viduriniais amziais, *LP* I, 1940, p. 76, considers the question of how the Yatvingians used to call themselves, and comes to the conclusion that they did not call themselves Podlachians.

Our sources indicate unmistakably that the name of Podlachia, in the course of time, changed its territorial meaning.[1] Originally, the country neighbouring on the Lyakhs—i.e., on the inhabitants of the Drohiczyn region—was that of the Yatvingians. But when the Lyakh population on the Bug had received the faith of Rus, they began, under changed religious and political conditions, to be estranged from the rest of their congeners, and to consider themselves as neighbours of the Lyakhs, a position expressed by the name " Podlachia ".

Obviously, for a time things must have remained in a fluid state, as geographical designations do not arise or undergo changes in a day. At the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th centuries Drohiczyn is qualified as Rus—e.g., by Master Vincent—and at the same time proofs are extant that it was not regarded as part of Rus.[2]

That the territory described as Lyakh underwent changes, and that it shrank, in the course of history, in proportion to the spreading of the faith of Rus, and of the political consequences that this entailed, is borne out by sources relating to the entire borderland between Poland and Rus.

While "Nestor" considers the whole territory of the Buzhians, and in particular that of the Cities of Czerwień in the 10th and 11th centuries, as a Polish country, in the opinion of the 12th century, the land situated between the rivers Wieprz and Bug lay between Poland and Rus.[3] The Halicz-Volynian Chronicle, in the 13th century, regards the land of Chełm, formerly called the Cities of Czerwień, as a part of Rus. An analogous advance of Rus can also be observed in the South.[4]

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[1] St. Zajączkowski, Najdawniejsze osadnictwo polskie na Podlasiu, *RDSG* V, 1936, pp. 13—44.

[2] For instance, in 1237, Conrad of Mazovia endowed the Order of the so-called Dobrzyń Brothers with " castrum Drochicin et totum territorium, quod ex eadem parte castri continetur, a medietate fluminum Bug et Nur usque ad metas ruthenorum." *CDCMG* I, N. 366, pp. 421—2.

[3] S. Kętrzyński, Ze studiów nad Gerwazym z Tilbury, *RPAU* XXI, 1903, p. 6, draws attention to the following information contained in Gervase of Tilbury (12th cent.): " Inter Poloniam et Russiam sunt duo fluvii, quorum nomina secundum vulgaris illorum linguae interpretationem Aper et Armilla." Aper, of course, signifies the river Wieprz. The translation of the Polish name into Latin is quite faithful. The other name, Armilla, offers some difficulty. Brückner would seem to be the nearest to the truth, when he identified it with the Bug. Cf. J. Rozwadowski, Studia nad nazwami wód słowiańskich, *PO*, 1948, pp. 242—3.

[4] W. Semkowicz, *Geograficzne podstawy Polski Chrobrego*, pp. 303—4, writes: " Now we must state that distinct traces exist of important Polish territorial losses to Rus on the river Wisłok, so that the Wisłok itself formed the frontier before the 14th century. The fact is that Krosno, and probably also the whole desert and wooded strip of Sanok, was part of Poland in the 13th century and before. Krosno, which is mentioned among the possessions of the Bishopric of Lubusz, bestowed on it by Polish princes . . . in 1282, still lies in Poland "versus Russiam." Similarly Rzeszów, which later is situated within the boundaries of Rus, is mentioned on the lists for the collection of S. Peter's pence, in the 14th century, up to 1351—i.e., probably up to the time of the delimitation of the newly formed diocese of Przemyśl—as a parish belonging to the so-called forest deanery, viz., that of Dembica, and consequently still lying within the diocese of Cracow." Cf. S. Zakrzewski, *Zagadnienia historyczne* II, 1936, p. 257.

J. Matuszewski, O biskupstwie lubuskim, *CPH* II, 1949, pp. 51—2, draws attention to two localities situated at a distance of about 30 km. from one another. Krosno, nearer Poland, belonged to Rus, and Konice, though more distant, did not. If the meaning of Rus were political, such frontiers could not be traced. If denominational conditions solely were taken into account, this state of things becomes quite understandable. At the border of two denominations, the communities could intermingle in a chess-board pattern.

Al-Idrisi, the Arabic geographer of the middle of the 12th century, deals with Przemyśl in a most interesting way. On the one hand, he writes that this is a Polish town belonging to the province of Sandomierz, and he mentions it beside Gniezno, Wrocław, Cracow, etc.; on the other, he regards it as Rus.[1] At first sight, it might appear that the author is contradicting himself, but in fact he is only faithfully reproducing the reality of the time. For the same places were simultaneously called Polish in the ethnical and Russian in the religious sense.

A contemporary of Idrisi, Matthew, Bishop of Cracow, about 1150, informed St. Bernard of Clairvaux that Rus, from the day it received Christianity, did not profess the true faith, and did not pray either in Latin or in Greek. In the Bishop's day, the same state of things existed in Poland also.[2] Matthew was concerned in the first place with those Polish lands which were outside the Metropolitan see of Gniezno, and used Slavonic in the liturgy just as Rus did.

Master Vincent, writing several decades after Matthew, relates that Casimir the Just, Prince of Cracow (1177—94), subjected vast territories to his overlordship: Silesia, Poland Major, Pomerania, Cuiavia with Mazovia, as well as such lands of Rus as those of Przemyśl, Vladimir, Brześć, and Drohiczyn. Having united all this territory, Casimir became the "monarch of the Lyakhs".[3] These sources, therefore, make it quite clear that those lands of Rus, in contemporary opinion, were nothing else than component parts of Poland.[4]

The origin of the split among the Poles in the 11th and 12th centuries, and of the changes in the territorial meaning of the Lyakhs, has to be sought in the heritage of S. S. Cyril and Methodius, which was deeply rooted in the southern and eastern parts of the country. The Slavonic idiom, which was intelligible to the masses, appealed to the population more than the exotic sound of Latin. It was not in vain that "Nestor" declared that the Slavonic *yazyk*, the rite of Cyril and Methodius, was one and the same as the Russian *yazyk* i.e., the one later followed at Kiev. In accordance with the tradition of Great Moravia, the Eastern Church maintained the

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[1] T. Lewicki, *Polska i kraje sąsiednie w świetle "Księgi Rogera" geografa arabskiego z XII w. al Idrisiego*, pp. 137—44.

[2] *MPH* II, pp. 15—16. For details see Appendix: "A Polish Metropolitan See of the Slavonic Rite."

[3] The passage in question ends with the following words: "Sed et Russiae nonnullas iubet accedere provincias: Premisliensem cum oppidis contingentibus, Wladimiriensem cum ducatus integritate, Breszcze cum omni suorum incolatis, Drohiczyn cum suorum universitate. Sic itaque Casimirus fuit monarchus Lechiae." *MPH* II, pp. 397—8. And the Chronicle of Poland Major makes the addition: "totius Lechiae." *MPH* II, p. 530.

[4] How strong the tradition of unity with the eastern provinces was in Poland, is illustrated by facts even of the 14th century. When Casimir the Great (1333—1370) came into possession of the basins of the upper Dniester and of the Bug, he stressed on the one hand that these lands belonged to Rus (in faith), but on the other he considered them as, ethnically, a component part of Poland, on an equality with Cracow, Sandomierz, etc. This can be seen from the title most frequently used by the King: . . . "rex Poloniae necnon terrarum Cracoviae, Sandomiriae, Siradiae, Lanciciae, Cuiaviae, Pomoraniae Russiaeque dominus et haeres." H. Paszkiewicz, Polityka ruska Kazimierza Wielkiego, *RHWTN* IV, 1925, pp. 149—51. The title assumed by Casimir the Great was basically different from that adopted by the Kings of Hungary ("rex Galiciae et Lodomeriae").

language of the Slavs in its liturgy. By so doing it assured to the Russian clergy a formidable superiority over the Latin.[1] This explains the victory of Constantinople over Rome, and the fact that Przemyśl, Halicz, and Vladimir of Volynia became Rus.

By what name should we designate the population of later times in the valleys of the San, the upper Dniester, and the Bug ? In my opinion, the most appropriate expression is the one used by " Nestor " when writing about the Radimichians who, as he put it, were " *ot roda Lyakhov* " i.e., of Polish origin.

The results of our analysis of the sources and the views based on these sources, need to be tested in the light of the later relations existing between these lands and Poland.

What was the attitude of the population in the area we are considering to its western neighbours in the 13th century ?

There is one source which is of special importance for the question we have just put, and that is the Chronicle of Halicz-Volynia.[2] But the information supplied by this source will become much clearer if we begin by dealing with the attitude toward the Catholics of the greatest centres of the Russian faith, such as Kiev and Great Novgorod.

Laehr rightly remarks that the most important of the factors which produced division among the Slavs was religion, and the culture associated with it.[3] It is certain that a great effort and a considerable lapse of time was necessary to bring about this division. Action against the Latins was undertaken in Kiev not so much by clerics of Slavonic descent as by Greeks, and often by those occupying some of the highest positions.[4]

The monk Theodosius, in his "Discourse on Christian and Latin Faith," affirms that the latter is worse than the Jewish, and that it is a duty to guard against contacts with the Latins ; and if, in case of need, someone gives them food or drink in his own vessel, he will have to wash and purify it by prayer.[5]

John II, Metropolitan of Kiev, in 1080 denounced those princes of the house of Rurik who gave their daughters in marriage to western princes. The writings of the Metropolitan Nicephorus (1104—21) are remarkable for the passionate tone in which he admonishes Vladimir Monomakh, Prince of Kiev, explaining what a great offence it is to maintain relations

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[1] Bujak's observation is not convincing when he states that Poland was belated in her Church organization, which only took place about 1000, while Vladimir the Great apparently founded a Bishopric in Vladimir of Volynia as early as 992. F. Bujak, Historia osadnictwa ziem polskich w krótkim zarysie, in *Studia historyczne i społeczne*, 1924, p. 63. This is a purely formal approach to the question. The difference in time is a few years. The subject is rightly treated, in my opinion, by E. Kucharski, Mazowsze pierwotne i zagadnienie szczepów polskich, *Studia staropolskie ku czci A. Brücknera*, 1928, p. 63.

[2] It is printed in the second volume *PSRL* ; cf. M. Priselkov, Letopisanie Zapadnoi Ukrainy i Belorussii, *UZLGU* VII, 1941 (unavailable to me) ; A. Orlov, O Galitsko Volynskom letopisanii, *TO DRL* V, 1947, pp. 15—35.

[3] G. Laehr, *Die Anfänge des russischen Reiches*, p. 89.

[4] A. Sobolevsky, *Otnoshenie drevnei Rusi k razdeleniyu tserkvei*, p. 98.

[5] A number of remarks were recently devoted to this work by I. Eremin, Literaturnoe nasledie Feodosiya Pecherskogo, *TO DRL* V, pp. 170—3.

with the Latins. The same Metropolitan directs a special letter to Yaroslav, son of Svyatopolk (d. 1123), Prince of Volynia, as the most exposed to this sin, " because the Prince is a neighbour of the Lyakh country and those who inhabit it have received the Latin doctrine and abandoned the Apostolic Church."

It is not our intention to pass these numerous writings in review, because they are well known, and have been sufficiently dealt with by a number of scholars. But it is impossible to pass over the conditions which existed in the North of Rus, where Novgorod and Pskov had contacts with the Catholic Germans. Archbishop Nifont of Novgorod (1129—56) developed his views in detail, and instructed the faithful as to how they should proceed if a Latin desired to become a follower of the Eastern Church. It is true that such a Catholic was not baptized a second time, but the ritual of reception prescribed by the Archbishop shows that he was regarded as a neophyte. The ceremonies of reception into the new faith lasted eight days, spent in prayer and fasting. The proselyte received a name, and on the eighth day, attired in fresh garments, he was subjected to the rite of confirmation (*miropomazanie*). The inhabitants of Pskov expelled their prince, Vladimir, because he married his daughter to a Catholic. The Chronicle of Pskov freely applies epithets, such as: the "pagan Latins", the " pagan Germans ", etc.[1]

It is against the background of such opinions, prevailing on the Dnieper and on the banks of Lake Ilmen, that the attitude of the Halicz-Volynia Chronicle towards Poland, in spite of the religious difference existing between the two lands, appears in the proper light. While in the Kiev *Paterikon* the devil was represented under the guise of a Pole, we can see what pictures of the Polish Piasts, who were Catholics, were drawn by the Russian chroniclers in Volynia: " 1251. The great Lyakh Prince Conrad died, who was famous and very good. Danilo and Vasylko (Princes of Halicz-Volynia) moaned for him."—"1279. In the same year died Bolesław, Great Prince of Cracow, who was good, meek, gentle, humble, and gracious. He lived many years, and thus, in old age, departed to God. His remains . . . were laid to rest in the Church of St. Francis in Cracow."—" 1286. In the same year died the Great Prince of Cracow, Leszek, son of Casimir. The bishop and the abbots of the monasteries and the priests and the deacons, when burying his remains, sang the usual hymns, and laid his body to rest in the Cracow Church of the Holy Trinity. Everyone moaned for him greatly, both the knighthood and the simple people." Further, the chronicler recounts that when the Prince of Volynia, Vladimir, heard of the death of Leszek, "he grieved and moaned for him."[2]

The connection between the Chronicle of Halicz-Volynia and the chronicles of Kiev is only formal, but in their contents the differences are fundamental.

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[1] A. Nasonov, *Pskovskie letopisi* I, 1941, pp. 3, 4, etc.

[2] The quoted texts are to be found under the indicated dates in *PSRL* II.

Let us consider a series of facts which are important for the right understanding of the Halicz-Volynian princes' attitude to the Roman Church. When, at the end of the 12th century, war broke out between the Polish princes, the Bishop of Cracow (Pełka), according to the testimony of Master Vincent, warmly advised the Russian Roman, who was personally engaged in this struggle, to remain in Cracow as long as possible, and Roman showed equal good will towards the Catholic Bishop.[1]

It is probable that Roman's son Danilo is referred to in a letter which was written in 1231 by Gregory IX to a personage who remained unnamed. The Pope had heard from Christian, Bishop of Prussia, that the Prince was ready to receive the Latin faith, a decision which the Pope had assiduously tried to induce him to take.[2] Now, as Christian was almost Court Bishop to Conrad, we can easily guess whence the initiative for this conversion had come.

The idea of winning the Rus of Halicz-Volynia for the Catholic Church became a subject of special interest after the great Mongol invasion of 1240–1. Danilo accepted the Latin faith, and the Volynian chronicler records that fact without a word of reproof.[3] The said Prince, however, not having received the promised help against the Tartars, returned to the Eastern Church. This did not elicit from the chronicler any expression of commendation, nor even a mention of the incident. Yet this writer is indignant when Mindaugas (Mendog), the then ruler of Lithuania, having received baptism in the Catholic Church, does not remain faithful to it.[4] Further examples of a similar character could easily be quoted.

Thus, it remains a fact that in contrast to analogous writings of Kiev, of Novgorod, etc., the Chronicle of Halicz-Volynia does not betray any feeling of religious antagonism toward the Catholics. This undoubtedly was in consequence of prolonged intercourse with Poland.

Now, do the sources authorize us to speak of any ethnical, national or political antagonism between Poland and her nearest neighbours in the East during this period?

There was one important factor in the political affairs of the Dniester and Bug regions at the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century; namely, the fact that princes of the house of Rurik were established in this area as the rulers of particular districts. Up to the time when the aforesaid Roman, in the latter half of the 12th century, had finally strengthened his position, political conditions were, on the whole, irregular and fluid. Often enough princes, encouraged by Kiev, came from beyond the eastern boundaries, and attempted, by diverse means, by violence or by ruse, to

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[1] There are indications that Roman was in contact with the Benedictines of Erfurt. Cf. W. Abraham, *Powstanie organizacji kościoła łacińskiego na Rusi* I, 1904, p. 95; B. Włodarski, Polityka ruska Leszka Białego, *ATNL* III, 1927, p. 20.

[2] M. Chubaty, Zakhidna Ukraina i Rim u XIII v. u svoikh zmaganyakh do tserkovnoi unii, *ZNTIS*, 1917, p. 28.

[3] "He (Danilo) received the (royal) crown from God, from the Church of the Holy Apostles and from . . . St. Peter, from his father Pope Innocent, and from all his Bishops." *PSRL* II.

[4] Under the year 1252, *PSRL* II.

seize the reins of government in particular territories.[1] It is difficult to admit that they were, in every case, representatives of the interests and desires of the local population.

If we pass these rulers of Poland's borderland in review, we find several whose attitude to Poland was distinctly hostile.[2] But over a period of about 200 years these form a very small proportion of the representatives of the dynasty.

Similarly hostile disposition can be discerned also on the Polish side, and it is connected chiefly with religious motives. We have on this point the evidence of Matthew, Bishop of Cracow, in the middle of the 12th century;[3] we also have the evidence of Master Vincent, who envisages the lands on the Dniester and Bug sometimes as parts of Poland, sometimes as foreign and hostile territory. Such mixed feelings as Vincent expresses are characteristic of the epoch under consideration.

Yet expressions of ill-will or contempt which occur on one side or the other must not be over-emphasized. Hostile dispositions are sometimes harboured by particular Piasts against others, while the princes of Halicz are regarded with hostility by Volynians. The Volynian chronicler angrily describes the *boyars* of Halicz as "godless", "dishonest", "faithless", "false", etc.[4] When the above mentioned Roman, of Vladimir in Volynia, acquired with Polish help Halicz, he treated the *boyars* of that principality with extreme severity and cruelty, thereby exciting disaffection among the Poles.[5]

I do not propose here to describe in detail the relations between the Princes of Halicz–Volynia and Poland in the 12th and 13th centuries. The facts are common knowledge. There were alliances and there were also wars.[6] It often happened that the Piasts in conflict with one another asked their eastern neighbours for help, while, on the other hand, the Rurikides called in the Poles against their nearer or more distant kinsmen. A very appropriate synthesis of these events is given by the Ukrainian historian, M. Korduba, when he says: "They made war upon one another, but these wars were exclusively family affairs; they were dynastic. There is no political . . . (or) national antagonism whatever to be observed."[7]

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[1] "Eo namque tempore in fata concesserat dux Galiciae Wladimir, herede nullo relicto legitimo. Unde Russiae principes, quidam vi, quidam arte, nonnulli utroque modo vacantem student rapere principatum." *MPH* II, p. 437.

[2] Vincent states that Volodar set up a true coalition against Poland; that Vladimir of Halicz raided Polish lands and sold the abducted population as slaves in the East; that the prince at Drohiczyn supported the Yatvingians against the Poles. We also know that Vasilko of Trembowla, the son of Rostislav, took sides against Poland with particular acrimony, etc.

[3] *MPH* II, p. 15—6.

[4] *PSRL*, pp. 156, 159, 174, 178, etc. Cf. L. Cherepnin, Letopisets Danila Galitskogo, *IZ*, 1941 (12), p. 229.

[5] *MPH* II, pp. 440—1.

[6] One of the most famous episodes of these Polish Russian wars—the causes of which, however, have never been made clear—is the battle of Zawichost, on the Vistula, fought in 1205. In this battle fell Roman (several times mentioned above), defeated by Leszek the White, Prince of Cracow. A short time afterwards, Roman's widow came to Cracow with her sons, and found a friendly reception and help on the part of Leszek who appears to have deeply regretted her husband's death. It would appear, therefore, that there were no serious reasons for the conflict.

[7] Cf. M. Korduba, Stosunki polsko-ukraińskie w w. X—XIII, *SN* VII (6), 1933, p. 758.

Many causes were responsible for this. In the first place, personal contacts and friendships,[1] and especially frequent intermarriages. Such marriages were a common occurrence among the scions of the house of Rurik who were immediate neighbours of Poland.[2] On the subject of these marriages, a very significant view was expressed by Korduba: "Marriages were so frequent between the dynasties reigning in the two countries (Poland and the lands of Halicz and Volynia) that even modern chemical analysis would not be able to distinguish Piast from Rurik blood."[3]

The marriages between Piasts and Rurikides had their repercussions in the sphere of culture and custom, but first and foremost they were followed by political consequences. "Gallus" calls Vladimir the Great's son Svyatopolk, married to a daughter of Bolesław the Great: "*Ruthenus sui (Boleslai) generis.*"[4] Izyaslav of Turov, also married to a Piast princess, is described by the chronicler in very similar terms.[5] The bond of blood is stressed no less strongly by Master Vincent when he says of Bolesław the Great and Svyatopolk at Kiev: "*Ubi quendam sui sanguinis regem creat . . .* "[6]

When the Roman so many times mentioned addressed himself to the Poles for help in the conquest of Halicz, the latter, after due consultation, decided to support him, and explained their decision in the following way: "*. . . nec nostro principi* (Leszek the White) *nec nobis esse Romanum extraneum. Nam quo pacto extraneus dici potest cum quo secundo consanguinitatis gradu reperitur.*"[7]

Thus, the princes intermarried, and the knights intermarried also.[8]

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[1] The Chronicle of Halicz-Volynia frequently describes the terms of personal friendship which existed between particular Piasts and members of the house of Rurik. For details on Polish relations with Volynia and Halicz, cf. B. Włodarski, Polityka ruska Leszka Białego, *ATNL* III (3), 1925; *idem*, Rola Konrada mazowieckiego w stosunkach polsko ruskich, *ATNL* XIX, 1937; *idem*, Alians rusko mazowiecki z drugiej połowy XIII w., *Studia ku czci S. Kutrzeby*, II, 1938.

[2] Marriages between the Piasts and the Rurikides were frequent, especially with those of the Halicz—Volynia line. A study was devoted to this subject by N. Baumgarten, Généalogies et marriages occidentaux de Rurikides russes du X au XIII siècle. *OC* IX (1), 1927. The author covers the period from the end of the 10th century to 1282. Evidently the greatest number of marriages (73) were concluded within the widespread Rurikide dynasty itself. But Polish marriages were numerous beyond expectation, they numbered 34, or nearly 50 per cent of the former group. Hungarian marriages were 15, German 13, Scandinavian and English 13, Byzantine 12, Czech 6, etc. See also B. Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance à la fin du XIe siècle*, 1924, pp. 143—78; V. Zaikin in *AOBM* I (4), 1927, pp. 629—34; L. Sukhotin, Brachnye soyuzy blizhaishikh potomkov svyatogo knyazya Vladimira, *Vladimirskii Sbornik*, 1938, pp. 175—87; S. Bakhrouchine—E. Kosminski, La diplomatie de la Russie au XIIe—XVe siècles, in V. Potiemkine, *Histoire de la diplomatie*, 1946, p. 110. For details on Rus-Polish marriages, O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, 1895.

[3] M. Korduba, *op. cit.*, p. 758.

[4] *Galli Anonymi Cronica*, p. 23.

[5] ". . . quendam sui generis Ruthenum." *Ibid.*, p. 48.

[6] *MPH* II, p. 280.

[7] Roman's mother (Agnes) and Leszek's father (Casimir) were brother and sister. Casimir brought up his nephew at his court, and later constantly gave him support. ("Meminit namque idem Romanus, quanta erga se Casimiri fuerint beneficia, apud quem paene cunabulis educatus, quo fungitur, ab eo principatu est institutus." *MPH* II, p. 433.)

[8] That Polish Lords in the 12th century, such as Peter, the son of Włost, Jaksa of Kopanik, and others used to marry ladies of the faith of Rus is pointed out by W. Semkowicz, *Paleografia łacińska*, 1951, pp. 103—4, 134, 534—5. The most important source of information concerning Peter is Cronica Petri comitis Poloniae, *MPHNS* III, 1951. The son of Peter bore the name of Constantine; cf. M. Plezia, *Palatyn Piotr Włostowicz*, 1947, p. 19.

Among the *boyars* of Halicz, for instance, we meet with names such as: Stanisław, Wit, Wracisław, etc., which, much used in Poland, were unknown in the East. This proves that these men's mothers must have been Polish.[1] Sometimes Polish noblemen would serve the Halicz-Volynian princes of the Rurik house, and sometimes *boyars* of Halicz or of Volynia would seek refuge in Poland. In a word, religious differences were not able to suppress the impulse towards mutual intercourse. Efforts were made, not only on the part of the Metropolitans of Kiev, to prevent these mixed marriages. The Popes also opposed them. Gregory IX forbade Polish women to marry men of Rus, because their husbands would force their wives to abandon Catholicism. He enjoined the Polish clergy so to influence their princes that these did not seek allies in Rus (1233). The Pope deplored the fact that the Polish country folk should escape into Rus and there abandon their faith.[2] Polish annals confirm the fact of these escapes, especially in years of famine.[3]

The close intercourse of the princes of Halicz and Volynia with the Piasts appears most vividly at the time of the great Mongol invasion of 1240—1. Roman's sons, Danilo and Vasilko, flee to Poland. At the critical moment, the Prince of Mazovia gives Danilo one of his towns for his maintenance. After the retreat of the Mongols, these friendly relations did not cease.[4] The Chronicle of Halicz-Volynia stresses the point that when Danilo decided to receive the Latin faith, he was persuaded by Polish princes. What is more, although Poland, at that time broken up into particular principalities, did not possess a king of her own, individual Piast princes, free of national envy or personal jealousy, interceded with the Pope in order to obtain the royal crown for Danilo, and took a personal part in the coronation ceremonies. During an expedition against the Yatvingians, both parties, the Rus and the Poles, entrusted the common command to Danilo on account of his royal dignity. Such common action against the Yatvingians occurred many times.[5]

It is therefore clear that the disputes and armed conflicts between Halicz and Volynia on the one side, and Poland on the other, were short-lived, fugitive episodes. It is difficult to observe in them anything like enduring animosity and lasting bitterness. The explanation of this should doubtless be sought in the mutual attitude of the two communities, which

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[1] S. Yushkov, *Obshchestvenno politicheskii stroi i pravo Kievskogo gosudarstva*, 1949, pp. 401—3, pertinently observes that the *boyars* of the Halicz province, who were great landowners, played an important political part, all the more prominent in consequence of the weakness of the princely power. The strong position of the *boyars* of Halicz, comparable to that of the knighthood of Poland, distinguished and isolated the land of Halicz from the other territories of Rus; cf. V. Mavrodin, Sotsialno politicheskii stroi, in *Istoriya kultury drevnei Rusi domongolskogo perioda*, by several hands, II, 1951, p. 28.

[2] W. Abraham, *Powstanie organizacji kościoła łacińskiego na Rusi* I, 1904, p. 79.

[3] F. Bujak, Studia nad osadnictwem Małopolski, *RPAU*, 1905, p. 211.

[4] Among the facts of another category, it is worth mentioning that Danilo called in Poles for settlement in the town of Chełm, newly founded by him. The prince saw no danger in doing this, although at the time the place was quite near the Polish frontier.

[5] H. Paszkiewicz, Z życia politycznego Mazowsza w XIII w. *Księga ku czci O. Haleckiego*, 1935, pp. 203—28.

influenced that of their rulers. Leszek the White gave armed support to Roman and his claims to Halicz, through the intervention of the Cracow lords.[1] Not only Polish princes, but also Lyakh *boyars*, as the Chronicle of Halicz and Volynia calls them, persuaded Danilo to accept the royal crown, and promised him their help against the Tartars.

In the seventh decade of the 13th century, when a Polish-Rus conflict broke out, Poles living on the confines of Rus secretly informed their eastern neighbours of the attack on Chełm planned by the Prince of Cracow, and thereby rendered them a great service.[2]

All the facts recorded above, and their number could easily be increased, show that there were great differences between the two meanings of the same word, between Rus as understood at Kiev, and Rus as understood by Halicz and Volynia; differences pertaining not only to the religious sphere.

Methods of warfare are not only a military problem; they are also expressions of the psychological and political dispositions of the two parties at war, and, in the first place, of the degree of their mutual enmity. To illustrate this, I juxtapose two narratives, one from the borders of the Dnieper, the other from those of the Vistula, Dniester, and Bug; the one testifying to the most bloody and cruel way imaginable of conducting war; the other of one so humane that nothing comparable was known at that time in the East of Europe.

In 1169, a group of the Rurik dynasty invaded the land of Kiev from the North. Kiev suffered terrible destruction. The chronicler enumerates the plundered churches and convents, as well as the private property that was looted, and then adds: "There was no mercy for anyone nor (help) from any quarter for the burning churches, or the murdered Christians, and for those others who were put in chains. Wives were abducted into slavery and violently separated from their husbands. Children cried bitterly when they saw their mothers in such a state. And great quantities of property were taken away, and the churches robbed of their images and holy books, of their sacred vestments and bells . . . And there were at Kiev among the whole population, sobs and gloom and disconsolate grief and continuous tears."[5]

"The Rus and the Lyakhs concluded an agreement with one another which was confirmed by oath: if ever there should be strife between them, the Lyakhs shall not wage war against the *chelad'*[3] of Rus, nor shall Rus do this unto Lyakh *chelad'*."[4]

The sources allow us to state that the initiative for the agreement of 1229 came from the Polish side.[6] Korduba writes as follows about this treaty: "It is significant . . . that this first international treaty to be known in Rus, aiming at gentler methods of warfare and prohibiting the enslavement of the rural population, was concluded by the sons of Roman (of Halicz and Volynia), not with their eastern neighbours, but with Polish princes."[7] That even before the agreement of 1229 such tendencies existed in practice, is shown in any case by the following information contained in the Chronicle of Halicz-Volynia, and dating from 1208: When the Poles began to plunder Vladimir of Volynia, the local prince of the house of Rurik called upon the Polish princes (Leszek and Conrad) to restrain their warriors. "And Leszek and Conrad came and killed their Lyakhs (who were plundering), and in this way the churches and the rest of the population were saved." Similar reactions are to be discerned also on the other side. E.g., when the conflict between Mazovia and Volynia was allayed, and both princes again began to live "in great concord, Vladimir (Prince of Volynia) returned to him (Conrad of Mazovia) the *cheladz* who had been adbucted by the army (of Vladimir)."[8]

Another detail of Polish-Rus relations at that time should not be overlooked. When the men of Shvarno, son of Danilo, plundered Polish lands together with the Lithuanians, that Prince, when confronting the Poles, denied having any part in this action. Evidently, he considered that this, in the general opinion, was a stain upon his character. Bolesław of Cracow, who had suffered damage on that occasion, addressed these significant words to Shvarno through his envoy: Why have you visited war on my land without any guilt on my side? I am not complaining of the Lithuanians, for with them I have no peace, but against you I have a grievance.[9]

We now face the question which of the two tendencies prevailed on the banks of the Bug and the Dniester in the 12th and 13th centuries,

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[1] This is stated in Master Vincent's Chronicle.

[2] The Halicz-Volynian Chronicle, *PSRL* II, under the year 1268.

[3] B. Grekov, *Krestyane na Rusi s drevneishikh vremen do kontsa XVII v.*, 1946, pp. 134—7, explains that what was understood by *cheladz*, with the exception of slaves, were subject people, holding the land of a landlord, accomplishing various duties for their master, and sometimes even being called to arms, and giving war service, and performing duties of a lower order. In the broadest sense, *cheladz* signified the vast masses of the unfree rural population.

[4] The Chronicle of Halicz-Volynia, *PSRL* II, under the year 1229.

[5] *Ibidem*, under the year 1169.

[6] The Chronicle of Halicz-Volynia writes, under the year 1280: "Such was the law with the Poles that (in time of war) *cheladz* were not abducted into slavery and were not slain." Such limitations in warfare were not applied in Poland at that time only to the lower orders. In the treaty of Conrad of Mazovia and his sons, concluded in 1242 with the Teutonic Order against Świętopełk of Pomerania, there is the following clause: "promisimus autem, quod in hoc bello non capiantur pueri habentes minus quam 12 annos, virgines et mulieres et etiam ecclesiastice persone nec spolientur, nec etiam captiventur." M. Perlbach, *Pomerellisches Urkundenbuch*, 1882, No. 78, p. 65. Cf. F. Bujak, *Studia nad osadnictwem Małopolski*, p. 207.

[7] M. Korduba, *Die Entstehung der ukrainischen Nation. Contribution a l'histoire de l'Ukraine au VIIe Congrès international des sciences historiques*, 1933, p. 26.

[8] Halicz-Volynian Chronicle, *PSRL* II, under the year 1279.

[9] *Ibid.*, under 1268.

gravitation toward the Russian East or toward Catholic Poland?

Two scholars who have analysed the extant material from this point of view have reached similar conclusions. N. Firsov says: "We should look at the Halicz-Volynian Chronicle not only as a historical source . . . but (also) as a record of the sense of national identity as it existed at the time . . . The Halicz-Volynian Chronicle produces the general impression that ancient Halicz and Volynia were in much closer political relations with Poland . . . than with the rest of the Russian race . . . There existed no obstacles, either social or national, to a reunion with that neighbour . . . In the general style of life there were no radical differences between Rus . . . and Poles, and as for national differences, the Halicz-Volynian Chronicle shows distinctly that Rus (at this time), in spite of the diversity of denomination, harboured no national hatred . . . towards . . . the Poles."[1] Korduba is of a similar opinion: " . . . at the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century, the links binding the land of Halicz-Volynia to the Polish districts are in certain respects more intimate than those between it and the rest of Rus."[2]

With certain reservations, these views correspond with the observations expressed in this work.[3] In spite of religious differences, in spite of the efforts of the Metropolitans of Kiev and of the Popes, in spite of the diversity of the princely dynasties, it was not easy to break the ethnical connections between the lands on the upper reaches of the Dniester and the Bug and the rest of Poland. The sources of the 12th and 13th centuries, when the concept of the Lyakhs was gradually narrowing in a geographical sense, supply us with a long series of proofs and instances, apparently unintelligible and contradictory, yet in fact corresponding faithfully to the reality of the time. These show the simultaneous existence in the territories under consideration of ancient Polish traditions and connections with the realm of the Piasts, together with, under changed religious conditions, a growing movement towards separation.

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[1] N. Firsov, Soderzhanie i kharakteristika Galitsko-Volynskoi letopisi po Ipatevskomu spisku. *Istoricheskie kharakteristiki i eskizi* II, 1922, pp. 303—11.

[2] M. Korduba, *Stosunki polsko ukraińskie*, p. 758.

[3] We must object to other observations of the authors just mentioned. Firsov is of the opinion that the links binding Halicz and Volynia to Poland were equal in strength to those connecting them with Hungary and Lithuania. The relations between these lands and Hungary were much less pronounced, and only sporadic. Three chapters of the present work are devoted to the intercourse between Lithuania and Rus. But the ties linking the basins of the Bug and the upper Dniester with Poland extended to many departments of life, and had a long tradition behind them. This becomes apparent if we study the problem over a longer period of time than that covered by the Chronicle of Halicz-Volynia, which is restricted to the 13th century. We should not forget that the community of Slavonic speech, an element of much importance, linked the population of Halicz and Volynia with the Poles, while it separated it from the Hungarians and Lithuanians. Furthermore, the ridge of the Carpathians separated Halicz from Hungary, and rendered contacts between them difficult, while Volynia became contiguous to Lithuania only when that country developed into a large State in the 13th and 14th centuries. On the other hand, both these lands bordered on Poland along an extensive frontier. In addition to the geographical position, economic factors also played their part: Halicz and Volynia were linked with western Europe by trade routes leading across Poland.

As for Korduba, he limits his observations to a short period only, although the sources would have enabled him to extend their scope.

PART II

CHAPTER V

THE RUS IN THE 9TH AND 10TH CENTURIES

" Normanists " and " Anti-Normanists." Protracted Polemics among Scholars on the Subject. Arabic, Greek, and West-European Sources on the People of Rus. The Rus and the Slavs.

In the preceding part of this work we have examined the sources of the first strictly historical period. We are, therefore, in a better position to take our bearings as regards the earlier history of eastern Europe.

The scholars who have dealt with those days which have grown dim in human memory can be divided into two groups: the " Normanists " and the " Anti-Normanists," as they came to be called. The Normanists believe in the Norse origin of the Rus; they regard the Scandinavians as the chief organizers of political life on the banks of Lake Ilmen and the shores of the Dnieper. The great majority of the Anti-Normanists consider the Rus to be Slavs, and attribute to this Slavonic element a decisive role in many of the east-European developments at that period, and particularly in the rise and growth of the State of Kiev.[1]

Intermediate opinions have also not been wanting in historical literature, expressed by those who desired to effect a compromise between the contradictory theories. Brim, for example, thought that there existed a twofold Rus: an earlier one in the South—Ros—and another, later one—Rus—in the North, which was Norse. The two encountered one another in Kiev, and represented two diverse racial strains.[2] The entire hypothesis is subject to many objections and, according to Tikhomirov's and Likhachev's pertinent remarks,[3] does not clarify anything.

At a first glance, one is struck by the unexplained existence of two ethnical groups bearing the same, or closely related names, by their occurrence at the same time and at the same place, namely, in Kiev. This duality of designation: *ros* and *rus*, is unknown to the chroniclers of Kiev, of Novgorod, of Halicz, etc. All Russian writers, through many centuries, agree in using one term and one term only " Rus." To find any confirm-

[1] V. Moshin, Varyago russkii vopros, *S* X, 1931, pp. 531—3.

[2] V. Brim, Proiskhozhdenie termina " Rus ", *RZ* I, 1923, pp. 1—7. The opinion of Brim is shared by: A. Presniakow, Z najnowszej historiografii rosyjskiej, *KH*, 1924, pp. 269—70; A. Vasiliev, Economic Relations between Byzantium and Old Russia, *JEBH* IV, 1931—2, p. 316; R. Smal-Stocky, The Origin of the Word " Rus," *Sl* VI, 1949, pp. 13—4, etc.

[3] M. Tikhomirov, Proiskhozhdenie nazvanii "Rus" i "Russkaya zemlya", *SE* VI—VII, 1947, p. 60; D. Likhachev, *Povest Vremennykh Let* II, 1950, p. 244; cf. V. Parkhomenko, Normanizm i antinormanizm, *IORYS* XXVIII, 1923, p. 71.

ation of such a conjecture as the above one is forced to have recourse to sources as late as those of the period of Ivan the Terrible, and it is really unnecessary to ask whether we should be justified in arbitrarily transferring the conditions and conceptions of the 16th century to the 9th.

Vernadsky's work may serve as a warning of the risk which attaches to the assumption of the existence of several kinds of Rus, ethnically differing from one another. This author assumes that the name of Rus or Ros in southern lands was originally connected with one of the Alanic clans, that of the Light As (Rukhs-As). Later, the Slavic tribes subordinated to the Rukhs clan must have assumed this name. Later still, Swedish warriors penetrated southwards and became known as Rus. This scholar furthermore distinguishes two northern Rus; one which was Swedish, and was supposed to have founded a Russian Khaganate on the Don, and a later Friesian Rus, founded by Rurik.[1] Many highly improbable conceptions have to be excogitated in order to reconcile these contradictory conjectures.[2]

The origins of Rus remain an unsolved problem of history, although we cannot complain of any lack of sources, nor of works dealing with the subject. In this last respect, there is super-abundance rather than scarcity. But a multiplicity of works does not necessarily signify the advancement of learning, and Korduba was right when he remarked that " historians . . . strain their brains continuously to produce new conjectures, and the writings relating to the problem . . . attain truly terrifying numbers, often without bringing it one step nearer its solution."[3] It suffices to state here that in Soviet-Russia the Anti-Normanist thesis holds the field, while outside Soviet-Russia the great majority of scholars adopt the opposite view. What is the reason why hitherto studies relating to the most ancient period of Rus have produced no tangible results, and why so many questions of fundamental importance have remained unanswered? The reasons have been manifold, and, unfortunately, many of them have little to do with learning.

Years ago, Uspensky wrote: " If I were asked which school I should prefer to join, I should answer: the Normanist, though with some regret. Common sense and the logic of the extant sources speak for the Normanists, but sentiment draws one to the opposite school."[4] And in another passage of the same work (pp. 5—6), the author makes the following statement: " Evidently there are in the Norse problem certain elements which can sting one to the quick . . . If you adhere to the Normanist school, you must attribute all the events of the 9th and 10th centuries to Varangian princes from beyond the seas, and you can draw from those events hardly any inferences relating to the Russian national history. The expeditions against Constantinople, the treaties with the Greeks, and *Pravda Russkaya*, all con-

[1] G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, 1946, pp. 76, 107, 147, 278, 339; *idem*, The Rus in the Crimea and the Russo-Byzantine Treaty of 945, *Byzantina Metabyzantina* I (1), 1946, p. 250.

[2] See H. Grégoire, *Byzantina Metabyzantina* I (1), 1946, pp. 259—60; R. Smal—Stocki, *Slavs and Teutons. The Oldest Germanic Slavic Relations*, 1950, pp. 104—6.

[3] M. Korduba, Najnowsze teorie o początkach Rusi, *PH* XXX, 1932, p. 58 (Les théories les plus récentes sur les origines de la Ruthénie, *MS* III, 1931).

[4] F. Uspensky, *Rus i Vizantiya v X veke*, 1888, p. 13.

cern a Norse fellowship, and tell us nothing about the Slavs. If you are an Anti-Normanist, you regard all these things as creations of the Russian, i.e., the Slavonic spirit, and you deduce from them conclusions which are of interest to Russian national history. In any case, no one can refuse to give plain answers to the question: is Rus a Slavonic nation—is its name a Slavonic or Scandinavian word—or, does it, in general, designate only (foreign) conquerors? You will agree that the answers affect one very essential question: namely, whether or not we have created our own history."

Lyubavsky's approach to the problem was similar when he proceeded to analyse the famous tradition of the call to the Varangians, and recognized it as authentic with certain reservations. "With the addition of such a commentary we can quietly, without any qualms of our national pride, accept the legend of the princes called in from beyond the seas as the expression of a real fact."[1] Here then we have a scholar who unambiguously confessed that in dealing with the origins of the Rus he kept an eye on patriotic susceptibilities.

In this respect, nothing has changed at the present time. In 1940, Grekov wrote: "It is not easy to do away with the evidence of the Normanists. I am convinced that it will never be completely suppressed. All too many facts have been verified by this school."[2] But in 1942, the same author affirmed that the Normanist thesis was the work of "fascist falsifiers of history."[3] One cannot help remarking that the former opinion was expressed by Grekov while the Soviet-German alliance was in force, and the latter during the war between the two States. In the periodical *Bolshevik* of November 30th, 1947, N. Yakovlev declared that the Normanist theory is "politically harmful", because it "denies the ability of the Slavonic nations to form an independent State by their own efforts."

When characterizing the literature hitherto devoted to the subject, Grekov writes: "All these problems of the economic, social, and political development of the East-European nations, and of the Eastern Slavs in the first place, are complex and difficult. It is quite natural that they should always have attracted the attention of those who were interested in the history of our country, and now they face us with greater acuteness than ever. Their importance for the present time is obvious: without the solution of these problems no adequate picture can be drawn of Russia's historical development as a whole . . . Although all these questions relate to such distant times, their significance is far from being purely academic, which is why they have given rise to such a sharp controversy, reflecting the national and political outlook of those who have taken part in it. In consequence, the approach to the facts, the selection of the facts, and the manner of their treatment were very diverse."[4] And Solovev also admits: "This

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[1] M. Lyubavsky, *Drevnyaya russkaya istoriya do kontsa XVI v.*, 3rd ed., 1918, p. 87.
[2] B. Grekov, Drevneishie sudby slavyanstva v prikarpatskikh oblastyakh, *VAN*, 1940 (11—12), p. 36.
[3] *Idem*, Na zare russkogo gosudarstva, *IsZ*, 1942 (7), p. 25.
[4] B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus*, 1944, p. 8—9.

is no dead, archaeological problem, it is a living contest for the understanding of the origins of the Russian State."[1]

How dangerous it is to transfer historical problems into the field of politics can be seen from the following observation: while Grekov regards the Normanist thesis as a product of German learning destined to serve the interests of the *Reich*, certain Ukrainian historians—e.g., Shelukhin—adopt Anti-Normanist views because, in their opinion, the Normanist theory is an expression of the grasping and imperialistic tendencies of Russia.[2]

Whatever we can say as to the origins of the Kiev State and its founders, one fact remains: the problem of the beginnings of Rus should be solved on the basis of the sources and of the sources only, to the exclusion of all other elements, such as national, political, and other opinions. Hitherto, however, the exact contrary appears to have prevailed in historical works; scholars have allowed considerations of an entirely unscientific character to influence their attitude towards the sources, and have qualified and appraised them in an altogether arbitrary fashion.

"Nestor" is a case in point.

The Kievan Chronicle has been called in question with a somewhat exaggerated eagerness. The indispensable preliminary study of the vocabulary of the chronicler was never carried out with the necessary precision. Our analysis of a series of terms occurring in the Chronicle, such as "Rus", "land of Rus", "*yazyk* of Rus", "Slavonic *yazyk*", "Slavs", etc., has diminished the apparent contradictions of which so much has been written, and the entire source has assumed a new expressiveness and a more convincing force.

Historians who have thrust the work of "Nestor" into the background have thereby deprived themselves of the chief foundation of their own studies. They have necessarily turned to other records, which, by reason of their place of origin, could only give a distant, though sometimes by no means negligible echo of the events with which we are dealing. But here again our scholars were guilty of a regrettable arbitrariness in classifying these sources. Thus, for example, G. Kochin made the following statement: "The information respecting eastern Europe supplied by Arabic writers has proved to be our most important source. Students who call in question the credibility of the (Kievan) chroniclers' records have a natural tendency to attribute special value to the information contained in the works of Oriental writers. This becomes the chief, and in some cases the only available corrective."[3] However, other authors, such as M. Priselkov,[4] with equal arbitrariness consider not the Arabic but the Byzantine sources as the most important.

Now, in dealing with our chief subject, namely, the origins of the

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[1] A. Solovev, Zametki o dogovorakh Rusi s Grekami, *S* XV, 1938, p. 403.
[2] S. Shelukhin, *Zvidkilya pokhodit Rus*, 1929, p. 3.
[3] G. Kochin, *Pamyatniki istorii Kievskogo gosudarstva*, 1935, p. 173.
[4] M. Priselkov, Kievskoe gosudarstvo vtoroi poloviny X veka po vizantiiskim istochnikam, *UZLGU* VIII, 1941.

Rus, I venture to suggest a series of rules which should be binding on every scholar when endeavouring to exploit the sources. They are the following:

(a) Written sources should be the foundation of our research. Archaeological and linguistic material, which by its very nature is largely hypothetical, has its importance, but this is mainly auxiliary. It should be accepted without reservations where it is in accordance with the written sources. On this point I share the opinion of Grekov: "In spite of its important successes in recent times, archaeology is frequently powerless in relation to the problems with which we are faced, in consequence of the nature of its material, and its methods. Linguistics are limited in their possibilities, and often do not give us as much as they might. The combination of archaeological data and linguistics, with due regard for folklore, undoubtedly broadens the scope of historical knowledge. But, in the final outcome, all this will not suffice to transform controversial opinions into unquestionable evidence."[1]

(b) The sources should be taken under consideration in their entirety. However, there are a number of sources, especially of central or western European origin, which have hitherto been disregarded in historical writing, although they have their significance for the present subject. To render any comparison possible, some knowledge of the past of all the Slavs in the period which we are considering is indispensable, and especially of the past of those who had close contacts with the Eastern Slavs. Furthermore, we must also take into account the history of the non-Slavs—the Scandinavians, the Finns on the Volga, the steppe nomads, and, most important of all, the Lithuanians whose State is of such consequence for the history of eastern Europe in the 13th and 14th centuries and later. All this, in turn, sheds much light on conditions in earlier times.

(c) It is not permissible to correct the written sources unless other sources of the same category contradict them. A source which is contrary to a great many others in the information which it conveys must be treated with reserve and subjected to a careful examination, so that the degree of its trustworthiness can be established. Only if the result of such examination is favourable can the historian accept the information contained in the source. If it becomes necessary to decide which source is the most important, regard should be given, first of all, to the place and time of its origin. These requirements are so obvious that they need not even be formulated if it were not for the fact that many scholars appear constantly to forget such very elementary principles.

The term "Rus" has passed through many vicissitudes in the course of the centuries. For the period from the end of the 10th to the first half of the 13th century, we were able to ascertain a twofold sense of this appellation: one geographical and political, the other religious. It is well known that Kiev was Rus in both these senses. But by no means can the

[1] B. Grekov, *Feodalnye otnosheniya v Kievskom gosudarstve*, 1936, p. 4; *idem*, *Kievskaya Rus*, 1944, pp. 9—10.

same assertion be made of Halicz, Volynia, Smolensk, Great Novgorod, etc. What is more, these lands were regularly distinguished from and contrasted with Rus, and this proves that there was no traditional link between them and Rus. Yet these territories were comprised by the name of Rus, but only in the religious sense, to mark their distinctness from others which belonged to peoples holding other beliefs.

However, this religious distinction was relatively recent, as it could appear only after the baptism of Vladimir—i.e., after 988—and consequently constitutes the third phase in the gradual formation of the conception " Rus ".[1]

At an earlier stage, there arose a Rus in the geographical and political sense alone. This comprised lands on both banks of the middle course of the Dnieper. It was a Slavonic territory inhabited by two tribes with names which had been established for centuries : the Polyanians and the Severians ; names which continued to survive in later times, independently of that of Rus. This was the second phase in the formation of the conception " Rus ".[2]

Now what about the first ?

From what we have just said, it will be realized that there are questions which cannot be passed over. What was the relation between the two tribes just mentioned and Rus ? How did it happen that the lands of the Polyanians and Severians were included in a broader appellation that did not refer to the tribes themselves ?[3] Which of the terms arose earlier, the tribal names or the name of Rus ? Which mode of designation replaced the other in the course of time, and for what reason ? All these questions, the number of which could be increased at will, are part of one great problem, that of the identity or distinction, of the unity or diversity, obtaining between the Rus and the Slavs.

But before we proceed with the investigation of this problem, we must first of all establish the general connotation of the name of Rus, in the 9th and 10th centuries. Does this name possess an ethnical content—does it designate a tribe as distinct from the other inhabitants of eastern Europe ? This question needs to be elucidated, because there are historians who believe that at the beginning of history Rus was not a tribe but a body of men of various descent, who abandoned their former homes, deliberately or under constraint, in order to seek better fortunes in foreign lands.[4] Padalka is of the opinion that Rus was not an ethnical but a social formation, that it designated a privileged class, an upper stratum of society, composed

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[1] P. Tretiakow, *Plemiona wschodnio-słowiańskie*, transl. by Z. Wójcik, 1949, pp. 150—1, stresses that the name of Rus was extended to the Eastern Slavs not earlier than the second half of the 10th century.

[2] Cf. M. Tikhomirov, Proiskhozhdenie nazvanii " Rus " i "Russkaya zemlya", *S E* VI—VII, 1947, pp. 61—6.

[3] It often happened that when one tribe conquered another, it imposed its name on the conquered. Had the Polyanians conquered the Severians, the lands of the latter would have been called Polyanian ; in the opposite case, the territory of Kiev would have passed under the name of Severian.

[4] Cf. V. Moshin, Varyago-russkij vopros, *S* X, 1931, p. 533.

of warriors, merchants, etc.[1] Other scholars are of the same opinion,[2] holding that Rus is not a tribal but actually an occupational appellation, which later became the name of a State.

These scholars are of the opinion that Rus, in the ethnical sense, was either Slavonic or a mixture of diverse elements. The Concise Soviet Encyclopaedia asserts that between the 9th and the 11th century the ruling class, composed mostly of Varangians, i.e., persons of Scandinavian descent, was called Rus.[3] "Rus—says Artamonov—which was known (to Byzantine, Arabic, and other writers), which undertook warlike and commercial expeditions . . . was not a tribe but a social group, a princely retinue, which included Varangians but was not composed of them exclusively. Rus was an old ethnical term, linked with the Slavonic tribes of the Dnieper, and designating among them a political organization with its capital at Kiev."[4]

Yushkov supposes that the higher social group known as Rus emerged from the general Slavonic masses in consequence of military and commercial needs, although the name itself, as the author supposes, may not be of Slavonic origin.[5] Łowmiański thinks that under Rus we should understand a military organization that originated, most likely, in the region of Lake Ladoga, and was composed of diverse ethnic elements, Slavonic, Scandinavian, and Finnish, but with Slavonic predominance.[6] Lebedev and Panov affirm that in the South the prince's retinue, and in general the upper strata of society, were called Rus. The Varangians were its counterpart in the North, and both the Rus and the Varangians were contrasted with the Slavs who were dependent on them.[7] Tiveriadsky assumes that the term "Varangians" designated an upper group among the Norsemen, a Norse retinue, while Rus indicated a group that was fundamentally Slavonic. When the Varangians made their appearance among the Slavs, both these privileged groups united under the name of Rus.[8]

Tikhomirov was right in saying, when alluding to Tiveriadsky: "And yet the author has not been able to quote any evidence to show that only an upper class (*znat*) and not a distinct nation or tribe went under the name of Rus."[9] The same remark applies to the other scholars whose conjectures were similar to that of Tiveriadsky.

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[1] L. Padalka, Proiskhozhdenie i znachenie imenya "Rus". *Trudy XV Arkheologicheskogo Sezda* I, 1914, pp. 364, 73—4.

[2] A. Pogodin, Varyagi i Rus, *ZRNIB* VII, 1932, p. 125; E. Rydzevskaya, K varyazhskomu voprosu, *IAN*, 1934, pp. 628—9; P. Lyashchenko, *Istoriya narodnogo khozyaistva SSSR* I, 1947, p. 54; S. Yushkov, *Obshchestvenno politicheskii stroi i pravo Kievskogo gosudarstva*, 1949, pp. 57—63.

[3] *Malaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya* VII, 1931, p. 529. Cf. *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya* (the special volume: *Soyuz Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik*), 1947, p. 303.

[4] M. Artamonov, Spornye voprosy drevneishei istorii slavyan i Rusi, *KSDPI* VI, 1940, p. 13.

[5] S. Yushkov, *K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii russkogo gosudarstva*, 1940. This work I only know from reviews in other publications.

[6] H. Łowmiański, Geneza państwa kijowskiego, *SPAU*, L, 1949, p. 596.

[7] V. Lebedev—V. Panov, *Drevnerusskie letopisi*, 1936, commentary 67.

[8] L. Tiveriadsky, K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii Rusi v svyazi s etnogenezom Slavyan, *IZ* XIII, 1942, p. 49.

[9] M. Tikhomirov, *Proiskhozhdenie nazvanii "Rus" i "Russkaya zemlya"*, p. 60.

All these opinions, which differ quite considerably between themselves, are based on a false interpretation of the sources. Their authors refer to an allegedly Slavonic or Slavo-Scandinavian body of men everything that was known about the dominant role of the Norsemen in eastern Europe, and have called that body Rus. I pass over the fact that, from a purely practical point of view, it is not easy to explain how such an organization could be formed out of entirely different and even hostile ethnical elements.

Many sources, entirely independent of one another in origin, are at one in stating that in the 9th and the 10th centuries, the Rus were a people differing from the other inhabitants of eastern Europe in speech, customs, and appearance.[1] The *Annales Bertiniani* relate, under the year 839, how a group of men sent from Constantinople to Germany belonged to the tribe of Rhos.[2] In 867, the Patriarch Photius mentions a people called Rhos who surpassed all other nations in cruelty, and for that reason conquered a number of them.[3] The Bavarian Geographer, in the 9th century, when enumerating many central and eastern European tribes, such as the Hungarians, Khazars, etc., mentions also the Ruzzi.[4] Arabic writers of the 9th and 10th centuries speak of the Rus simultaneously with the Bulgars, Burtas, and others, and relate that the Rus had their own language. Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in the middle of the 10th century, treats of the Rus on the same level as the Bulgarians, Pechenegs, Khazars, Slavs, etc., and on this occasion he gives the name of the Dnieper cataracts in the language of the Rus.[5] The *Annales Hildesheimenses* note, under the year 960, the arrival at King Otto's court of ambassadors of the tribe of Rus.[6] Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub, in 966, treats the Rus in the same category as the Prussians, Khazars, Slavs, etc.[7] Bishop Luidprand of Cremona, who went to Byzantium in 968 as ambassador of Emperor Otto I, enumerates the Rus among the neighbours of the Empire, such as the Hungarians, Bulgarians, Pechenegs, and Khazars.[8] *Lamberti Annales*, when speaking of the plenipotentiaries of many nations who arrived at Quedlinburg in 973, also mentions the Rus.[9] It undeniably follows from all these sources—and many other similar instances could be quoted—that the Rus, at this period, were a tribe, a people, an ethnical conception, and by no means a

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1 We shall deal with the outward appearance of the Rus in subsequent chapters.

2 " . . . qui se, id est gentem suam, Rhos vocari dicebant " (ed. G. Waitz, 1883, pp. 19—20).

3 Photius, *Epistola* 13, Sec. 35; *PG* 102, cols. 736—7.

4 S. Zakrzewski, Opis grodów i terytoriów z północnej strony Dunaju czyli t. zw. Geograf Bawarski, *ATNL* IX (1), 1917, p. 4.

5 G. Moravcsik-R. Jenkins, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio*, 1949, pp. 48—63, etc.

6 " Venerunt legati Rusciae gentis ad regem Ottonem ", *MGH* V, *Script.* III, p. 60.

7 *MPHNS* I, 1946, pp. 49—52.

8 " Constantinopolitana urbs . . . inter ferocissimas gentes est constituta. Habet quippe ab aquilone Hungarios, Pizenacos, Chazaros, Rusios . . . atque Bulgarios nimium sibi vicinos." *MGH* V *Script.* III. English translation by F. Wright, *The Works of Liudprand of Cremona*, 1930.

9 " 973. Otto imperator senior cum iuniore venit Quidelinburg . . . Illucque venerunt legati plurimarum gentium, id est Romanorum, Graecorum, Beneventorum, Italorum, Ungariorum, Danorum, Sclavorum, Bulgariorum atque Ruscorum cum magnis muneribus." *MGH* V, *Script.* III, p. 63.

princely retinue of an international character. This is not a more or less likely conjecture, but an historical fact, which is of fundamental importance for all further considerations of the problem of Rus.

We must now proceed to establish the mutual relationship between the Rus and the Slavs. The Anti-Normanists, when declaring for the Slavonic origin of the Rus, take their stand chiefly on the evidence of the Arabic writers. Here an observation of a general character becomes necessary. The high opinion of the importance of Oriental sources for the history of Rus did not arise among certain historians as the result of the study of those records, but rather indirectly, as a consequence of their dislike of " Nestor ". It is a characteristic fact that these scholars were, down to the present time, continuing to use old and largely uncritical editions of those sources.[1] They obviously should have proceeded in a manner contrary to the one adopted, and before appraising the value of the Oriental writers, they should have carried out such preliminary tasks as establishing the relationship between the different authors, and, above all, deciphering the texts of the sources themselves with greater accuracy.[2] Vestberg was right when he said that " the entirely unscientific approach (of many historians) to the testimony of Oriental authors, brought about a terrible confusion (as regards the subject of the origin of the Rus)."[3] This observation is still valid today.

" To Arabic writers, eastern Europe was a distant and inaccessible land. Arabic travellers never extended their journeys beyond the lower Volga. These travellers, not proceeding very far up the Volga . . . observed only the life of the Khazars and Bulgars, and in relation to other peoples they could only rely on the reports of other travellers, generally merchants. They (Arab writers) did not observe the Eastern Slavs directly in their home life, but they had access to such sources of information as the relations of Slavonic slaves, or of Slavs serving in the guard of the Caliph. Arabs living in Byzantium for a long time received information from the Greeks who were in direct contact with the Slavs. They (Arab writers) could also draw on Byzantine writers. But the lack of sufficiently accurate and concrete data deprives the work of the Arabic authors of lucidity. Hence the fluidity of their terminology, and the confusion of the different lands, nations, and states of eastern Europe. To the fluid terminology must be added the difficulty of deciphering the particular terms in their Arabic versions, and more especially, such versions as the Arabs themselves had borrowed from other nations." This, on the whole, pertinent account of Kochin's of the sources under consideration,[4] is in obvious contradic-

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[1] Two publications deserve to be mentioned in this connection: D. Khvolson, *Izvestiya o Khazarakh, Burtasakh, Bolgarakh, Madyarakh, Slavyanakh i Russakh Abu Ali Akhmeda Ben Omar Ibn Dasta*, 1869, and A. Garkavi, *Skazaniya musulmanskikh pisatelei o Slavyanakh i Russkikh*, 1870.

[2] Only a few Arab-Persian authors have been hitherto duly amended in the works of Minorsky, Krachkovsky, Kowalski, etc. Cf. A. Seippel, *Rerum Normannicarum Fontes Arabici*, 1928.

[3] F. Vestberg, K analizu vostochnykh istochnikov o vostochnoi Evrope, *ZMNP*, 1908, pp. 28—30.

[4] G. Kochin, *Pamyatniki istorii Kievskogo gosudarstva*, 1935, p. 174. The opinion of Kochin is shared by S. Bakhrushin, " Derzhava Ryurikovichei ", *VDI* II, 1938, p. 89; cf. Yu. Krachkovsky, Arabskie geografy i puteshestvenniki, *IGGO*, 1937.

tion to the same scholar's opinion of the Arab authors as the most important source for the history of eastern Europe.[1]

Which Oriental writers regard the Rus as Slavs?

One only, Ubaidallah Ibn-Khurdadhbih, a writer of the middle of the 9th century, the author of the work on "The Routes and Kingdom.[2]" Garkavi has commented on this source in the following characteristic terms: "In vain should we look to any other Mohammedan author for the statement . . . that the Rus were a Slavonic tribe."[3] The question arises why the scholar just quoted attached so much importance to the statement of Khurdadhbih, for it is notorious, and acknowledged by Garkavi,[4] Khvolson,[5] and others, that the information of the Arabic writers as to the origin of East European nations was often incorrect. Ibn-Fadhlan, for example, writes that the Bulgars on the Volga were Slavs; Mas'udi regards the Hungarians as Slavs, etc. Why should Ibn-Khurdadhbih be an exception? As the assertion of this author finds no confirmation in other sources, he should be treated with extreme caution and reserve. However, Garkavi proceeds exactly in the opposite manner, and assumes the positive value of the source without trying to justify his point of view.

Lamansky does the same. He too, without any foundation, declares the work of Ibn-Khurdadhbih to be a "precious production."[6] Korduba calls the Arab writer an "authority".[7] "The testimony of Ibn-Khurdadhbih—writes Tikhomirov—speaks so eloquently in favour of the Slavonic origin of the Rus, that it does not require any comment."[8] All opinions of this kind, not being based on any critical examination of this source, overlook the fact that Ibn-Khurdadhbih has not been transmitted to us in the original text, but in later versions and abridgements, very carelessly executed. Furthermore, he shows but scant knowledge of ethnography and geography.

Ibn-Khurdadhbih relates that merchants from the Rus used to come to

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[1] G. Kochin, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

[2] The passage which is of interest to us runs as follows: "The Rus merchants who are of Sclavonian origin (who are a sort of Slavs—A. Vasiliev, *Economic Relations*, p. 318), export the furs of beavers and of black foxes from the most distant part of the Sclavonian country, and bring them to the coast of the Rumish (Black) Sea, where the Greek Emperor levies customs on them. Or, if they choose, they enter the river of the Sclavonians, and pass into the Gulf, to the town of the Khazars, where they are taxed by the Khazar King, and thence they continue their voyage into the Sea of Jorjan (the Caspian), where they land on any coast they like. The length of the sea is five hundred farsangs. Sometimes they transport their goods on camels from Jorjan to Baghdad." S. Rapoport, Mohammedan Writers on Slavs and Russians, *SEER* VIII, 1929, p. 81; Cf. Cross, p. 129; A. Yakubovsky, Ibn Miskaveikh o pokhode Rusov v Berdaa v 322 g. = 943/4 g. *VV* XXIV, 1926, pp. 83—5; V. Minorsky, Rus, *Tirage à part de L'Encyclopédie de l'Islām*, 1937; G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, 1946, pp. 282—3; T. Lewicki, Świat słowiański w oczach pisarzy arabskich, *SA* II (2), 1949—50, p. 343.

[3] A. Garkavi, *Skazaniya*, p. 54.

[4] A. Garkavi, *op. cit.*, p. 84: "Ethnography was in general a weak point with Arab writers."

[5] D. Khvolson, *Izvestiya*, pp. 78, 80—1: "The ethnographical information of the Arabs is of no consequence."

[6] D. Lamansky, *Slavyanskoe zhite sv. Kirilla kak religiozno-epicheskoe proizvedenie i kak istoricheskii istochnik*, 1915, pp. 44.

[7] M. Korduba, Najnowsze teorie o początkach Rusi, *PH*, 1932, pp. 73—4.

[8] M. Tikhomirov, *Proiskhozhdenie nazvanii "Rus" i "Russkaya zemlya"*, p. 77.

Baghdad with their goods on camels.[1] Slavonic eunuchs living there acted as their interpreters. Was it not on this ground that the author formed his opinion that the Rus were Slavs ?[2] Yet from this information we might draw the simple conclusion that the Rus lived among the Slavs and knew their language, a point of view which is borne out by later sources, such as e.g. Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub.[3]

Vestberg has pointed out that the term "*Saqaliba*" had in Arabic a very wide meaning.[4] It is difficult to ascertain whether Ibn-Kurdadhbih applied it to the Slavs exclusively, or whether he endowed it with a broader meaning, and comprised in it also other inhabitants of eastern Europe. In older,[5] as well as in recent studies, a number of noteworthy observations have been made on this subject. "It is doubtful—writes Lyapushkin —if we can accept all the information of the Arabs relating to the *Saqaliba* as evidence on the subject of the Slavs proper."[6] Mavrodin thinks, similarly, that the Arabs also called people of non-Slav origin, *Saqaliba*.[7] Lewicki warns his readers against too great a readiness to identify the *Saqaliba* with the Slavs, and insists on the necessity of great caution in considering this matter.[8] If we agreed to such a broader interpretation of the term "*Saqaliba*", much of the information of the Arab writers would become more credible, even though Ibn-Khurdadhbih would lose some of the importance attributed to him by the Anti-Normanists.

Other Oriental writers do not attribute to the term "Rus" a definitely ethnical character, but distinguish the Rus from and contrast them with the Bulgars, the Burtas, the Pechenegs, the Khazars, and, most important of all, the Slavs. Ahmed Ibn-Fadhlan, who took part in the diplomatic mission sent by the Caliph to the Volga Bulgars in 921—922, describes the Slavs differently from the Rus. While the former are humble and recognize the sovereignty of the Khazars with submissiveness, the Rus are, according to that author, men of great strength and valour, well armed, and oppressive to other tribes.[9]

This contrast appears with even greater force in the account of Mohammed Ibn-Rusta in the beginning of the 10th century. He states that the Rus attack the Slavs, carry off the conquered population, and sell it in

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1 Ibn-Khuraddhbih lived in Baghdad and had never been in eastern Europe.

2 Such was the opinion of V. Vasilevsky, Russko-vizantiiskie issledovaniya, Zhitiya sv. Georgiya Amastridskogo i Stefana Surozhskogo, *LZAK* IX, 1893, pp. 128—9.

3 The text mentioned has been interpreted in a similar fashion by V. Moshin, Khristianstvo v Rossii do sv. Vladimirira, in *Vladimirskii Sbornik*, 1938, p. 7.

4 F. Vestberg, *K analizu vostochnych istochnikov*, pp. 365—71. Cf. Cross, pp. 128—9.

5 V. Zavitnevich, Proiskhozhdenie i pervonachalnaya istoriya imeni Rus, *TKDA*, 1892, p. 590; T. Modelski, Król "Gebalim" w liście Chasdaja, *ATNL* IV (3), 1910, pp. 68—9; A. Shakhmatov, *Drevneishie sudby russkogo plemeni*, 1919, p. 34.

6 I. Lyapuskhin, Slavyano russkie poseleniya IX—XII st. na Donu i Tamani po arkheologicheskim pamyatnikam, in Etnogenez vostochnykh slavyan, by several hands, *MIA* VI, 1941, p. 234.

7 D. Mavrodin, *Drevnyaya Rus* (*Proiskhozhdenie russkogo naroda i obrazovanie Kievskogo gosudarstva*), 1946, p. 97.

8 T. Lewicki, *Osadnictwo słowiańskie*, pp. 487—8.

9 Yu. Krachkovsky, *Puteshestvie Ibn-Fadlana na Volgu*, 1939; A. Zeki Validi Togan, Ibn-Fadlan's Reisebericht, *AKM* XXIV, 1939; R. Blake—R. Frye, Notes on the Risala of Ibn-Fadlan, *Byzantina Metabyzantina* I (2), 1949, pp. 7—37.

the Orient as slaves. The Rus live on what they can capture in the land of the Slavs.[1] Ali al-Mas'udi, in the first half of the 10th century, notes that among the nations supposed to be descended from Japheth, there were Rus and Slavs (a fact also given by other authors), that Slavs and Rus served in the Khazar army, that the Khazars established a special judge for Slavs and Rus.[2] Ibrahim al-Istakhri, a Persian by descent, living in the middle of the 10th century, remarks that the Rus inhabit territories situated between the Bulgars and the Slavs.[3] We also possess a Persian geographical treatise by an unknown author of the latter part of the 10th century, entitled *Hudud al Alam* (" The Boundaries of the World ") in which the Rus are contrasted with the Slavs.[4]

Thus, the Oriental writers state quite clearly that the Rus were not Slavonic. This negative conclusion is in keeping with many other sources ; some of them confine themselves to the statement that the Rus are distinct from the Slavs,[5] while others, more informative, enable us positively to establish the origin of the Rus. This last problem is interlinked with the question of the territory which they first inhabited, so that the two questions have to be treated together.

Whence, from what land, came the Rus ?

In relation to this question, two sources are of particular importance : Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus and Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub. Both describe the reality of their time. They write almost simultaneously, the former in the middle of the 10th century, the latter in 966, yet quite independently of one another. They shed light on the same problem from two points of vantage, the one in the South, the other in the West. Constantine, in view of his position, disposed of the most valuable information at the command of the court of Byzantium. The Spanish Jew personally visited eastern Germany and the Slavonic Obodrites who, in consequence of the position of their country,[6] had close contacts with the Norsemen.[7] Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub also went to Bohemia, and as he himself notes, the Rus used to resort to Prague as merchants. Both sources are of a purely informational

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[1] De Goje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* VII, 1892 ; D. Khvolson, *Izvestiya*, 1869 ; J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, 1903, pp. 446—9 ; C. Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century*, 1930, pp. 210—3 ; cf. R. Frye, Remarks on some new Islamic sources of the Rus, *B* XVIII, 1948, pp. 121—2 (the Tarikh-i-Fakhru'd-din Mubarakshah).

[2] A. Garkavi, *Skazaniya* ; Maçoudi, *Les Prairies d'Or*, texte et traduction par C. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, 1861—77 ; J. Marquart, *op. cit.*, 1903.

[3] A. Garkavi, *op. cit.* ; De Goje, *op. cit.* I, 1870.

[4] A. Tumansky, Novootkrytyi persidskii geograf X st. i izvestiya ego o slavyanakh i russakh, *ZVO* X, 1897. Fundamental importance attaches to V. Minorsky's study : *Hudud al-Alam*, 1937.

[5] The Patriarch Photius states, in his epistle of 867, that the Rus were a hitherto little known people, living somewhere far away, etc. This vague sort of information cannot relate to the Slavs who had been known long and well in Constantinople. As for the German annals, they mention embassies coming to the Emperor's court, some from the Slavs, and others from the Rus. Jewish sources, too, make a distinction between the Slavs and the Rus. We abstain from textually quoting those sources which oppose the Rus to the Slavs, as they will be dealt with in the following pages, treating of the origin of the Rus.

[6] They lived on the lower Elbe.

[7] W. Kowalenko, Słowiańskie grody portowe na Bałtyku, *PZ* VI, 1950, p. 380.

character and it is impossible to charge them with having any tendentious qualities.

Both Constantine and Ibrahim, when describing the state of affairs in eastern Europe, record a considerable amount of identical information. Both distinguish the Rus from the Slavs. Both let it be understood that the Rus had dominion over the Slavs, and lived among them. Both are in agreement when they indicate the lands from which the Rus came. Let us begin by listing the information on the subjects which are of interest to us in the work of Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub :

(1) "And the northern tribes seized some of them (of the Slavs) and up till now lived among them (among the Slavs)."

(2) " The town of Praga is built of stone and lime and is the richest of towns in trade. There come to it Rus and Slavs from Cracow[1] with merchandise, and from the lands of the Turks (i.e., Hungarians) come Mohammedans,[2] Jews,[3] and Turks, also with merchandise . . . "

(3) " To the East (of the country) of Meshek[4] the Rus are bordering and on the North the Brus.[5] The dwelling place of the Brus is near the surrounding sea.[6] And they have a separate language, they do not know the language of the neighbouring peoples . . . [7] The Rus invade them on ships from the West."[8]

(4) " Their (the Slavs') wares by land and sea reach the Rus and Constantinople."

(5) " And the chief of the northern tribes speak Slavonic because they mixed themselves with them (with the Slavs) . . . "[9]

In relation to the territory occupied by the Rus, the above details of information should be divided into two groups. One alludes to northern lands beyond the seas, i.e., to the Scandinavian Peninsula. Point 1 speaks of northern tribes ; point 3 of the Rus as attacking the Prussians from the West by sea;[10] point 4 refers to Slavonic merchants reaching Rus on board ship.

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[1] The last editor of Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub, T. Kowalski, says in his commentary that this text can also be translated : from the side of the city of Cracow. And it would be quite correct to interpret this as meaning that the Rus went to Prague by way of Cracow. Ibrahim places this detail in his passage on foreign merchants coming to Bohemia. According to the same author, Cracow belonged to the Czech State.

[2] On the Mohammedans in Hungary see T. Lewicki, Węgry i muzułmanie węgierscy w świetle relacji podróżnika arabskiego z XII w. Abn Hamid al-Andalusi al Garnati'ego, *RO* XIII, 1937, pp. 106—22.

[3] On the Jews in Hungary see P. Kokovtsov, *Evreisko-khazarskaya perepiska v X veke*, 1932, pp. 65—6.

[4] The " country of Mieszko ", the first historical ruler of the Piast dynasty, signified Poland.

[5] The author means the Prussians, the Baltic tribe akin to the Lithuanians, settled along the sea-coast between the Vistula and the Niemen.

[6] The Baltic.

[7] Cf. T. Milewski, Stosunki językowe polsko-pruskie, *SO* XVIII, 1947, pp. 21—84.

[8] In a general way Adam of Bremen confirms Ibrahim : " Sembi vel Pruzzi . . . a pyratis infestantur."

[9] T. Kowalski, Relacja Ibrahima Ibn Jakuba z podróży do krajów słowiańskich w przekazie Al-Bekriego, *MPHNS* I, 1946, pp. 48—52. The English translation of the text quoted above is from : S. Rapoport, On the Early Slavs : the Narrative of Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub, *SEER* VIII, 1929, pp. 334—9.

[10] J. Widajewicz, Studia nad relacją o Słowianach Ibrahima Ibn-Jakuba, *RPAU*, 1946, p. 74, was quite right when he observed that Norse expeditions started from the southern part of the Scandinavian Peninsula. In relation to Prussia this was, definitely, the West.

The second group allows us to situate the Rus in "Eastern Slavonic" territories. Here we have to consider point 3, according to which Rus was the eastern neighbour of Mieszko's dominion, Poland, and point 5, which contains the information that on account of their intercourse with the Slavs, already mentioned under point 1, the Rus knew the Slavonic language. I think we should also place in this group point 2, which mentions the merchants of Rus as making their way to Prague through Cracow, most likely from the East. This interpretation finds support in point 4 when we hear of Slavs reaching Rus also by land.[1]

The above statements of Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub's contain none of these contradictions which some scholars think they can discover there,[2] but testify quite clearly to the fact that in the latter half of the 10th century men considered there were two kinds of Rus, one in the North, in Scandinavia, and another in eastern Europe.

This should be kept in mind when one proceeds to examine the text of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. This author speaks of an outer Rus (*exo Rosia*).[3] The question arises where the other, inner Rus, was situated, which was the original home of this nation.

Historians have dealt with this problem many a time. Most of them affirm that under inner Rus we should understand the centre of the Rurikide dominion, the land of Kiev, and perhaps that of Chernihov and Pereyaslavl. The outer Rus was, according to these scholars, composed of territories which only recognized the suzerainty of Kiev and paid tribute to it.[4]

If we wished to follow this school of thought we should have to include in the outer Rus, Novgorod, Smolensk, Chernihov, Vyshgorod, and other towns. But what is striking in Constantine's enumeration of cities de-

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[1] The Chronicle of the so-called Gallus in the beginning of the 12th century relates that an important international trade-route led from the West across Poland to Rus (Kiev).

[2] S. Tomashivsky, *ZNTIS* LII, 1903, p. 7 (in his review of F. Vestberg's study: Ibrahim Ibn-Jakubs Reisebericht über die Slavenländе aus dem Jahre 965, *ZIAN* III (4), 1898), observed that Ibrahim did not know where the Rus lived, because he located them both in northern Europe and in the East. For the same reasons Ibrahim's credibility was called into question by V. Parkhomenko, *Nachalo khristianstva Rusi*, 1913, p. 45.

[3] "The single-straked ships which come down from outer Rus to Constantinople are from Novgorod, where Svyatoslav, son of Igor, prince of the Rus, had his seat, and others from the city of Smolensk and from Teliutsa and Chernihov and from Busegrad (Vyshgorod). All these come down the river Dnieper, and are collected together at the city of Kiev, also called Sambatas . . . And in the month of June they move off down the river Dnieper and come to Vitichev, which is a tributary city of Rus, and there they gather for two or three days; and when all the single-strakers are collected together, they then set out and come down the said Dnieper river." G. Moravcsik—R. Jenkins, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus. De Administrando Imperio*, 1949, pp. 56—9. Cf. the translation in Izvestiya vizantiiskikh pisatelei o Severnom Prichernomore, *IGAIMK* XCI, 1934.

[4] Cf. V. Zaikin, Rus, Ukraina i Velikorosiya, *Dzvoni*, 1931, pp. 26—7; M. Priselkov, Kievskoe gosudarstvo vtoroi poloviny X v. po vizantiiskim istochnikam, *UZLGU* VIII, 1941, p. 226; B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus*, 1944, p. 176; G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, 1948, p. 31, and others.
But other opinions can also be found among students of this problem; e.g., P. Smirnov, Volzkii shlyakh i starodavni Rusi, *ZIFV* LXXV, 1928, p. 181, considers the lands on the Volga as the outer Rus and those on the Dnieper as the inner. A Solovev, He exo Rosia, *B* XIII (1), 1938, pp. 227—32, introduces the terms of "near" and "far" Rus counting from Constantinople. He identifies the former with southern Rus, including the coasts of the Black Sea and of the Sea of Azov, the latter with the extensive Slavonic territories of eastern Europe. I was unable to obtain A. Pogodin "Vneshnyaya Rossiya" Konstantina Bagryanorodnogo, *Belichev Shornik*, 1937.

pendent on Rus is the completely equal treatment by him of Chernihov, Vyshgorod, and Vitichev with Novgorod and Smolensk. The mention of Chernihov would be proof that the inner Rus only comprised the territory of Kiev proper, while Vyshgorod and Vitichev, situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Kiev, to the North and South respectively, lay outside, still further reducing that territory. It is difficult to imagine the city of Kiev alone, situated as it is about eight miles from Vyshgorod, as constituting the inner Rus, while the outer included the vast expanses reaching from Vitichev and Vyshgorod to the Great Novgorod. Between such two entities there would have been no proportion whatever. Already Solovev was aware of this, and very pertinently declared any such interpretation of Constantine Porphyrogenitus to be false.[1]

I will add further that such an interpretation contradicts the Kievan Chronicle which mentions Slavonic territories as " subject to Rus ", which " pay tribute to Rus ",[2] and thus clearly contrasted with Rus itself, although politically dependent on Kiev. Our analysis of the meaning of the term " Rus " in Chapter I of this book showed that Novgorod, Smolensk, Polotsk, Halicz, Volynia, etc., from the 11th to the 13th century, were not called Rus, although they were governed by descendants of Rurik. This usage was undoubtedly due to earlier conditions and traditions.

The passage of Constantine Porphyrogenitus should be understood literally, in accordance with its wording. The text is perfectly clear; only false commentaries have distorted its meaning.

The Byzantine Emperor states that the Rus who made their appearance at Constantinople came from outer Rus, and he mentions the cities which that designation includes: Novgorod, Smolensk, Chernihov, Kiev, and others. The author does not say explicitly where the inner Rus was situated; this does not appear to have interested him. Had there been any question of the Black Sea region, as supposed by Solovev, Constantine would have been obliged to mention the other Rus; he would have had a great deal to say about it, as the Empire had important interests in the lands of the Black Sea coast. We must not forget that in his work he gave much attention to these lands.

We should not overlook a number of noteworthy details which, when pieced together, shed unmistakable light on the problem we are investigating. Porphyrogenitus, for example, relates that the Rus bought large quantities of horses, cattle, sheep, etc., from the Pechenegs. If these Rus themselves came from the Black Sea steppe, this fact could not be explained.

Also, the route used by the Rus in their wanderings deserves to be noted. Constantine says expressly that they proceeded from North to South. The reverse direction is hinted at on the ocassion of their return. The only reigning Russian Prince mentioned by the author is located in the North, at Novgorod, and characteristically, the name of that city is given in its Scandinavian version as Nemogardas.

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[1] A. Solovev, *op. cit.*, pp. 227—32.
[2] Cross, pp. 182—3, etc.

Finally, let us consider the Dnieper cataracts. Constantine gives their names in Russian and in Slavonic. A careful analysis of the former by linguists has demonstrated the Swedish character of the Russian names.[1] Consequently, Constantine Porphyrogenitus regarded Sweden to be Rus. In mentioning two kinds of Rus he was in complete accord with Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub,[2] a circumstance which deserves to be emphasized.

And here are some further arguments.

The work of Luidprand, bishop of Cremona, who was twice sent to Constantinople as ambassador to the Byzantine court, was written at approximately the same time as the works of Constantine and Ibrahim. Now, this author states quite specifically that Rus is the alternative name for the Norsemen.[3]

The Hebrew Chronicle *Yosippon* of the latter half of the 10th century, which probably originated in Italy, contains a detail of some importance for the problem of Rus, which has, strangely enough, hitherto been overlooked by the historians. This chronicler mentions the Rus at the same time as the Saxons and the Angles,[4] a fact which proves, as has been pertinently remarked by Flusser,[5] that he numbered them among the Norsemen. But at the same time, the author of the Chronicle knew that the Rus should somehow be related to Kiev.[6]

Since as late as the latter half of the 10th century it was understood that the term "Rus" referred to the Norsemen, it is obvious that the same must have obtained in still earlier times. Of this, again, we have proof, as the *Annales Bertiniani* state unequivocally, under the year 839, that the Rus were Swedes.[7]

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[1] The literature on the subject is listed by K. Falk, Dneprforsarnas namn i kejsar Konstantin VII Porphyrogennetos' De administrando imperio, *Lunds Universitets Arsskrift*, N.F. Avd. 1, Bd. XLVI (4), 1951; *idem*, in *Slaviska Institutets Arsbok* (1948—49), 1951, pp. 106—37.

[2] The relation of Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub has not been preserved in the original text, but in the work of the Arab geographer al-Bekri (d. 1094). The 13th-century Arabic author, Ibn-Said al Garnati, informs us that the Rus lived to the South and East of the Prussians. H. Łowmiański, Stosunki polsko-pruskie za pierwszych Piastów, *PH* XLI, 1950, pp. 164—5, attaches great importance to this detail. It is possible that al-Garnati distorted the text of Ibrahim, but in my opinion, it is by no means to be excluded that the Spanish Jew not only spoke of the raids directed by the Rus against the Prussians from the West, but also mentioned the fact that the Rus lived to the South-East of Prussia. This would be in conformity with another text of Ibrahim, in which he relates that the Rus lived to the East of Poland, i.e., to the South-East of the Prussians.

[3] "Rusios quos alio nos nomine Nordmannos appellamus . . . "; " . . . Greci vocant . . . Rusios, nos vero a positione loci nominamus Nordmannos . . . " Luidprand, *Antapodosis*, ed. L. Becker, 1915, I, p. 11, V, p. 15. In the English translation by F. Wright, *The Works of Liudprand of Cremona*, 1930, pp. 38, 185.

[4] " . . . the Rossi, the Saqsui, and the Inglesusi dwelt by the river of the great sea . . . " M. Gaster, *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel, Oriental Translation Fund*, New Series, IV, 1899, p. 67.

[5] G. Flusser, Zpráva o Slovanech v hebrejské kronice z konce X stol. *CCH*, 1949, p. 239.

[6] If he committed geographical errors, as when he declared that the Rus lived on the banks of the river Kiev, which empties its waters into the Caspian Sea, this does not alter the fact that this source, in addition to those already quoted, has its importance for the problem here under investigation.

[7] "Venerunt autem legati Graecorum a Theophilo imperatore directi . . . quos imperator XV Kal. Iunii in Ingulenheim honorifice suscepit . . . Misit (Theophilus) etiam cum eis quosdam qui se, id est gentem suam, Rhos vocari dicebant . . . Quorum adventus causam imperator diligentius investigans comperit eos gentis esse Sueonum." (ed. G. Waitz, 1883, pp. 19—20).

The sources of the 9th and 10th centuries, quoted above, originated quite independently of one another, and the conformity of their statements cannot be the result of pure chance.[1] We now pass to another group of sources, which clearly confirms the evidence of the first. It deserves to be pointed out that in relating the same facts western sources describe the chief actors as Norsemen, while the eastern sources call them Rus. This is the conclusion to which one is led when studying the extant information concerning the attacks on Seville in Spain, in 844, and on Constantinople, in 860.

The Arab authors of the 9th and 10th centuries, al-Ya'qubi and al-Mas'udi, recount that Seville was at that time plundered by Rus,[2] while the Spanish *Chronicon Albeldense* calls the invaders Norsemen.[3] The Patriarch Photius mentions the formidable incursion of the Rus (Rhos), directed against the capital of the Eastern Empire,[4] while Joannes Diaconus of Venice speaks of an attack carried out by Norsemen, *Normannorum gentes*.[5] This twofold terminology appears also in the sources in the narrative of the expedition of the Rus against Constantinople in 941.

The Greek writers, Teophanes Continutaus and Symeon Logothetes, relate that the Rus belonged to the tribe of the Frangs. In the opinion of many historians, the term "Frangs" is the name by which, at this time, went all nations of Germanic extractions, consequently also the Norsemen.[6] Brutskus supposes that the Frangs, Farangians or Varangians are the Norse Varangians.[7]

In the Slavonic translation of the Chronicle of Georgius Monachus (Hamartolos),[8] it is said that the Rus who attacked Constantinople in 941 were of Varangian descent (*ot roda Varyazheska sushchim*),[9] a detail which is certainly noteworthy.

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1 All the sources mentioned above, proving that the term "Rus" referred to the Norsemen, are either disregarded or altogether omitted by the Anti-Normanists. See Appendix: "Some Commentaries on Sources Relating to the Norse Origin of the Rus."

2 In some western Latin sources, the Norsemen are merely called pagans. North African Arab historians, and historians of Mohammedan Spain, use the word *Madjus* (pagans, fire-worshippers) to designate the Scandinavian invaders. Al-Ya'kubi identified the Madjus with the Rus: "the Madjus who are called Rus." *BGA* VII, 1892, p. 354; al-Mas'udi proceeds similarly (Garkavi, *op. cit.*, p. 129; J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, 1903, pp. 348, 387). See A. Maver, The Vikings, *The Cambridge Mediaeval History* III, 1922, p. 328; V. Minorsky, Rus, *Tirage à part de l'Encyclopédie de l'Islâm*, 1937.

3 A. Vasiliev, The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860, *MAA* XLVI, 1946, p. 43. This Chronicle calls the Norsemen: Lordomani; the sources allude to them as Normani, Normanni, Nordmanni, Lordomani, Leodemani, etc.

4 For details cf. Vasiliev's quoted work.

5 *MGH, Script.* VII, p. 18; see G. Laehr, Die Anfänge des russischen Reiches, *HS*, 1930, p. 123; N. Baumgarten, Aux origines de la Russie, *OCA* CXIX, 1939, p. 9.

6 Cf. V. Moshin, Varyago-russkii vopros, *S* X, 1931, pp. 534—5; N. Baumgarten, *op. cit.*, p. 10. On the other hand, the theory propounded by K. Fritzler in his work *Das russische Reich eine Gründung der Franken*, 1923, has been rightly discarded by students of that subject. Cf. A. Florovsky, Franko-tyurkskaya teoriya proiskhozhdeniya Rusi, *S* III, 1924—5, pp. 553—9; M. Vasmer, *ZSP* I, 1925, p. 466.

7 Yu. Brutskus, Varyagi i kolbyagi, *SK* VII, 1935, pp. 88—90.

8 This translation has been published by V. Istrin, *Khronika Georgiya Amartola v drevne slavyano-russkom perevode*, I, 1920, II, 1922, III, 1930.

9 Cf. Yu. Brutskus, *op. cit.*, pp. 88—90; A. Shakhmatov, "Povest Vremennykh Let" i ee istochniki, *TODRL* IV, 1940, pp. 55—7.

We now have to consider in turn other sources which do not directly confirm the thesis of the Norse descent of the Rus, but, nevertheless, contain details relating to the territory from which the Rus were supposed to come. The information contained in these sources, which is of a somewhat general character, has been the subject of the most varied conjectures. From the point of view of method it is undoubtedly necessary to preclude any all too arbitrary interpretations of these sources. Since we can regard the Norse descent of the Rus not as a conjecture but as a fact, which finds confirmation in many authors of the 9th and 10th centuries, we should approach these further sources from the standpoint of their agreement or disagreement with the Normanist thesis.

Mas'udi relates that merchants from Rus brought their goods to Spain, to Rome, to Constantinople, and to the Khazars, and thus included both western and eastern Europe in the sphere of their trade.[1] Ibn-Hauqual, in the second half of the 10th century, recounts that after having looted the Bulgars of the Volga and the Khazars in 969, the Rus returned to their country by way of Rome (i.e., Byzantium) and Spain.[2] Both these testimonies are in harmony with the geographical position of Scandinavia, accessible through the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, and show the excellent knowledge of Europe possessed by the Norsemen, a feature in keeping with the part played by them in the world at that time.

Now, let us consider the expedition undertaken by the Rus in 943—4, in the Caspian region, and directed against Bardha'ah. The Chronicle of Ibn-Miskawaih has preserved the description of this raid.[3] The writer narrates that the Rus sailed on the sea "which borders their country", and entered the estuary of the river Kur. Korduba supposes that the settlements of these Rus must have been not very far from the Caspian.[4] Many scholars are of a different opinion. Yakubovsky thinks that the Rus went by boat from Kiev to the Black Sea along the Dnieper, further across the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, and upstream by way of the Don to the place where the distance to the Volga is small; that there the boats were portaged to the Volga, and that further on the Rus followed the Volga downstream to the Caspian Sea.[5] Nasonov declares against the Don-Volga route, and assumes in preference that from the Black Sea a river route was used to attain Derbend.[6]

Already in earlier times, in 913—14, the Rus plundered the lands situ-

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[1] F. Vestberg, K analizu vostochnykh istochnikov o vostochnoi Evrope, *ZMNP*, 1908, pp. 3—4, 381—2.

[2] N. Baumgarten, *op. cit.*, pp. 12—3.

[3] Ibn-Miskawaih, *The Eclipse of Abbaside Caliphate V*, 1921, pp. 67—74; the text edited by H. Amedroz; English translation by D. Margoliouth; excerpt on the Rus translated into Russian by A. Florovsky, Izvestiya o drevnei Rusi arabskogo pisatelya Miskaveikhi X—XI vv., *SK* I, 1927, pp. 175—86; A. Yakubovsky, Ibn-Miskaveikh o pokhode Rusov v Berdaa v 322 g. = 943/4 g., *VV* XXIV, 1926, pp. 63—92. Ibn-Miskawaih lived in the late 10th and early 11th centuries, and died about 1030. The city of Bardha'ah lay on the river Terter, near where it flows into the Kur, and was famous for its riches. The Kur flows in a south easterly direction and discharges its waters into the Caspian Sea.

[4] M. Korduba, *Najnowsze teorie o początkach Rusi*, pp. 63—4.

[5] A. Yakubovsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 82—7.

[6] A. Nasonov, Tmutorakan v istorii vostochnoi Evropy X veka, *IZ* VI, 1940, p. 85.

ated on the Caspian Sea. It follows, from the details given by Mas'udi, that the aggressors came from far-away parts. Florovsky therefore was right when he remarked that it is most improbable that the Rus can have lived in the neighbourhood of that sea in the period with which we are now dealing (943—4).[1] We are confirmed in this view by Ibn-Miskawaih himself, who gives several noteworthy details. When telling of the great abundance of fruit in the Caspian region, this author relates how the invaders ate the fruit in great quantities, and how their uncontrolled greed for the produce of the newly conquered country brought about a dangerous epidemic among them. And here there follows an important commentary of the Arabic author: "The reason was that the land of the Rus is very cold and that trees do not grow there. Fruit is brought to them (the Rus) only in small quantities from distant parts."

This text of Ibn-Miskawaih is a clear allusion to the far North. If these Rus lived on the banks of the Dnieper, or on the shores of the Black Sea, or the Sea of Azov, such a remark on the climate and on the lack of fruit in their country could not be understood.

Yakubovsky pertinently points out that the Rus often made their appearance on the shores of the Caspian, advancing southwards along the Volga from its upper or middle reaches.[2] We know that the expedition of 943—4 ended in disaster for the Rus, but the Arabic writer does not say by what route the invaders retreated. However, the retreat of the Rus after the unfortunate expedition of 913—14 deserves our attention. They were at that time routed by Burtas and Bulgars, a circumstance which shows that they were going northwards by boat on the Volga.[3] This detail possibly sheds some light on the epilogue of the events of 943—4.

Ibn-Miskawaih relates that the land of Rus is situated on the sea over which the invaders sail to the mouth of the Kur river. This is an evident allusion to the Caspian. Yet other details which occur in this author's text, to the effect that the land of Rus is very cold, that it lacks fruit etc., prove that he means the Baltic. Hence the conclusion that Ibn-Miskawaih treated the Baltic and the Caspian as one sea. In this mistake there is nothing uncommon. Other authors of the period also believe that the Baltic was connected with the Black Sea.[4]

The passage of Ibn-Miskawaih which we are examining contains details which speak in favour of the Norse descent of Rus. Other sources, discussed in another place,[5] state that Scandinavian expeditions starting in the North were aimed at the Black Sea region. Ibn-Miskawaih shows that these exploits extended to the Caspian Sea.

The Oriental writers' allusions to an island which the Rus were supposed to inhabit refers to their original home. The most important source

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[1] A. Florovsky, *op. cit.*, p. 182.
[2] A. Yakubovsky, O russko-khazarskikh i russko-kavkazskikh otnosheniyakh v IX—X vv.; *IAN* III (5), 1946, p. 464.
[3] A. Yakubovsky, *op. cit.*, p. 466, supposes that by this circuitous route the Rus were returning to Kiev. This conjecture seems unlikely in every way.
[4] See Appendix: "Was the Black Sea ever called the Sea of the Rus?"
[5] *Ibidem.*

in this respect is Ibn-Rusta, in the beginning of the 10th century, while Gardizi makes some additions in the 11th.[1] The former writes: "The country of the Rus is an island in a lake (Gardizi says: "in a sea,"); the island is a three-days' journey through forests and swamps, and it is a damp morass, such that when a man puts his foot on the ground it quakes owing to the moisture." Gardizi puts the number of the Rus at one hundred thousand. According to both Ibn-Rusta and Gardizi, "the Rus go out to raid the Slavs in boats and they take the Slavs prisoner and sell them to the Khazars and the Bulgars. They have no cultivated lands, and obtain grain from the Slavs."[2]

The information concerning this island is so vague that it is difficult to establish its position with any degree of exactness. It is not surprising, therefore, that the opinions of scholars are strongly at variance. While some seek this island in the South, and centre their suppositions chiefly on the Taman Peninsula (Tmutorokan), others are rather in favour of the North. Certain opinions credit the sources with reference to the Great Novgorod,[3] to the country around Staraya Rusa,[4] to Lake Ladoga,[5] to the island of Gotland,[6] to the part of Sweden bordering the Gulf of Finland,[7] etc.

I do not wish to decide where this island should be located as there are not sufficient data in the sources. I will confine myself to stating the fact that the information supplied by the Oriental writers concerning the island which the Rus were supposed to inhabit, in no way belies their Norse descent. In my opinion, the island referred to above might have been either Great Novgorod or the Scandinavian Peninsula. The chronicles of Kiev and of Novgorod, when speaking of the Varangians, never fail to stress that the Norsemen went by sea to eastern Europe and returned to their country by sea.[8] This would easily lead people to assume that the land inhabited by the

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[1] For other Oriental authors who also treat of this subject: V. Moshin, Nachalo Rusi, Normanny v vostochnoi Evrope, *BS* III, 1931, p. 293; R. Frye, Remarks on some new islamic sources of the Rus, *B* XVIII, 1948, pp. 121—2.

[2] C. Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century*, 1930, p. 213; G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, pp. 283—5.

[3] V. Minorsky, *Hudud al-Alam, The Regions of the World*, 1937, p. 434; *idem*, *Rus*, 1937; G. Da Costa-Louillet, Y eut-il des invasions russes dans l'Empire byzantin avant 860? *B* XV, 1940—1, p. 237; S. Cross, The Scandinavian Infiltration into Early Russia, *Sp* XXI, 1946, p. 507. In the Scandinavian sagas the Great Novgorod is called Hólmgardr, a name which literally means "island city."

[4] A. Shakhmatov, *Drevneishie sudby russkogo plemeni*, 1919, pp. 53—6; S. Platonov, Rusa, *DD*, 1920, pp. 1—5.

[5] H. Łowmiański, *Geneza państwa kijowskiego*, p. 596. On the most remote past of Ladoga, cf. E. Rydzevskaya, Svedeniya o Staroi Ladoge v drevne severnoi literature, *KSDPI* XI, 1945, pp. 51—65; V. Ravdonikas, Staraya Ladoga, *SAr* XI, 1949, pp. 5—54; XII, pp. 7—40.

[7] P. Lyashchenko, *Istoriya narodnogo khozyaistva SSSR* I, 1947, p. 100.

[6] Grekov's hypothesis is discussed by L. Tiveriadsky, K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii Rusi, *IZ*, 1942, pp. 42—3.

[8] "The Varangians from beyond the sea imposed tribute upon the Chuds, the Slavs . . ." Cross, p. 144; "The tributaries of the Varangians drove them back beyond the sea," *ibid.*, p. 144; "Now Rogvolod had come from overseas", *ibid.*, p. 178; "Yaroslav sent overseas and imported Varangian reinforcements," *ibid.*, p. 212; "When Yaroslav arrived at Novgorod in his flight, he planned to escape overseas, but the viceroy Constantine . . . destroyed his boats," *ibid.*, p. 221; "Then Yaroslav . . . came again to Novgorod, whence he sent overseas after Varangians," *ibid.*, p. 224; "Haakon, the Varangian prince . . . departed beyond the sea," *ibid.*, p. 224, etc.

Rus was an island. There is no reason for being surprised that the Arabic writers should have harboured such opinions. The Polish chronicler "Gallus", the contemporary of "Nestor", often mentions the Baltic. Now, to his mind, the lands lying to the North of Pomerania and Prussia were islands.

Summing up our considerations, we come to the conclusion that numerous sources testify quite clearly to the Norse origin of the Rus. Other sources, although rather general and less precise, in no way contradict the former. They also can be reasonably interpreted, and this deserves to be pointed out, in a sense favourable to the Normanist thesis. Since the Rus derived their descent from Scandinavia, they were most evidently not a Slavonic tribe.

Our investigations might be considered as having attained their object were it not for the fact that many scholars are trying to find various geographical names which might somehow be connected with the term "Rus", and thereby establish its origin.

In the opinion of the Anti-Normanists, the Rus came from the South; they existed in south-eastern Europe before the Norsemen appeared on the scene. In support of this thesis, the names of several rivers are generally quoted, such as the Ros, a right-bank tributary of the Dnieper, the Rusa, a tributary of the Seim, mentioned in the "Book of the Great Delineation" (*Kniga Bolshomu Chertezhu*), the Rsha in the region of Chernihov, the Ruska in Volynia, etc.[1] Furthermore, some scholars think they can discover "Rus" in the names of various peoples. In this way Rus has been brought into connection with the Etruscans (Et-rus-cans), who appeared in central Italy in the 8th century B.C.,[2] with the Biblical name of Rosh;[3] with the Roxolani;[4] with the tribe of the Rosomoni;[5] with the Tauro-Scythae,[6] etc.

Opinions have been expressed by historians that Rus appears in "Efrem

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[1] A. Sobolevsky, V proiskakh sledov Varyagov-vikingov, *S* VIII, 1929—30, pp. 761—2; *Istoriya SSSR*, a work by several hands, under the editorship of B. Grekov, S. Bakhrushin, and V. Lebedev, I, 1947, p. 73; G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, p. 97; P. Tretiakow, *Plemiona wschodnio-słowiańskie*, 1949, p. 148. It is not known when the name of these "Russian" rivers came to be first used; nevertheless, it is a question of the greatest consequence for the subject under discussion. "Nestor" only mentions the Ros, a tributary of the Dnieper.

[2] Such was the thesis of N. Marr; it is now very often contested.

[3] The Patriarch Proclus, in the 5th century, devoted one of his sermons to the Hunnish invasion. In it he recalled Ezekiel's prophecy concerning the prince of the Rhos. The Hebrew words *nesi rosh* was taken by the first Greek translators to mean: "Prince of the Rhos", and the error was repeated by many subsequent translators. St. Jerome did not follow the Greek translators in his Vulgate, and rendered the words *nesi rosh* by *princeps capitis*. Thus the notion of a Rosh nation arose only through an error of translation. E. König, Zur Vorgeschichte des Namens "Russen", *ZDMG* LXX, 1916, pp. 92—6; A. Dyakonov, Izvestiya Psevdo-Zakharii o drevnikh slavyanakh, *VDI*, 1939, (4), p. 87; F. Dvornik, *The Making*, pp. 306—7. The subject is also touched on by A. Florovsky, Knyaz Rosh u proroka Ezekiila, *Sbornik v chest na V. N. Zlatarski*, 1925, pp. 505—20; M. Syuzyumov, K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii, *VDI*, 1940, pp. 121—3, and others.

[4] According to Strabo, the Roxolani lived between the Dnieper and the Don. Ptolemy places them on the north-west coast of the Sea of Azov. G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, passim, advanced an unlikely hypothesis relating to the tribe of the Rukhs-As.

[5] Jordanis, in the 6th century of our era, mentions a tribe of Rosomoni.

[6] For critical remarks on the subject of this conjecture, cf. A. Vasiliev, *The Russian Attack*, pp. 82—3.

Sirin," a Syrian source of the 4th century,[1] in "Moses of Khoren,"[2] an Armenian source of the 5th century, in the compilation known as the "Church History" by Zechariah the Rhetor (*ca.* 555),[3] in the *Chanson de Roland*,[4] in King Alfred's 9th-century "Description of Germany",[5] etc. The marshalling of all these sources aims at the refutation of the thesis of the Norse origin of Rus, by demonstrating that the name "Rus" was known in eastern Europe before the coming of the Norsemen.[6]

But all the material thus assembled is open to the strongest objections. The attempt to treat as a whole the various names of rivers, cities, and peoples which made their appearance in different places and at different times, without showing any link of causality between them, cannot lead to any acceptable results.[7]

The sole argument advanced in support of this theory—that there is a similarity of various names and Rus—is purely imaginary and artificial. If Rus derived from one of the tribes mentioned it could not descend from others. Consequently, there are obvious flaws and contradictions in the reasoning adopted.

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[1] S. Yushkov, *Obshchestvenno politicheskii stroi i pravo Kievskogo gosudarstva*, 1949, p. 55.

[2] V. Ryazanovsky, *Obzor russkoi kultury* I, 1947, p. 236.

[3] This author mentions a tribe of Heros among the peoples living to the North of the Caucasus. K. Aehrens—G. Krüger, *Die sogenannte Kirchengeschichte des Zacharias Rhetor*, 1899, p. 253, translate this name by: hero. We must add that this source ascribes to the tribe referred to, certain super-natural, half-legendary qualities. For critical remarks on the subject of identifying the Heros with the Rus, cf. F. Dvornik, *The Making*, pp. 307—8; H. Grégoire, in *Byzantina Metabyzantina* I (1), 1946, pp. 259—60. Among other scholars the problem is dealt with by N. Pigulevskaya, Siriiskie istochniki po istorii narodov SSSR, *TIV* XLI, 1941; A. Dyakonov, Izvestiya Psevdo—Zakharii o drevnikh slavyanakh, *VDI*, 1939 (4), pp. 83—90; G. Vernadsky, The Rus in the Crimea and the Russo-Byzantine Treaty of 945. *Byzantina Metabyzantina* I (1), 1946, p. 250.

[4] In the *Chanson de Roland* the Rus are supposed to appear among the allies of the Arabs in their struggle against Charlemagne in Spain. Cf. M. Slabchenko, Prolozhnoe soobshchenie o predletopisnoi Rusi, *IsZ*, 1942 (7), p. 129.

[5] J. Bosworth, *A Literal Translation of King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of the Compendious History of the World by Orosius*, 1855, Book 1. This source mentions a tribe of Roschouasko as living on the Don. If this indicates the Rus, then they would figure here as a Germanic tribe, as King Alfred extends the limits of Germany from the Rhine to the Don (Danais). Certain scholars suppose that this striking extension of Germany to the East is an allusion to the conquest of the lands on the Don by the Norsemen; others think this is a reminiscence of the once powerful Gothic State. Cf. H. Geidel, Alfred der Grosse als Geograph, *MGS* XV, 1904, p. 27—8; M. Alekseev, Anglo saksonskaya parallel k Pouchenivu Vladimira Monomakha, *TODRL* II, 1935, pp. 42—4.

[6] "The nation of the Ros has nothing in common with the Scandinavian Rus . . . A whole series of toponymical appellations derived from the root "ros" directs us clearly towards the southern part of the (Soviet) Union's territory." B. Grekov, Preface to G. Kochin's study, *Pamyatniki istorii Kievskogo gosudarstva IX—XII vv.* 1936, p. 5; N. Polonskaya, K voprosu o khristianstve na Rusi do Vladimira, *ZMNP*, 1917, pp. 57—8, and many others argue in a similar fashion.

[7] In spite of their adherence to the apparently uniform thesis that Rus had its origin in the South, there are important differences of opinion among the followers of this theory, which appear whenever they attempt to determine with any exactness the first territory of the Rus. P. Tretiakow, *Plemiona wschodnio słowiańskie*, 1949, p. 235 (cf. *VDI*, 1948, pp. 117—24), points to the belt of territory between the Don and the Dnieper; I. Ohienko, "Ruski" perekladi v Khersonesi v 860 rotsi, *Yubileinii Zbirnik na poshanu D. I. Bagaliya*, 1927, p. 367, declares for the land of Kiev; yet other scholars are in favour of the maritime region of the Azov Sea. Cf. D. Dorosenko, Die Namen "Rus", "Russland" und "Ukraine" in ihrer historischen und gegenwärtigen Bedeutung, *AUWIB* III, 1931, p. 5; *idem*, Was ist die osteuropäische Geschichte? *ZOG* IX, 1935, p. 34.

Names reminiscent of Rus are frequent also in north-eastern Europe, especially on both banks of the river Lovat.[1] Grekov is of the opinion that "archaeologists should explain the mysterious accumulation around Staraya Rusa of a great number of (geographical) names, all containing the root: rus."[2] But, here the question arises why should names of this kind be declared mysterious when they appear in the North, and not when they appear on the banks of the Don or on the shores of the Black Sea or the Sea of Azov? The hypothesis of many scholars that appellations derived from Rus in the North are of later provenance and have been brought there from the South,[3] are without foundation.

Names of rivers derived from the root: *rus-ros* occur over very wide expanses. Dlugossius, in the 15th century, mentions in the geographical introduction to his work the river Rosz or Orsha, a tributary of the upper reaches of the Dnieper; the Rus or Ros is a tributary of the Niemen;[4] another stream of the same name flows into the Narew;[5] and yet another into the Szeszupa,[6] etc. The Volga river is called Rhos by the anonymous Greek author of a geographical treatise compiled in the 5th century of the Christian era.[7] The anonymous *Geographer of Ravenna*, in the 7th century, mentions a town of Malorosa in the Kuban delta.[8] An Armenian source of the 10th century calls the Khazars, Rosmasokhi.[9] In fact, the Rus territory is supposed to have comprised lands extending from Poland[10] to the Volga, and from Lake Ilmen to the Black Sea, the Sea of Asov, and the Caspian Sea. But we might extend it even further, including in it the whole of Europe and even parts of other continents. I could quote a number of geographical terms which could be linked with Rus by a vivid imagination. Thus, there is in the Baltic, the island of Rugia (Rügen);[11]

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1 R. Ekblom, Rus et Varęg dans les noms des lieux de la région de Novgorod, *AEO* XI, 1915; S. Platonov, Rusa, *DD* I, 1920, pp. 1—5; M. Vasmer, Vikingerspuren in Russland, *SPAW* XXI, 1931, pp. 649—74; V. Moshin, Nachalo Rusi, *BS* III, 1931, p. 291; V. Brim, Put iz Varyag v Greki, *IAN*, 1931, pp. 229—30; E. Rydzevskaya, K varyazhskomu voprosu. Mestnye nazvaniya skandinavskogo proiskhozhdeniya v svyazi s voprosom o varyagakh na Rusi, *IAN*, 1934, pp. 485—6, and others.

2 *VDI*, 1948 (4), p. 121.

3 V. Parkhomenko, Iz drevneishei istorii vostochnogo slavyanstva, *IORYS* XXV, 1922, pp. 484—5; A. Pogodin, Varyagi i Rus, *ZRNIB* VII, 1932, pp. 123—5; W. Mawrodin, *Walka z teorią normańską w rosyjskiej nauce historycznej* (transl. by W. Głuchowski), 1951, p. 33.

4 A. Sobolevsky, Russko-skifskie etydy, *IORYS* XXVII, 1922, p. 262.

5 The Narew, together with the Bug, empties its waters into the Vistula.

6 The Szeszupa is a left bank tributary of the Niemen.

7 P. Smirnov, Volzkii shlyakh i starodavni Rusi, *ZIFV* LXXV, 1928, p. 8, seqq.

8 G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, pp. 148—9, draws attention to this detail but passes over a series of localities mentioned in this source and not situated in eastern Europe; such as: Rusano, Rusicada, Rusino, Ruspe, Rusicuron, Rusinum, Ruspina, Ruzion, etc. Cf. M. Pinder-G. Parthey (ed.), *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia*, 1860.

9 P. Tretyakov, Vostochnoslavyanskie plemena nakanune obrazovaniya Kievskogo gosudarstva, *IAN* II, 1945, p. 168.

10 In diverse parts of Poland there occur geographical names such as: Rus, Rusawa, Rusaki, Rusek, Rusiec, etc.

11 As early as 906, the Raffelstätter customs statute mentions, among foreign merchants coming to Germany, the Boemani and the Rugi (Sclavi vero qui de Rugis vel de Boemanis mercandi causa exeunt. K. Schiffmann, Die Zollurkunde von Raffelstetten, *MIOG* XXXVII, 1917, pp. 479—88.) These visitors may have come from the Slavonic island of Rugia, although certain scholars think they were Rus. E.g. V. Vasilevsky, Drevnyaya targovlya Kieva s Regensburgom, *ZMNP*, 1888, pp. 122—32 (A. Florovsky, *Chekhi i vostochnye slavyane* I, 1935,

the city of Rossa in Dalmatia mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus; the Archbishopric of Rhusion or Rhosion in Thrace; Rusion (Rhusium) in the Rodop Mountains, on the Constantinople—Thessalonica route;[1] the Bishopric of Rhusianum (Rossano) in Calabria; there is Ruscino in Gaul, and Rusticona on the Iberian Peninsula; and in Numidia, therefore in Africa, we find Ruthisia, Ruspae, Rusicade, Rusucuru, etc.[2] In Salzburg, there is a stone slab with an inscription of A.D. 477: "*Odoacer Rex Ruthenorum.*"[3] Moshin is right when he says: "One finds oneself in a quagmire once one begins to operate with terms derived from *rus* or *ros*. In the first place, it would seem most hazardous to accept such a criterion: the existence in East Slavonic territory of topographical names containing this base has been, up to quite recent times, put forward (methodologically speaking without foundation) as proof of the Slavonic descent of the first founders of the Russian State. Secondly, the base *rus-ros* in topographical names (is) uncommonly frequent all over the world."[4]

This remark finds its confirmation in a work by Shelukhin already mentioned.[5] This author thought he could derive the Rus from ancient Gaul, because in Julius Caesar's *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* there occurs among the Gallic tribes settled to the West of the Rhone one which goes under the name of *Rutheni*. Shelukhin quotes a number of similar arguments which "prove" the Celtic descent of the Rus. The thesis has been universally and rightly rejected, but one cannot help remarking that its author applies the same criterion, and is able to adduce a number of reasons, at first sight more convincing than those put forward by the defenders of the provenance of the Rus from south-eastern Europe.

The problem of Rus cannot be resolved in the field of toponymy. The supporters of this method interpret geographical terminology with disconcerting arbitrariness and levity. The idea that such arguments could arouse doubts as to the Norse origin of the Rus, verified by so many sources, cannot be taken seriously.

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pp. 159—64, identifies those Rugians with the Rus, but very cautiously and with many reservations). The linking of the Rus with the isle of Rugia is based on German sources. "Continuator Reginonis" calls Olga: regina Rugorum; Bishop Adalbert who was sent to Kiev—Rugorum episcopus, etc. P. David, The Church in Poland from its Origin to 1250, *The Cambridge History of Poland from the Origins to Sobieski*, 1950, p. 73, thinks that originally the Bishopric of Lubusz (Lebus) included the isle of Rugia. As the result of some confusion in Latin texts between the Rugians and the Rus, the Bishops of Lubusz, in the 13th century, claimed authority over the Latin Christians in Rus. See also E. Zöllner, Rugier oder Russen in der Raffelstettener Zollurkunde? *MIOG*, 1952, pp. 108—19.

[1] The sources confused this locality with Rus, and this explains the version according to which the legates of Pope Leo IX proceeded, in 1054, from Constantinople to Kiev. See W. Szcześniak, Rzekoma bytność legatów papieża Leona IX na Rusi w 1054 r., *PH* III, 1906, pp. 162—76; S. Cross, Mediaeval Russian Contacts with the West, *Sp* X, 1935, pp. 140—1.

[2] These names have been listed by S. Shelukhin, *Zvidkilya pokhodit Rus*, 1929, p. 19. The author quotes many more names than we do here.

[3] S. Shelukin, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

[4] V. Moshin, *Nachalo Rusi*, p. 285.

[5] S. Shelukhin, *op. cit.*, pp. 1—121. The same thesis is developed by the author in a study I was unable to obtain, entitled: *Ukraina nazva nashoi zemli z naidavnishikh chasiv*, 1936.

CHAPTER VI

"NESTOR" ON THE ORIGINS OF THE RUS

"Nestor's" Attitude towards the Greeks and Norsemen. The Emergence of the Term "Rus" and Its Use by the Fins, Slavs, and Greeks. The Greek Church as the Propagator of the Name "Rus" in the East of Europe. "Nestor's" Chronicle on the Earliest History of the Rus. Byzantine Influence on the Chronicle.

In our investigations concerning the origin of the Rus, we have hitherto deliberately passed over "Nestor's" famous work. To consider the sources without reference to the *Povest* has the undoubted advantage of allowing us to compare and to verify the information contained in the Chronicle. Such a verification has become necessary, because many historians treat "Nestor" with frank incredulity, and regard him as a highly tendentious author. We must therefore examine the reasons for this point of view, and establish the degree of credibility of our source.[1]

It has become the fashion to call the author of the *Povest* rather contemptuously "the first Normanist." Now, if any one wishes to apply the contemporary term "Normanist" to a man, who himself lived in the time of the Norsemen, we are bound to observe that in this case it is inappropriate. "Normanists" existed already before "Nestor," for we must number among them the author of the entry in the *Annales Bertiniani*, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub, Luidprand of Cremona, and others.

According to Ilinsky, "Nestor" was an "ardent Normanist and Grecophile."[2] We cannot share this opinion. The Byzantine Empire, following the spread of Christianity in eastern Europe, attempted to extend its dominion to the Kievan State. If the Rus were thought to have come from the shores of the Black Sea, which depended on Constantinople, this southern place of origin would have been stressed with special insistence by a chronicler with Grecophile tendencies. But on religious grounds Ilinsky's thesis is also open to criticism, since the "Varangian faith", a designation applied by the Russian chroniclers to Christianity as professed by the Norsemen, in time became Latin, not Greek.

Priselkov says that "Nestor" was consciously departing from the truth when he spoke of the Norse descent of the Rus and of the house of

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[1] In Chapter I of the present work emphasis was laid in general on the reliability of "Nestor's" Chronicle, especially the part covering the later period, from the end of the 10th century onwards. At present, we shall proceed with a more detailed analysis of this source from the point of view of the attitude of the chronicler to the problem of Rus in earlier times.

[2] G. Ilinsky, *BS* II, 1930, p. 432, in his review of N. Nikolsky's *Povest Vremennykh Let*, 1930.

Rurik, but that he did so in order to " exalt the ruling dynasty ".[1] It remains a mystery, however, why a Norse descent was supposed to redound to the glory of these princes.[2] In opposition to the accusations of Normanophilism levelled at the chronicler, Braun stresses " Nestor's " tendency to regard the Norsemen with hostility.[3]

Grekov considers that " the chronicler, being the representative of a certain class, has a political viewpoint of his own."[4] But if we are to place class-consciousness foremost in the case of this monk of the Crypt Monastery, we must feel some astonishment on finding this same Grekov, in another of his studies, dilating upon the national character of the *Povest*.[5]

Likhachev similarly perceives in this work certain expressions of profound patriotism, but strangely enough he does not regard " Nestor " as a writer with Grecophile leanings, but, on the contrary, as a Grecophobe. This is how he justifies his opinion : " From the standpoint of the Greeks, the Russian State owed its foundation to Byzantium. A legitimate authority made its appearance in Rus only after it had received baptism, when it remained indissolubly united to the Church. Now, the chroniclers of the Crypt Monastery attacked this Greek point of view, because it concealed a real danger. The monks of the Crypt Monastery, in their all-Russian and anti-Greek policy, were consistently opposed to the Metropolitan of Kiev and his programme. The Normanist theory of the Crypt Monks was, in the first place, an anti-Greek and . . . all-Russian theory. This theory represented the contrary conception of the Russian State's origin, and regarded it as deriving not from the Byzantine South, but from the Scandinavian North . . . But once he maintained the Russian State's independence of Byzantium, why did not Nestor insist that the ancient State of Rus was independent of any dominance, and why, on the contrary, did he support the theory of the dynasty's foreign extraction ? There can be only one answer to this question: it was a tradition with mediaeval historiographers to trace the descent of dynasties from foreign lands."[6]

That these last words are misleading can be shown simply by reference to the Chronicle of the so-called Gallus, a contemporary of " Nestor," which derived the forefather of the first Polish historical dynasty, the legendary Piast, from the people, and represented him as a needy tiller of the soil. Cosmas relates that Przemysl, the founder of the Czech dynasty, was called to the throne from the plough. Likhachev's supposition that the Normanist theory was produced with Grecophobe intentions must be recognized as improbable. Both Constantine Porphyrogenitus and Bishop

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[1] M. Priselkov, *Istoriya russkogo letopisaniya XI—XV vv.*, 1940, p. 42.

[2] I. Eremin, *Povest Vremennykh Let*, 1947, p. 27, writes very pertinently on this subject : " The fact that the dynasty (of the Rurikides) was of Varangian, not of Slavonic descent, in no way worried the chronicler. Russian historians began, in the 17th century, to have misgivings in respect of the Varangian descent of the Rurikides."

[3] F. Braun, Das historische Russland im nordischen Schrifttum des X—XIV Jahrhunderts, in *Festschrift Eugen Mogk zum 70 Geburtstag*, 1924, p. 159.

[4] B. Grekov, Kievskaya Rus i problema proiskhozhdeniya russkogo feodalizma u M. N. Pokrovskogo, in *Protiv istoricheskoi kontseptsii M. N. Pokrovskogo*, by several hands, I, 1939, p. 90.

[5] B. Grekov, Pervyi trud po istorii Rossii, *IsZ*, 1943 (11—12), p. 66.

[6] D. Likhachev, *Russkie letopisi i ikh kulturno-istoricheskoe znachenie*, 1947, pp. 159—60.

Luidprand of Cremona, who had been to Constantinople and had brought back much information, say that the Rus were not Slavs, and that they came not from the South, but from the North. And it is difficult to suspect a Byzantine Emperor of being at heart anti-Greek !

We have to ask ourselves how six different theses, six different tendencies, could spring up, and all be ascribed to " Nestor ": one Grecophile and the other anti-Greek, one Normanophile and the other anti-Normanist, and finally two Russian, but one national and the other based on class-consciousness ! Particular authors evidently became accustomed to quoting particular fragments of the *Povest* without ever exhausting the whole material. In their commentaries they overstated the intentions of the Kievan chronicler in order to prove his unreliability, but instead of undermining the authority of " Nestor " they became involved in mutual contradictions which cast doubts on the value of their own observations.

The subject in question should be approached with the greatest possible circumspection. Evidently, not everything " Nestor " has written can be accepted without verification, especially where the most ancient times are concerned. On the other hand, there are no sufficient reasons for asserting that he deliberately falsifies history. So many tendencies have been attributed to " Nestor " that one possibility was overlooked : namely, that he endeavoured to record the truth as he saw it.

In approaching the problem of the credibility or the tendentiousness of the *Povest*, we must not only study the source as a whole, but we must also consider the author's personality. Far from attempting to conceal his way of thinking, he gave it expression in a most definite manner. Paul the Apostle was " Nestor's " master, not only because he preached the Gospel, but because he was supposed to have taught among the Slavs,[1] which was of no less importance to the chronicler.

This is a clear indication that " Nestor " must have been of Slavonic origin. He must have belonged to the " East Slavonic " group, as he displays a sense of remoteness from the Western Slavs. Probably he came from the land of the Polyanians, although it is impossible to affirm this with any certitude. Yet the intimate relations existing between the author of the Chronicle and Kiev point that way. But this might also be accounted for by the fact that this city was the centre of the faith of Rus. In any case, " Nestor " must have resided for a long time in the land of Kiev, since it is from its past that he derives material for his most noteworthy narrations.

The Chronicle contains many accents of grievance against the Greeks. It stresses their cleverness and cunning ;[2] in describing the wars between Kiev and Byzantium in the 10th century, it draws its information from Greek sources, but, nevertheless, it seeks to weaken the impression of the Empire's successes.[3] It devotes very little space to the Metropolitans of

[1] Cross, p. 149.
[2] 971. " The Greeks made this proposition to deceive the Rus, for the Greeks are crafty even to the present day." Cross, p. 174.
[3] A. Shakhmatov, " Povest Vremennykh Let " i ee istochniki, *TODRL* IV, 1940, p. 71.

Kiev, who were, almost without exception, Greeks, and does not always speak highly of their personal merits.[1] It betrays an evident disaffection in relations to the highest dignitaries of the Church of Rus, who challenged the sanctity of Vladimir the Great, and of his sons Boris and Gleb,[2] etc.

All these details show unequivocally that it was not a Greek who wrote the *Povest*, even one familiar with the Slavonic language. But there is evidence to show that the author's attitude was similar in relation to the Norsemen. In " Nestor's " narrative the Varangians before being called to Novgorod are driven out by the Novgorodians, Krivichians, and others who are their subjects, on account of the injuries which they have inflicted upon the latter.[3] The Varangians, after having helped Vladimir to become master of Kiev, wish to impose an onerous tribute on the population.[4] The chronicler enlarges on the outrages and the violence perpetrated by the Varangians in Great Novgorod.[5] The Varangians are guilty of many crimes: e.g., they murder the beloved son of Vladimir, Boris,[6] etc.[7] All this shows that we must not exaggerate the Grecophile and Normanophile tendencies of " Nestor ", and suspect him of an uncritical attitude towards non-Slavonic elements. Undoubtedly, the author of the *Povest* betrays a certain sense of aloofness from the Greeks and Scandinavians, but this does not justify the inference that he was conscious of Russian nationality, or Russian patriotism.[8] The chronicler reveals his partiality for foreign elements, especially when there is a question of the gifts brought to Kiev from abroad. The Greeks gave the Slavs their faith, and the Norsemen a princely dynasty, the defender of that faith.[9]

There is no doubt that " Nestor " has preserved many reliable data relating to the history of the 9th and 10th centuries. His information as to the dependence of the Slavs on the Khazars is confirmed by the Arabs. The Scandinavian names of the first princes, including Rurik himself (whose

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[1] That is why we cannot accept the hypothesis of S. Tomashivsky, Vstup do istorii tserkvi na Ukraini, *AOBM* IV, 1932, pp. 99, 102, 142, to the effect that a severe censorship, introduced by these Metopolitans, prevented the chroniclers from giving free expression to their opinions.

[2] V. Lebedev—V. Panov, *Drevnerusskie letopisi*, 1936, Commentaries 235, 236, 336, and 357.

[3] Cross, pp. 144—5.

[4] "At this time (A.D. 980), the Varangians said to Vladimir: ' This city belongs to us, and we took it; hence we desire tribute from it at the rate of two *grivni* per man . . . ' (Vladimir encouraged them to go to Constantinople). But in advance of them Vladimir sent couriers bearing this message: ' Varangians are on their way to your country. Do not keep many of them in your city, or else they will cause you such harm as they have done here." *Ibid.*, p. 180.

[5] "(Under the rule of Yaroslav the Wise in Novgorod, A.D. 1015, the Varangians) offered violence to the inhabitants of Novgorod and to their wives. The men of Novgorod then rose and killed the Varangians in their market place." *Ibid.*, p. 219.

[6] *Ibidem*, p. 216.

[7] A. Pogodin, Varyazhskii period v zhizni knyazya Vladimira, in *Vladimirskii Sbornik*, 1938, p. 27.

[8] Ascribing Russian national tendencies to " Nestor " is inconsistent with the meaning of the term " Rus " which in the 12th century conferred no ethnical, Slavonic connotation.

[9] I. Eremin, *Povest Vremennykh Let*, 1947, pp. 19—20, is of the opinion that the Kievan chronicler was rather a moralist than a politician, and that his work served primarily practical ends: namely, to show, in the form of a narrative of past events, how one should or should not proceed in life. Such a conception would tend to confirm that " Nestor " was, in the first place, concerned with religion, to which, as a monk, he was devoted.

name occurs, for example, in Jutland[1]), are authentic. The trade-route from the Varangians to the Greeks is known to Constantine Porphyrogenitus and to Adam of Bremen.[2] Igor's expedition against Constantinople has repercussions in many sources.[3] That Igor took the field against the Derevlians in autumn is attested by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who relates that the Rus used to start from Kiev in November, and disperse among the different Slavonic tribes in order to raise tribute. The fact that this Prince met his death among the Derevlians is indicated by Leo Diaconus. The same Constantine Porphyrogenitus describes Olga's visit to Constantinople; according to the German annalists, she was anxious to advance the spread of Christianity. There is no doubt that Svyatoslav was the son of Igor, as this is confirmed by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Leo Diaconus, etc. Leo Diaconus is a source of great importance for the Bulgarian expeditions of Svyatoslav. Leo attributes to Svyatoslav speeches reminiscent of those in the *Povest*. Thietmar tells us of Vladimir's life of lust. The Eymund Saga bears out the tale of Yaroslav's wars in Rus. That Yaroslav the Wise was lame was confirmed by the examination of his skeleton after the opening of his tomb,[4] etc. All these facts, known to earlier writers, were known also to " Nestor," but he adds details which we do not find in other texts. This proves that he had other sources at his disposal.

Everything that " Nestor " writes about the beginnings of Rus is of special value to our investigations. And he regards Rus as an ethnical designation of a people who derived their origin from Scandinavia. This is in harmony with a long series of other sources (which we have quoted above in Chapter V), which were not accessible to a monk of the Crypt Monastery. Therefore, the Norse descent of the Rus was not the product of " Nestor's " imagination, nor a tendencious expression on his part, but a fact, universally known and acknowledged.

The chronicler of Kiev, like the writers of an earlier age, such as Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub, and others, is aware of the existence of two peoples of Rus. When enumerating the tribes descended from Noah's son Japhet, he places the Rus, in one instance, with the Finnish and Baltic tribes,[5] and in another, in the group of Scandinavian tribes.[6] In the tale of the summoning of the Varangians, there also appears a two-fold Rus, one of which, jointly with the Finns and Slavs, summons the

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[1] N. Belyaev, Rorik Yutlandskii i Ryurik nachalnoi letopisi, *SK* III, 1929, pp. 215—70.

[2] F. Dvornik, The Kiev State and Its Relations with Western Europe, *TRHS*, 1947, pp. 43—6.

[3] A list of these sources is given in G. Laehr, *Die Anfänge des russischen Reiches*, 1930, Appendix III.

[4] D. Rokhlin, Itogi anatomicheskogo i rentgenologicheskogo izucheniya skeleta Yaroslava Mudrogo, *KSDPI* VII, 1940, pp. 46—57; V. Ginzburg, Ob antropologicheskom izuchenii skeletov Yaroslava Mudrogo, Anny i Ingigerd. *Ibidem*, pp. 57—66.

[5] " In the share of Japheth lie Rus, Chud . . . , Merya, Muroma, Ves, Mordva, Chud beyond the hills, Perm, Pechera, Yam, Ugra, Litva, Zimegola, Kors, Setgola, and Lyub. The Lyakhs, the Prussians, and Chud border on the Varangian Sea." Cross, p. 137.

[6] " For the following nations also are a part of the rase of Japheth : the Varangians, the Swedes, the Normans, the Rus, the Angles, the Gauls . . . " *Ibid.*, p. 137.

other.[1] It follows from the narrative that the Rus who were summoned were living in Scandinavia; but where can we locate those who issued the summons?

Another passage of the Chronicle, treating of geographical matters, brings the explanation. Here "Nestor" alludes to the great wooded area in which the Dnieper, the Dvina, and the Volga rise. "The Dnieper itself rises in the upland forest (*iz Okovskago lesa*), and flows southward. The Dvina has its source in this same forest, but flows northward and empties into the Varangian Sea (i.e., to the Baltic). The Volga rises in this same forest, but flows to the East, and discharges through seventeen mouths into the Caspian Sea (*v more Khvalisskoe*). Therefore one can go from Rus (i.e., from the territory where the three rivers rise) by the Volga to the Bulgars and to the *Khvalisy* . . . , and by the Dvina to the Varangians . . . , and the Dnieper flows . . . into the Pontus (Black Sea)."[2] It follows clearly from this text where the second Rus was to be found.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus speaks of Rus in the Pechenegs' vicinity, and Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub of one at the eastern border of Mieszko's domain, i.e., Poland. This relates undoubtedly to the land of Kiev. Both authors describe the conditions existing in the middle of the 10th century, whereas "Nestor", in the aforementioned passage, alludes to earlier times. The lasting establishment of the Rus at Kiev was a consequence of the development of the river route "from the Varangians to the Greeks." It is well known that the route to the Caspian by way of the Volga was older than the route by the Dnieper,[3] and Arab writers often link Rus and Volga. "Nestor's" location of Rus on the source of the Volga is in accordance with this fact.[4]

The *Povest* refers the appeal to Rurik and his brothers to the year 862.[5] We are not here concerned with the accuracy of this date, but it should be noted that the chronicler alludes to it as marking the beginning of the Rurik dynasty, not as the year in which the Norse expansion in eastern Europe

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[1] This is what we read in the oldest versions of the *Povest*, such as the Laurentian and Hypatian redactions. That only this text is correct follows from the other passage of the Chronicle where there is mention of a Rus outside Scandinavia. That is why in this instance we cannot accept the translation of Cross, p. 145.

[2] Cross, p. 138. Cross' inaccurate translation has here been corrected. "Nestor" calls the Caspian Sea *more Khvalisskoe*. Many scholars state that what is meant by *Khvalisy* is Khoresm, South of the Aral Sea. S. Tolstov, Iz predistorii Rusi, *SE* VI—VII, 1947, p. 56; *idem*, *Drevnii Khorezm*, 1948, p. 15; J. Lewicki, Świat słowiański w oczach pisarzy arabskich, *SA* II (2), 1949—50, p. 333; O. Hansen, Der Name des Kaspischen Meeres im Reisebericht des Afanasij Nikitin, *ZSP* XXI (1), 1951, pp. 113—5.

[3] The great abundance of Arab coins, chiefly of the 9th and 10th centuries found in Sweden and on the island of Gotland, points in this direction, whereas Byzantine coins of the same period are very rare. See F. Braun, *Das historische Russland*, pp. 150—2; E. Kletnova, Drevneishii torgovoi put iz Varyag v Khazary, *ZRIOP*, 1927, p. 16; V. Brim, Put iz Varyag v Greki, *IAN*, 1931, p. 206; A. Artsikhovsky, Arkheologicheskie dannye o vozniknovenii feodalizma v Suzdalskoi i Smolenskoi zemlyakh, *PIDO*, 1934 (11—12), p. 58; H. Shetelig—H. Falk, *Scandinavian Archaeology*, transl. by E. Gordon, 1937, p. 274; M. Małowist, Z problematyki dziejów gospodarczych strefy bałtyckiej we wczesnym średniowieczu, *RDSG* X, 1948, pp. 81—115.

[4] "Nestors" account finds confirmation in archaeology (Gnezdovo) and in the history of the Krivichians. See Appendix: "The Krivichians."

[5] Cross, p. 144—5.

began. When "Nestor" speaks of the existence of two peoples of Rus, the one on the Scandinavian Peninsula, and the other on the head waters of the Volga, the Dvina, and the Dnieper, and when he relates that the Scandinavian Rus, at a later period, moved eastwards, he indicates two phases in the influx of the Norsemen. The distinction is made both in time and in space. In the passage cited, the chronicler says that the way along the Dvina—not the track through Great Novgorod—leads to the land of the Varangians, and this suggests that the Norsemen began by using that river for their journeys.[1] The princes who are called in, in 862, on the contrary, settle in Novgorod, Izborsk, and other places, but not about the sources of the three rivers. At the very beginning of the reign of Rurik in Novgorod, two outstanding members of his retinue, Oskold and Dir, with his consent go to Constantinople.[2] We are not interested in the probability of this version, but in the fact that the author of the *Povest* was convinced that the Norsemen undertook journeys to the Black Sea, even before the dynasty was definitely established on the shores of Lake Ilmen. If, following the chronicler, Oskold and Dir undertook this journey in that same year of 862 when Rurik settled in Novgorod, this implies that the route to Constantinople must have been known and used by the Norsemen already before that date.

Let us describe in more precise terms the attitude of the author of the *Povest* to the Norsemen.

"Nestor" uses two terms when alluding to them—"Rus" and "Varangians."[3] By Varangians he means all Scandinavians, i.e., this word has a wide connotation, wider than that of Rus, which for the chronicler defines one of the Norse tribes only. He calls the Baltic the Varangian Sea.[4] The famous trade-route led "from the Varangians to the Greeks."[5] This formula shows that the two great powers of the time, the Greeks (Byzantium) and the Varangians (Scandinavians), were regarded as being on the same level. By way of the Dvina one goes to the Varangians,[6] and from the Varangians to Rome.[7] When enumerating the Norse and other tribes supposed to be descended from Japheth, the author mentions the Varangians in the first place, and afterwards enumerates a number of tribes as belonging to this general Varangian category.[8] In his relation of the calling in of

[1] Cf. G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, pp. 266—8.

[2] "With Rurik there were two men who did not belong to his kin, but were *boyars*. They obtained permission to go to Tsargrad with their families. They thus sailed down the Dnieper . . ." Cross, p. 145.

[3] On the derivation of the name of the Varangians (*Varyazi, Varyagi*) see T. Arne, Les rapports de la Russie avec la Suède et l'Orient au temps des Vikings, *MS*, 1925, p. 246; M. Vasmer, Die Wikingerspuren in Russland, *SPAW* XXIV, 1931; Yu. Brutskus, Varyagi i kolbyagi, *SK* VII, 1935, pp. 91—2; U. Noack, *Nordische Frühgeschichte und Wikingerzeit*, 1941, pp. 172—3; S. Cross, The Scandinavian Infiltration into Early Russia, *Sp* XXI, 1946, p. 511; R. Smal—Stocky, The Origin of the Word "Rus", *SI* VI, 1949, p. 8, and others.

[4] Cross, pp. 137—8, etc.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 138—9.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 137. This text allows of two interpretations, according to whether we put a comma or a colon after the word "Varangians". As it is the latter alternative which corresponds with everything "Nestor" says of the Varangians, I consider that it should be given preference.

Rurik in 862, the chronicler says that the Rus were one of these tribes and part of the Varangians, as were for example the Swedes.[1]

The Kievan chronicler's information, which identifies the Varangians and the Norsemen, is borne out by Arab, Greek, and Scandinavian sources. I refrain from quoting them because on this point the historians, generally speaking, seem to be agreed. " As for the Varangians, we can only say that without doubt they were Scandinavians ", writes Grekov.[2] " No serious scholar rejects the fact that the chroniclers' Varangians were Scandinavians ", states Tikhomirov.[3] Pogodin, Moshin, Lyashchenko, and others are of the same opinion.[4]

Many historians think the term " Varangians " was known much later in the South than that of Rus. The first Byzantine author supposed to have mentioned the Varangians under the year 1034 is Kedrenus (Cedrenus), and the first Arabic writer, al-Biruni, when under the date 1029 he mentions the Varangian Sea and the people dwelling on its shores. It was considered that Vasilevsky was correct in saying that in the Greek sources the two terms do not make their appearance at the same time.[5] From this the inference was drawn that they signify different things, and that it is only " Nestor " who unites them, and in doing so creates confusion.

But this opinion is doubtful for many reasons. As for the Arab writers, we read of Varangians living among the Slavs in Mas'udi (d. A.D. 956). Two Byzantine sources of the 10th century—Theophanes Continuatus and Symeon Magister—assert that the Rus belong to the race of the Frangians. Brutskus holds that the Frangians or Farangians are the Varangians.[6] The Slavonic translator of Georgius Hamartolos' Chronicle states the Varangian origin of the Rus.[7] Shakhmatov and Presnyakov were of the opinion that " Nestor " obtained his information from the Greeks.[8]

Now, if it is impossible to establish with complete accuracy which of the two names was first in use, we must in any case admit that for a certain time they were used simultaneously to designate the Scandinavians. There is, therefore, no reason to reproach the author of the *Povest* for having ap-

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 145.

[2] B. Grekov, *Foedalnye otnosheniya v Kievskom gosudarstve*, 1936, p. 168.

[3] M. Tikhomirov, Slavyane v " Istorii Rossii " prof. G. Vernadskogo, *Vol*, 1946 (4), pp. 127—8.

[4] A. Pogodin, Varyagi i Rus, *ZRNIB* VII, 1932, p. 125; V. Moshin, Nachalo Rusi, *BS* III, 1931, p. 34; P. Lyashchenko, *Istoriya narodnogo khozyaistva SSSR* I, 1947, p. 95. Among older works it is worth mentioning F. Uspensky, *Rus i Vizantiya v X veke*, 1888, p. 12, where the author, basing his inferences on the studies of Vasilevsky, shows that according to Byzantine sources the Norwegian hero Harald, in the 11th century, was the son of the King of Varangia. Thus, Norway, according to the opinion prevailing in Constantinople, was the land of the Varangians.

[5] V. Vasilevsky, Varyago-russkaya i varyago-angliiskaya druzhina v Konstantinopole XI—XII vekov, *ZMNP*, 1875, p. 150.

[6] Yu. Brutskus, Varyagi i kolbyagi, *SK* VII, 1935, pp. 88—90.

[7] " . . . ot roda Varyazheska sushchim . . ." The Slavonic translation of this Chronicle was published and provided with commentaries by V. Istrin, *Khronika Georgiya Hamartola v drevnem slavyanorusskom perevode*, I—III, 1920—1930.

[8] A. Shakhmatov, " Povest Vremennykh Let " i ee istochniki, *TODRL* IV, 1940, pp. 55—7; A. Presnyakov, *Lektsii po russkoi istorii* I, 1938, p. 38.

plied both these names alternately in relation to the most ancient times.[1]

When examining the problem of the Varangians and the Rus in " Nestor's" Chronicle, we have also to take into account the *Nachalnyi Svod* (The Primary Compilation), which is preserved in the so-called First Novgorod Chronicle. Shakhmatov, who reconstructed the text of this source,[2] considered that it originated about 1095 and became the basis of the *Povest*.[3]

I do not propose to enquire at any length if, or in what measure, the well-known tradition of the call to the Varangians bears the marks of credibility.[4] The fact is that it occurs both in the Primary Compilation and in " Nestor." The fundamental difference between the two accounts of the same incident is that the *Povest* speaks of Rus, whereas the *Nachalnyi Svod* confines itself to mentioning the Varangians. Hence the opinion shared by many scholars that " Nestor " linked the Rus with the Varangians in an arbitrary manner,[5] which in their view deals a severe blow to the theory of the Norse descent of the Rus. It is curious that Shakhmatov himself, on whom all these scholars rely, did not reach any such conclusion in his studies. He was the first to state that the Rus do not figure in the tradition of the call to the Varangians as given in the text of the Primary Compilation, and yet he did not doubt that the Scandinavians were indicated by the term " Rus ".

Could " Nestor " have been satisfied with the accounts of the origins of the Rus which he found in earlier sources ?

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[1] But under the influence of changing conditions each term began in the course of time to acquire a particular meaning. After the Rurikides had made the lands of the Polyanians and Severians the base of their domination in eastern Europe, when Rus, after the baptism of Vladimir the Great (988), had become the symbol of the faith, the two designations—the Rus and the Varangians—took a mutually contradictory significance. The Chronicle of " Nestor " reflects this transformation very distinctly.

[2] A. Shakhmatov, Povest Vremennykh Let, *LZAK*, 1916; A. Nasonov, *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis starshego i mladshego izvodov*, 1950.

[3] Shakhmatov's arguments seem to me to be convincing, and have been acknowledged by many students of the subject. But even if one maintains the contrary opinion that the source under consideration is a later abridgement of the *Povest*, it would have to be admitted that this abridgement was not made chaotically and at random, but with remarkable knowledge of the events of the distant past. L. Cherepnin, " Povest Vremennykh Let ", ee redaktsii i predshestvuyushchie ei letopisnye svody, *IZ* XXV, 1948, pp. 321—5, thinks that the *Nachalnyi Svod* ended with the year 1097 and was drawn up about the same time. D. Likhachev, " Sofiiskii Vremennik " i novgorodskii politicheskii perevorot 1136 goda, *IZ*, 1948, pp. 240-65, treats of the question, when and under what circumstances the *Nachalnyi Svod* was inserted into the Chronicle of Novgorod.

[4] This problem was raised by A. Shakhmatov, Skazanie o prizvanii Varyagov, *IORYS* IX, 1904, pp. 284—365. Some students hold that many details in this tale contain elements of truth, such as the Norse expansion in eastern Europe, the struggles between Slavonic and Finnish tribes, the names of the Varangian princes, the later appeals to the Varangians by the Novgorodians and Rurikides, the Novgorodian tradition of electing princes, etc. Rurik's castle, as it is called, is one of the oldest, if not the oldest settlement in Great Novgorod. Cf. M. Karger, Osnovnye itogi arkheooglicheskogo izucheniya Velikogo Novgoroda, *SA* IX, 1947, pp. 147—8. On the other hand, this tale is undoubtedly reminiscent, in certain details, of the calling in of the Saxons by the Britons.

[5] M. Tikhomirov, *Istochnikovedenie istorii SSSR s drevneishikh vremen do kontsa XVIII v.* I, 1940, p. 51; M. Priselkov, *Istoriya russkogo letopisaniya XI—XV vv.*, 1940, p. 35; A. Orlov—V. Adriyanova Peretts—N. Gudzy, *Istoriya russkoi literatury* I, 1941; D. Likhachev, Russkoe letopisanie v trudakh A. A. Shakhmatova, *IAN* V (5), 1946, p. 420; *idem*, *Russkie letopisi i ikh kulturno-istoricheskoe znachenie*, 1947, pp. 36—8; G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, p. 284, and others.

I believe our reply must be in the negative. Our chronicler's forerunners, not excepting even the *Nachanlyi Svod*, treated of the problem of the Rus all too laconically and summarily, and the author of the *Povest* could not fail to remark this. That is why he determined to give an explanation of the whole problem himself. And we must acknowledge that he never made a secret of his intentions, but returned to the subject over and over again and inserted his commentaries in the Chronicle in order to elucidate the question as accurately as possible.

He disposed of many valuable assets with which to undertake the difficult task. He disposed of Greek sources unknown to the author of the *Nachalnyi Svod*, he could draw on the traditions of the princely court,[1] he and those around him could hold intercourse with Varangians and learn many noteworthy details from them. On the other hand, we have to consider the great difficulties facing " Nestor " : he was to describe events about 200 years old, after many facts had become obliterated or distorted in human memory.[2]

" Nestor " wrongly affirms that there was a special Norse tribe of the name of Rus, in the same way as there were Swedes, Norwegians, etc.[3] But, in fact, he knew full well that in his day there was no Norse tribe answering to the name of Rus. In order to make his version more plausible, he represents the whole of Rus as migrating from its ancient home.[4] In this detail, the *Povest* deviates from the *Nachalnyi Svod* which only mentions Rurik with his brothers and their Varangian retinue.

As the Norsemen did not bring their name of Rus with them to eastern Europe, it is clear that they must have received it from strangers with whom they came into contact in their new territories. Such an origin of ethnic names is frequent in history. When considering the beginnings of the Rus one should keep two things distinctly apart, the ethnical designation of the Rus, referring to the Scandinavians, and the territory where this term first came into existence. Hitherto, historians have not sufficiently distinguished these two different questions. Hence the many misunderstandings which might have been avoided.

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[1] S. Tomaszewski, Nowa teoria o początkach Rusi, *KH*, 1929, pp. 283—4; A. Stender-Petersen, Die Varägersage als Quelle der altrussischen Chronik, *AJ* VI, 1934, pp. 34, 73—4.

[2] Among the difficulties with which the chronicler had to contend, the first was the chronology of the facts described. That many dates given in the *Povest*, especially those relating to the distant past, are inaccurate, is quite certain ; e.g., the Byzantine Emperor Michael began his reign not in 852, but in 842; the expedition of the Rus against Constantinople occurred in 860, not in 866, etc. And yet if we take the broad view, without looking at details, " Nestor's " chronology in many cases can stand scientific examination. The historian will reach that conclusion when he compares the *Povest* with other sources which allow him to verify it. V. Zlatarsky, Bolgarskii istoriko-literaturnyi element w russkoi letopisi, *TSRAO* (V) I, 1932, pp. 337—52, remarked that the *Povest* when relating facts connected with Bulgaria, used a Bulgarian source of which we know nothing. Zlatarsky was led to this conclusion, when he observed that " Nestor " relates a number of events according to Bulgarian chronology. In one word, " Nestor's " chronology demands a more accurate study than has been given to it up till now in historical writing.

[3] Cross, pp. 137, 145.

[4] " They thus selected three brothers with their kinsfolk, who took with them all the Rus and migrated." Cross, p. 145. That is why, in strictly historical times, the descendants of Rurik always appealed to Varangians, never to the Rus.

Two facts are borne out by sources independent of and yet in harmony with "Nestor". (1) The Rus was an ethnic appellation, and (2) the Rus came from Scandinavia. But the problem remains as to why the name of Rus appeared as a designation of the Norsemen.

Luidprand of Cremona, in the 10th century, gives a perfectly clear answer to the question under consideration . He writes on the Rus as follows: "*gens . . . quam a qualitate corporis Graeci vocant Rusios*" . . .[1] The Arabic author Mas'udi, in the 10th century, is in agreement with this statement when he says that in Byzantium the Norsemen were called russet, i.e., red haired. In Theophanes Confessor's Chronicle we find the mention of a special flotilla of "Russian ships." The Latin translator of Theophanes' Chronicle, Anastasius, at the end of the 9th century, rendered this word not as "Russian" but as "red" (*rubea*).[2] The Life of St. George of Amastris describes the Rus as men whose very appearance suggests the shedding of blood.[3] In the light of such relations a detail noted by "Nestor" acquires considerable importance: namely, that Mstislav, a son of Vladimir the Great, was red-faced.[4] The physical appearance of the Rus struck everyone. In the 10th century, Ibn-Rusta speaks of their tall stature, which Ibn-Fadhlan compares with palm-trees, and adds that they were well built and ruddy.

The conjecture that the Norsemen were called "Rus" on account of their appearance is backed by convincing arguments: it is based on the sources, it is not as unnatural as many other hypotheses, and it corresponds with cases occuring frequently at that period. It is enough to quote the name of the Polovtsians.[5] It would even be astonishing if a feature in the appearance of the Norsemen which had struck so many writers had not been given expression in the name bestowed upon them, while other characteristics such as their fleetness were alluded to in special terms.[6]

Who first called the Norsemen Rus? This question is not easy to

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[1] Luidprand, *Antapodosis* (ed. L. Becker), 1915, V, p. 15.

[2] G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, p. 279.

[3] V. Zavitnevich, Proiskhozhdenie i pervonaczalnya istoriya imeni Rus, *TKDA*, 1892, p. 583.

[4] Cross, p. 225.

[5] The Polovtsians were known by several appellations among the various peoples concerned, such as Kipchak, Kuman, Paloch, etc. In Turkish, *kuman* means pale, yellowish, sallow. This designation evidently referred to the complexion of the Polovtsians or to the colour of their hair. Thus the Slavonic term *Polovtsy* is only a translation of Turkish *kuman*. Cf. D. Rasovsky, Polovtsy, *SK* VII, 1935, pp. 252—3; A. Ponomarev, Kuman-polovtsy, *VDI*, 1940, III—IV, pp. 366—70; I. Budovnits, Vladimir Monomakh i ego voennaya doktrina, *IZ* XXII, 1947, pp. 52—5; A. Zajączkowski, Związki językowe połowiecko-słowiańskie, *PWTN* XXXIV, 1949, pp. 8—10.

[6] Greek sources, such as Theophanes Continuatus and Symeon Magister, call the Rus *Dromitai* (runners); see Y. Brutskus, *Varyagi i kolbyagi*, pp. 88—91; R. Jenkins, The Supposed Russian Attack on Constantinople in 907, *Sp* XXIV, 1949, pp. 404—5. That the appellation was well deserved can be seen even from the description of Svyatoslav, father of Vladimir the Great, given in the *Povest*: "When Prince Svyatoslav had grown up and matured, he began to collect a numerous and valiant army. Stepping light as a leopard, he undertook many campaigns. Upon his expeditions he carried with him neither wagons nor kettles, and boiled no meat, but cut off small strips of horseflesh, game, or beef, and ate it after roasting it on the coals. Nor did he have a tent, but he spread out a garment under him, and set his saddle under his head; and all his retinue did likewise." Cross, p. 170—1.

answer. In Greek, there exists the adjective *rousios* which means rufous, red, reddish.[1] In Slavonic we have the word *rusii* designating the colour of the hair or of the skin as reddish, sunburnt, tawny. Some scholars think that just as the noun *zelen* was derived from the adjective *zelenyi* (green), and *chern* from *chernyi* (black), so *rus* was formed from *rusii*.[2]

It is a known fact that the Finns call the Swedes *Ruotsi*. Certain philologists are of the opinion that according to the laws of linguistics such a transmutation, of the Finnish *Ruotsi* to the Slavonic *Rus*, might be possible.[3] But the question remains whether this word really originated with the Finns? Was it their invention, taken from them by the Slavs, or vice versa? The name of Rus may have originated among the northern Slavs, such as the Novgorodians or the Krivichians, in early times, and may have been adopted by the Finns. Evidently, in all these conjectures we should have to assume that there was a link of causality between the terms *Rus* and *Ruotsi* which many scholars accept.[4] But this link itself is only a hypothesis.[5]

The fact that Arabic writers often mention the Rus in connection with the Volga favours the supposition that the name of Rus originated somewhere in the North.[6] The trade route by way of the Volga was older and more fully developed at the beginning of the period we are considering than the route along the Dnieper. Thus, the name of Rus might have reached the Arabs independently of Kiev and Constantinople.

Nevertheless, there are certain indications that the name of Rus finally became attached to the Norsemen in the South. The story of the appeal to the princes, as it appears in the *Nachalnyi Svod*, does not mention Rus, although the author of the text adds by way of a commentary, couched in fairly general terms, that in the course of time the Varangians were called Rus.[7]

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[1] This problem was dealt with at greater length by A. Vasiliev, The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860, *MAA* XLVI, 1946, p. 5.

[2] M. Korduba, Najnowsze teorie o początkach Rusi, *PH* XXX, 1932, p. 74; R. Smal-Stocky, The Origin of the Word "Rus", *SI* VI, 1949, pp. 9–11; *idem*, *Slavs and Teutons*, 1950, pp. 94–8. A later, 17th century tradition also maintained that Rus was derived from russet hair. V. Moshin, Varyago-russkii vopros, *S* X, 1931, p. 119.

[3] Some scholars trace the name "Rus" back to Roslagen, a province in Sweden, or from the Swedish term "*rodsen*" (rowers).

[4] A. Maver, The Vikings, in *The Cambridge Mediaeval History* III, 1922, p. 328; N. Belyaev, *Nachalo Rusi*, 1925, pp. 18–9; S. Anderson, *Viking Enterprise*, 1936, p. 85; H. Shetelig-H. Falk, *Scandinavian Archaeology* (transl. by E. Gordon), 1937, p. 269; V. Minorsky, *Hudud al-Alam*, 1937, p. 432; G. Da Costa–Louillet, Y eut-il des invasions russes dans l'Empire byzantin avant 860?, *B* XV, 1940–1, p. 239; S. Cross, The Scandinavian Infiltration into Early Russia, *Sp* XXI, 1946, p. 510; R. Smal-Stocky, The Origin of the Word "Rus", *SI* VI, 1949, p. 8, etc.

[5] A. Pogodin, Les Rodsi, un people imaginaire, *RES* XVII, 1937, pp. 75–80.

[6] T. Lewicki, *Świat słowiański*, p. 350, observes that an anonymous description of eastern Europe dating from the second half of the 9th century, of which certain passages have been quoted by later Arabic writers, applies the name "Rus" to the northern regions of eastern Europe only.

[7] "And it is after these Varangians, these new-comers, that Rus received its name, and it is after them that the land of Rus is known by that appellation." I do not think this passage should be understood in the sense that the name of Rus was derived from that of the Varangians, or that the Varangians brought that other name with them from Scandinavia, but that it was the Varangians who were afterwards called Rus.

This source deals with the same subject when it recounts how Igor, son of Rurik, and his northern warriors became the masters of Kiev, and took the name of Rus.[1] Thence the conclusion might be drawn that the name of Rus originated in the days of Igor. But this is contradicted by another entry in the *Nachalnyi Svod* where we find, under A.D. 854, the words: "Beginning of the land of Rus." Nor can we affirm that the name of Rus existed in Kiev before the arrival of the Norsemen. The *Nachalnyi Svod* says several times that in Kiev there lived Polyanians. It was they who acknowledged the sovereignty of Prince Kii; Oskold and Dir ruled over the Polyanians, not over Rus. In 921, Igor and Oleg assemble against the Greeks a great army composed of Varangians, Polyanians (not Rus), Novgorod Slavs, and Krivichians. The author stresses that hitherto, i.e., up to his times, Polyanians lived at Kiev, and "Nestor" informs us that the Polyanians "now" have taken the name of Rus, an expression which shows indirectly that in earlier times they did not bear that name.

We have abundant evidence to prove that the *Povest* also, though not exclusively, uses the term "Rus" when alluding to men from the North who play a part in events taking place in the South. In the chronological list of rulers it mentions, characteristically enough, as the first prince of Rus, not Rurik, who resided in the North, but Oleg of Kiev.[2] Oskold and Dir, "gathering together many Varangians," took Kiev, and thence organized an expedition against the Greeks. In the source they are described as Rus.[3] The chronicler relates how Oleg with a force of Varangians, Novgorod Slavs, and others, but not of Rus, marched from North to South, occupying Smolensk, Lubech, and other cities as he went. Arriving in Kiev, he prophetically declared "that it should be the mother of Russian cities,"[4] not of Varangian ones. Vladimir the Great, when he rules at Novgorod, undertakes a campaign against Rogvolod of Polotsk, in 980, at the head of Varangians, Novgorodians, and Krivichians, but the Rus do not occur in this list,[5] etc.

Both sources, the *Nachalnyi Svod* as well as the *Povest*, link the beginnings of the name of Rus with the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Michael. Here is what "Nestor" relates under the year 852: "... at the accession of the Emperor Michael, the land of Rus was first named (*nacha sya prozyvati Ruska zemlya*). We have determined this date from the fact that in the reign of this Emperor the Rus attacked Tsargrad (Constantinople), as is written in the Greek Chronicle."[6] The appearance of the name of Rus is regarded by the chronicler as an event of such epoch-making importance that he does not hesitate to place the reign of Michael on the level with

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[1] The text we refer to is as follows: "Igor settled at Kiev as ruler, and he had in his service Varangians and Slavs (of Novgorod), and that is why (*ottole*) they changed their name to that of Rus." This ending can be interpreted in divers ways. *Ottole* (thus, since) can here be understood to mean: because it was at Kiev, or: since that time, i.e., since Igor's accession.
[2] Cross, p. 144.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 145—6.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 146.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 178.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 144.

the birth of Christ, the reign of Constantine the Great, etc. Here a remark of Uspensky's deserves to be noted: "Undoubtedly, the land of Rus began to be called by a special name, not because the Rus set out on an expedition to Constantinople, nor yet from the time of this expedition. Such a point of view befitted a man of Byzantine and not Russian nationality."[1]

And yet "Nestor" takes this view.

It is obvious that, being Slav, he was not attached to the Rus (Norsemen) in the ethnical sense. The assumption of the chronicler that the name "Rus" originated in Constantinople, during the reign of the Emperor Michael, is—chronologically speaking—undoubtedly mistaken; however, it may be that the mistake is due to "Nestor's" conviction that it was the Greeks who first named the Norsemen "Rus". Parkhomenko maintains that the name of Rus originated within the Eastern Empire and was known in Constantinople earlier than in Kiev.[2]

Where this actually happened, and who first designated the Scandinavians by the name of Rus—whether the Finns, the Slavs or the Greeks—is a question to which there is no categorical answer. Scholars can move only in the sphere of conjectures. "Nestor" explains the origin of the names of several tribes, but having once given the explanation he considers the question as settled.[3] Not so with Rus. The origin and development of this designation are a subject of special interest to the chronicler, who returns to the question several times.[4] Evidently, this name of Rus must have passed through uncommon vicissitudes, and the author of the *Povest* was aware of the fact.

In historical times, the word "Rus" had a double meaning. Geographically and politically it designated Kiev with the adjacent territories, while in the religious sense it included all Slavonic and non-Slavonic followers of the faith of Rus. The individual provinces—Novgorod, Polotsk, Smolensk, Volynia, Halicz, etc.—were not comprised under the term "Rus," but were, on the contrary, often contrasted with it. Yet they belonged to Rus in the religious sense. This fact indicates that it was not the dynasty founded by Rurik, but the Eastern Church which was the chief propagator of the name of Rus in eastern Europe. Indeed, the Kievan state lost much of its strength after the days of Vladimir and Yaroslav—i.e., after the middle of the 11th century.[5]

Arab writers know of three primary centres of Rus: Slavia, Kuyaba, and Artaniya. Generally, the first has been identified with Novgorod, and

[1] F. Uspensky, Pervye stranitsy russkoi letopisi i vizantiiskiya perekhozhiya skazaniya, *ZIOOI* XXXII, 1914, p. 8.

[2] V. Parkhomenko, Normanizm i antinormanizm (K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii imeni Rus), *IORYS* XXVIII, 1924, pp. 71—4. Cf. S. Tomaszewski, Nowa teoria o początkach Rusi, *KH*, 1929, p. 293.

[3] The chronicler derives the name of the Polyanians from the fields, that of the Derevlians from the woods, that of the Buzhians from the river Bug, that of the Polochians from the river Polota, etc. Thence we can draw the conclusion that the name of the Rus did not take shape in connection with any feature of the landscape or the appellation of any river, such as the Ros, a western tributary of the Dnieper, or else the chronicler would have certainly said so, as he does in so many analogous cases.

[4] Cross, pp. 144—9.

[5] B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus*, pp. 162—3.

the second with Kiev. Without going into a detailed examination of this point, we should remark that the name of Rus did not survive in the other two political centres, and was forgotten in the course of history, while it became stabilized in Kiev. And this was no simple accident. Kiev was the see of the Metropolitans appointed by the Patriarchs of Constantinople.

The acceptance of the term " Rus " to designate a religious faith, as already emphasized in Chapter II, had much to recommend it. It divided the Greek Slavs from the Latin Slavs settled in the West; it distinguished the Balkan followers of the Eastern Church from those established on the Dnieper; it separated the Scandinavians who accepted Roman Christianity from their kinsmen who professed the Greek faith. The name of Rus conformed with the political tradition of the Norsemen, and with their expansion which covered vast territories. This fact made it possible for the term " Rus " to be applied not only to Slavonic but also non-Slavonic tribes. The Eastern Church, too, in its missionary activities, in no way intended to limit itself to the Slavs.

On the other hand, such a wide interpretation of Rus produced many difficulties. If, from the 10th century onwards, the population of Novgorod, Volynia, Halicz, etc., did not consider itself to be a part of Rus, this was not because of their unfamiliarity with the name, but because, in its primary meaning, the name " Rus " conveyed something altogether alien to the Slavs. This Slavonic feeling of distinctness from Rus had to be overcome by the Greeks, and this was not accomplished without effort. Though we cannot establish definitely where the name of Rus as a designation for Norsemen actually originated, it remains a fact that in the outcome Byzantium left its mark on the name, and modified its meaning. And this result was undoubtedly of decisive significance.

" Nestor " was right when he regarded the Rus as Scandinavians and contrasted them with the Slavs; but he was right again when, under the influence of Constantinople, he treated Rus as something by no means alien, but rather familiar, to which he himself was strongly bound. That is why the chronicler of Kiev felt such a keen interest in the name of Rus, while he showed no such preference for that of the Varangians.

The ideal of Rus, as a Christian faith, is what dominates "Nestor's" thought; it is the inspiration of his work, the one passion to which he devotes all his strength and his knowledge. If his vision reaches so far beyond the walls of his monastery, if his interest encompasses such vast expanses of eastern Europe, it is because Rus is composed of various ethnic elements, " Eastern Slavs ", Norsemen, Poles, Finns, etc. Considering as he does the rite of S.S. Cyril and Methodius as the early form from which Rus, in the religious sense, emerged, " Nestor " realizes that in the past there existed religious unity between all the followers of the faith preached by these " Apostles of the Slavs."

The Greek Church was indissolubly linked to the Empire.[1] When

[1] G. Ostrogorsky, Otnoshenie tserkvi i gosudarstva v Vizantii, *SK* IV, 1931, pp. 121—30.

Vladimir received baptism (988), a new political design on a grand scale made its appearance in eastern Europe.[1] Now, the only real, supra-tribal power, which the Greeks encountered in the territories which had been, or were to be, won for Christianity, were the princes of the Rurik dynasty. That is why Byzantium gave its sanction to their conquest of Slavonic and non-Slavonic lands, and wished to see in them the defenders and propagators of the faith. Automatically, all the religious and political concepts peculiar to Constantinople were transferred to the banks of the Dnieper, first and foremost the idea of a monarchy graced by God's particular blessing. The people were henceforth taught the duty of humility and of obedience to their rulers. The fluid conditions resulting from the foreign conquerors' sway over conquered tribes entered upon a new phase, and acquired qualities of enduring stability. The predatory expeditions of the Rurikides gave way, in the course of time, to a more farseeing and better planned policy.

In the eyes of Byzantium, a new ecclesiastical province was being formed, with a Greek Metropolitan at its head. According to the centralizing tendencies prevailing in the Empire, it was treated as a religious and political unity, with but slight regard for the complex realities which, at the time, existed in eastern Europe. We must acknowledge that the Patriarchs of Constantinople defended their views with extraordinary perseverance, and through several centuries struggled stubbornly with the obstacles that life placed in their way. Faithful to its programme, the Eastern Church propagated its idea of unification in the lands with which we are concerned. As Korf pertinently points out, " such was the conception of the 'one Rus', hitherto unknown to the Eastern Slavs, on the one hand, and on the other, the policy of raising one prince at the expense of the others as the representative of this one Rus."[2] The acceptance of the idea of a State unified under a single ruler had, as its corollary, the recognition of one dynasty and one capital.[3]

The Eastern Church established its ascendancy only in the latter part of the reign of Yaroslav the Wise, according to " Nestor " from A.D. 1037 onwards. After 1054, the State of Kiev had already entered upon the critical phase of its history, in which its tendency to split into different parts gained new momentum simultaneously with a recrudescence of the old inter-tribal antagonisms. In its ambitions and arduous ventures, the Church then lacked the support of the secular arm. It also lacked a past on which to rely, a political tradition which could justify those designs. The reigns of Vladimir and Yaroslav, in spite of all their importance, represented too short a period to serve the essential purpose. Thus, the need

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[1] Cf. D. Likhachev, *Russkie letopisi i ikh kulturno-istoricheskoe znachenie*, 1947, pp. 46—7.

[2] S. Korf, Zametka ob otnosheniyakh drevne-russkogo letopistsa k monarkhicheskomu printsipu, *ZMNP*, 1909 (7), p. 62; cf. M. Shakhmatov, *Ucheniya russkikh letopisei domongolskogo perioda o gosudarstvennoi vlasti*, 1926; F. Taranovsky, *S* VII 1928—9, pp. 665—71.

[3] It is not in vain that " Nestor " attributes to Oleg the prophecy that Kiev will be " the mother of Russian cities ", Cross, p. 146.

arose to create, albeit somewhat artificially, an historical foundation, and to make the glory of the rulers of a united Rus appear as long and enduring in the eyes of those who were called upon to follow the example then set.

This was, in relation to Rus, the task undertaken by "Nestor". No wonder, the monk of the Crypt Monastery, educated in an ecclesiastical school and nourished on Byzantine ideas and conceptions,[1] took up his work with alacrity. Yet it is only just to acknowledge that even when describing a remote and semi-legendary past, he was never completely carried away by his sentiments and temptations, but, as far as he was able, held fast to the sources at his disposal. Although he knew an astonishing number of these, and on the whole faithfully handed down their content, he had to deal with disconnected fragments of history, which he tried, in his own way, to piece together and to complement.

In the eyes of "Nestor", the State of Rus was an achievement of the dynasty. The very summoning of Rurik and of his brothers symbolized the legality of its powers.[2] The fact that the appeal to the Varangians comes from Slavs and Finns—and that both take part in the warlike adventures of the reigning princes—points according to the chronicler to a supra-tribal and supra-Slavonic character of the realm of the Rurikides in its earliest period.

In "Nestor's" opinion, the dynasty is above all a symbol of law and order.[3] The rule of Rurik contrasts strongly with the internal chaos prevailing among the Novgorodians, Krivichians, Chuds, Merya, etc., in the period preceding the accession of the princes.[4] The princes erect strongholds, liberate populations from the inroads of other conquerors, and extend the frontiers in numerous victorious campaigns. Evidently, such an approach to the subject obliterated and consigned to oblivion the oldest period of east European history, prior to the coming of the Norsemen. "Nestor" overlooks the role of the Eastern Slavs in that remote past;[5] he underestimates their culture, which was already developed, at least to a

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[1] The *Povest* took from Byzantium its notions of the creation of the world, classified the descent of various peoples and located them according to Byzantine models; from Byzantium it took its chronology, etc.

[2] M. Zelensky, Obrazovanie i raspad "imperii Ryurikovichei," in *Borba klassov*, 1936 (6), p. 36.

[3] "They said to themselves, 'Let us seek a prince who may rule over us, and judge us according to the law.'" Cross, p. 145.

[4] "There was no law among them, but tribe rose against tribe. Discord thus ensued among them, and they began to war one against another." Those who issue the appeal, stress the fact that: "Our whole land is great and rich, but there is no order in it." *Ibid.*, p. 145.

[5] In connection with the existence of Rus at the sources of the Volga, the Dvina, and the Dnieper, the *Povest* remarks that by way of the first of these rivers one could go to the Bulgars and to the *Khvalisy* (Khoresm), by the second to the Varangians, and that "the Dnieper flows through various mouths into the Pontus." (Cross, p. 138.) Since the author chooses to say what he does, since Varangians, Bulgars, Khoresm, etc., are mentioned, one would expect him also to allude to any important commercial and political centre situated on the Dnieper. Yet, in the chronicler's conception, the Dnieper is purely and simply the way to the Black Sea, while its banks are a complete void.

certain degree.[1] This observation answers those historians who enlarge upon the East Slavonic "patriotism" of the chronicler.

Devotion to the reigning dynasty has been transferred to the pages of the *Povest* from Byzantium. Oskold and Dir, the first Varangians to dominate Kiev and so powerful that they actually threatened the Empire, show extraordinary weakness according to our author and are bound to perish once representatives of the ducal house make their appearance on the banks of the Dnieper. "Oleg said to Oskold and Dir: 'You are not princes nor even of princely stock, but I am of princely birth.' Igor was then brought forward, and Oleg announced that he was the son of Rurik. They killed Oskold and Dir."[2] In "Nestor's" view, none of the tribal chiefs other than the Rurikides deserve more than brief, laconic mention, and they sink into oblivion before the glory and glamour of the one chosen family.[3]

At the head of this eminent dynasty there is the sole ruler who governs, and to whom all his kin, having rights to the common territorial heritage, are subject. Autocracy, the idea of which is so familiar to Byzantium, is constantly appearing in the pages of the *Povest*.[4] The title of Vladimir the Great as "autocrat"—in Slavonic translation, *samoderzhets* —which has been preserved on his seal,[5] shows how strongly political thought in Kiev was under the influence of Byzantium. "Nestor's" Chronicle is only the faithful expression of this fact.

In order to stress the continuity of the dynasty according to the Greek desires, the chronicler links different personages by bonds of relationship or of some other character; yet he does this by means so unnatural that they cannot stand up to the simple verification of chronology. If Rurik died according to "Nestor" in 879,[6] his son Igor must have been born, even if he were a posthumous child, in 880 at the latest. Yet we read under the year 903: "As Igor grew up, he followed after Oleg, and obeyed his instruction."[7] Rurik's son at that time would have been 23 years of age at the least, and long since capable of carrying on the government in his

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[1] This appears in archaeological findings, and also in written sources. Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub, in 966, mentions Slavonic as distinct from Rus merchants, who, with their goods, reach Prague, the Varangians, and Constantinople. Many cities taken by the Varangians have Slavonic names, and this justifies the assumption that they already existed before the arrival of the Norsemen. See M. Tikhomirov, *Drevnerusskie goroda*, 1946, pp. 10—11, etc.; P. Lyashchenko, *Istoriya narodnogo khozyaistva SSSR* I, 1947, p. 96; *Istoriya kultury drevnei Rusi*, by several hands, I, 1948, *passim*.

[2] Cross, p. 146.

[3] S. Bakhrushin, Nekotorye voprosy istorii Kievskoi Rusi, *IM*, 1937 (3), pp. 167—8.

[4] "After two years, Sineus and his brother Truvor died, and Rurik assumed the sole authority." Cross, p. 145. And here is the description of the relations that prevailed among the sons of Svyatoslav: "When Vladimir in Novgorod heard that Yaropolk had killed Oleg, he was afraid and fled abroad. Then Yaropolk sent his viceroys to Novgorod and was thus the sole ruler in Rus." *Ibid.*, p. 178. After the murder of his brother Yaropolk, "Vladimir . . . began to reign alone in Kiev." *Ibid.*, p. 180. After the death of Vladimir the Great, his son Svyatopolk "began to reflect how he would kill all his brethren, and rule alone in Rus." *Ibid.*, p. 218—9. After the death of his brother Mstislav, "Yaroslav assumed the entire sovereignty, and was the sole ruler in the land of Rus." *Ibid.*, p. 225, etc.

[5] A. Solovev, O pechati i titule Vladimira Svyatogo, *BS* IX (1), 1947, pp. 31—44.

[6] Cross, p. 146.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

own right. Oleg is supposed to have reigned until 912, when he died,[1] and the chronicler relates that Igor succeeded to the princely throne in 913;[2] that is, only at the age of 33. So long a tutelage of Oleg over Igor is certainly improbable.

Igor marries Olga in 903.[3] Their son Svyatoslav, however, is born in 942,[4] 39 years after the marriage of his parents, and when his father Igor has attained the age of 62 at the least. In 945, the Derevlians form the project of marrying their prince to Olga, the widow of Igor, who had lived 42 years with her first husband. And in 955, Olga, according to our chronicler, undertakes the journey to Constantinople where her beauty charms the Emperor.[5] At that time she would have been 65 at the very least,[6] etc.

The first historical personage of the so-called dynasty of the Rurikides is Igor. The *Nachalnyi Svod* and the *Povest* both add several decades to the existence of the reigning house by making Igor a son of Rurik. Many historians reject the whole version, while Vasiliev declares their objections to be hypercritical.[7]

"Nestor" wishes to ascribe to Kiev its character as the capital as early as possible, and he also endeavours to extend the frontiers of the Kievan State to extraordinary lengths. According to the *Povest*, Oleg subjected the lands of the Novgorodian Slavs, of the Chuds, Merians, Krivichians, Radimichians, Severians, Derevlians, Polyanians, Tivertsians, Dulebians, and Croats.[8]

The author deals with the conquest by Oleg of Slavonic and non-Slavonic lands without giving any details, and only such details and concrete data could impart to the chronicler's narration the character of reality. Wherever Oleg appears, he conquers forthwith. Whenever he gives the signal, uncountable numbers of warriors come on the scene from the Volga and Oka, from Lake Ilmen, from the upper and middle reaches of the Dnieper, from the banks of the Pripet and the Dniester, etc. They all obediently march wherever Oleg bids them.

If we compare this picture with the later facts, we are struck by the glaring difference between them. "Nestor" represents Oleg as commanding many tribes, but after this prince's death his empire bursts like a bubble, and later rulers, such as Igor, Svyatoslav, and Vladimir have to undertake the reconquest of the same territory. In a word, we see during the reign of Oleg his extraordinary successes in war, and the exceptional obedience of the conquered, who, after his death, if we are to judge by later happenings, revolt against Kiev on every side. But with the exception

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[1] Cross, p. 151—7.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 157.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 149.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 158.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 168—9.
[6] If Olga was married in 903 she could not have been born later than 890.
[7] A. Vasiliev, The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860, *MAA* XLVI, p. 12 There the reader will find the writings that relate to this subject, and of which Vasiliev disapproves.
[8] Cross, pp. 146—57.

of the resistance of the Derevlians, the chronicler does not allude by a single word to such a general revolt.[1]

The *Povest* mentions a division of his territories by Svyatoslav among his sons: "970. Svyatoslav set up Yaropolk in Kiev, and Oleg in Dereva. At this time came the people of Novgorod asking for themselves a prince. 'If you will not come to us—they said—then we will choose a prince of our own.' . . . The citizens of Novgorod . . . requested Svyatoslav to designate Vladimir, and he granted their request."[2]

If we compare these measures with the later, similar decisions of Vladimir and Yaroslav,[3] we shall be struck by the scantiness of the dominions which Svyatoslav directly controlled. The *Povest* distinctly distinguishes between the positions occupied by the sons of this prince in the different lands. The two older brothers were established by their father in Kiev and among the Derevlians. The younger, Vladimir, betook himself to the banks of Lake Ilmen, because he was invited by the Novgorodians. Their envoys, who had been sent to Kiev, unmistakably threatened Svyatoslav that if he did not grant them one of his sons, they would elect another prince. From later practice we know that Novgorod chose and deposed its princes according to its own will.[4] We have to acknowlege therefore that about 970 Svyatoslav had in his direct possession only those lands which he divided between Yaropolk and Oleg.

From the division of territory carried out by Vladimir, it appears that the Derevlian principality was of a somewhat inferior order, as it was destined for one of the younger and little known sons of Vladimir. The chief towns of the Derevlians—Izkorosten and Vruchii—never played a role comparable to that of Polotsk, Turov, and others.[5] If Svyatoslav had really disposed of provinces more vast and cities more important, he would

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[1] S. Korf, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 70, observed that there existed a great contrast between the actual conditions prevailing at the time in eastern Europe and the unifying Byzantine conception of the monarchic principle. In comparison with the *Povest*, the remotest past of Rus appears more real in the *Nachalnyi Svod*. The Kievan dynasty begins with Igor who is known also to non-Russian sources. In the first phase of his rule, Novgorod is Igor's capital. Only the Krivichians and Merians are subject to the State of Novgorod. With the support of the Novgorodians, Igor conquers Kiev. A smaller number of tribes take part in expeditions of the Rus against the Greeks, etc.

[2] Cross, p. 174.

[3] "988. He (Vladimir the Great) set up Vysheslav in Novgorod, Izyaslav in Polotsk, Svyatopolk in Turov, and Yaroslav in Rostov. When Vysheslav, the oldest, died in Novgorod, he set Yaroslav over Novgorod, Boris over Rostov, Gleb over Murom, Svyatoslav over Dereva, Vsevolod over Vladimir, and Mstislav over Tmutorokan." Cross, p. 207. And here is Yaroslav the Wise's disposition concerning his domains as made in 1054, before his death: "The throne of Kiev I bequeath to my eldest son, . . . Izyaslav . . . To Svyatoslav I give Chernihov, to Vsevolod Pereyaslavl, to Igor the city of Vladimir, and to Vyacheslav Smolensk. *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[4] I. Trotsky, Vozniknovenie Novgorodskoi respubliki, *IAN*, 1932, pp. 282—3, 373, pertinently points out that up to the time of Vladimir the Great the relations between Novgorod and Kiev were chiefly commercial, while the land of Novgorod remained politically independent. On the other hand, Novgorod had special links with the dynasty of the Rurikides, who, up to the middle of the 10th century, ruled on the banks of Lake Ilmen, where lay their capital.

[5] The *Povest* speaks at length of the struggles of Igor and Olga with the Derevlians. The stubborn defence of its independence ascribed to this tribe does not necessarily mean that it possessed exceptional strength, as the Rurikides meet with similar opposition everywhere; it rather shows the vivid tradition of these struggles which was preserved in Kiev.

undoubtedly have endowed Oleg with them, as Vladimir and Yaroslav were to do in later times, when bequeathing them to their heirs.[1]

The territorial narrowness of the Kievan State about 970 is in keeping with another fact noted in the sources. It is only under Vladimir the Great that Rus on the Dnieper acquires a certain degree of stability, and becomes firmly rooted in its territory. According to the *Povest*, " Vladimir reflected that it was not good that there were so few towns round about Kiev, so he founded cities on the Desna, the Oster, the Trubezh, the Sula, and the Stuhna. He gathered together the best men of the Slavs (of Novgorod), the Krivichians, the Chuds, and the Vyatichians, and peopled these towns with them."[2] And further, the chronicler relates : " Vladimir founded the city of Belgorod, and peopled it from other towns, bringing to it many settlers,"[3] and " Vladimir founded a city on this river bank (Trubezh), and called it Pereyaslavl."[4] The same prince also founded, as the name shows, a new city in Volynia called Vladimir. St. Bruno, in his letter to Emperor Henry II, mentions earthworks encircling the domain of Vladimir.[5]

This activity of settlement and fortification is continued by Yaroslav. He founded a number of towns on the Rus[6] and settled his Polish captives on the banks of that river.[7] Kiev itself deserves special attention, as Vladimir and Yaroslav fortified it with trenches and ramparts.

It is no mere coincidence that the *Povest* should record two important facts under the same date of the baptism of Vladimir. One of them is the establishment of his sons in the vast spaces of eastern Europe, among Slavonic and non-Slavonic tribes. The other is the great undertaking of fortification and settlement entered upon by the same prince on the banks of the Dnieper and its tributaries. There is no doubt that the distribution of territories among the sons of Vladimir took place after 988, and the construction of new cities and the settlement of extensive lands could not be limited to one year only. But if " Nestor " connects these events with the year 988, it is in order to give prominence to the consequences of Christianization, and of the acceptance of the political programme which was then brought from Constantinople to Rus.

If a prince's sons were to be established in various cities, it was neces-

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[1] V. Parkhomenko, Pochemu Svyatoslav posadil synovei svoikh—Olega v zemle Drevlyanskoi i Vladimira v Novgorode ? *IORYS* XIX, 1914, pp. 139—40, thinks that the mission of Oleg, son of Svyatoslav, was to link the conquered Derevlians as closely as possible with the dynasty of Kiev. Had this been Svyatoslav's motive, he should have united the Derevlian country with Kiev outright, as was done at a later date. Parkhomenko attributes to the State of Kiev, at this time, an extraordinary area, but fails to explain why other tribes are supposed to have felt so much more strongly linked to the house of Rurik than the Derevlians. If this author puts the question, why Svyatoslav did not settle Oleg at Rostov, Murom, Tmutorokan or even somewhere else, the answer can only be : because he did not possess those cities.

[2] Cross, p. 207.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 207.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 208.

[5] " Senior Ruzorum (Vladimir) . . . duxit me ipse usque ad regni sui terminum ultimum, quem propter vagum hostem firmissima et longissima sepe undique circumclausit." *MPH* I, pp. 224—5.

[6] Cross, p. 225.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 225.

sary first of all to conquer the respective lands, and more important still, to retain them. Svyatoslav's expeditions, though undertaken with great energy and dash, were dispersed in many directions. They extended to such great areas and such distant centres that they cannot be treated as ventures bringing real territorial gains. They offer rather the aspect of sudden predatory raids. It was impossible to maintain permanent positions on the Oka, or the middle course of the Volga, or on the Caspian, and in the Caucasus, and, at the same time, to place the centre of gravity of this political structure in the Balkans.[1] It is only under Vladimir that these non-co-ordinated efforts of the Rus acquire the characteristics of a planned and consistent action, and pass from the stage of fluidity to one of greater stability.

Bakhrushkin writes on this subject: "Until the last quarter of the 10th century we do not observe any symptoms indicating that a durable State is in process of formation . . . It is doubtful whether the ephemeral unity of Rus, so perseveringly stressed by the official chroniclers, became a permanent reality earlier than in the reign of Svyatoslav . . . Another characteristic of this (Russian) "State" up to the end of the 10th century is its territorial fluidity. Always in quest of tribute and of booty for themselves and their retainers, princes over-run great expanses of territory, but do not make them their strongly held property; always in pursuit of tributary lands, they often abandon one city for another, one province for another . . . It was only after the failure of Svyatoslav's Bulgarian adventure that the Rurikides finally established their rule in Russia, constrained to do so by the resistence which Byzantium opposed to them during the reign of John Tzimiskes . . . Only at the end of the 10th century does the State (in the stricter sense) begin to develop a stabilized organization . . . The organization, under Vladimir, of the defence of the borders by the erection of strongholds, and the construction of the frontier rampart, as well as his receiving baptism, testify to a turning point having been reached . . . But even at the end of the 10th century there can be no question of the definite formation of a State."[2]

All these observations, which characterize the political situation on the middle Dnieper in the second half of the 10th century, throw an illuminating light on the beginnings of the Kievan State of Rus.

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[1] S. Bakhrushin, "Derzhava Ryurikovichei," *VDI* II, 1938, p. 95; S. Yushkov, *Ocherki po istorii feodalizma v Kievskoi Rusi*, 1938, p. 31.

[2] S. Bakhrushin, Nekotorye voprosy istorii Kievskoi Rusi, *IM*, 1937 (3), pp. 167—8; cf. V. Parkhomenko, Kharakter i znachenie epokhi Vladimira, prinyavshego khristianstvo, *UZLGU* LXXIII (8), 1941 (unavailable to me).

CHAPTER VII

THE NORSE PERIOD IN THE HISTORY OF EASTERN EUROPE

Norse Expansion in the East. The Norsemen and the Vanquished Population. The Descent of the Rurikides. Kiev as the Capital City of Rus. Chronological Limits of the Norse Period.

Part II of the present work was devoted to the study of the problem of Rus, in its earliest phase. The investigations have shown that the sources —Russian and non-Russian alike, listed separately in the two preceding chapters—do not contradict, but supplement and confirm each other on the essential points. At this stage it would seem necessary, by way of a synthesis, to draw final conclusions in the light of the entire material preserved in the sources.

In the 10th century, Constantine Porphyrogenitus observes that the Rus are obliged to maintain peace with the Pechenegs, for otherwise they could not attack anyone else, nor make their way to Constantinople in pursuit of war or trade. This short sentence gives a good account of the whole of Norse activity in the East. The incentive for the distant forays of these strangers, from the moment of their first appearance, is their desire to lay hands on wealth. In relation to weaker antagonists, simple conquest accompanied by looting and devastation was an adequate procedure; in relation to the stronger, recourse was had to peaceful means, such as exchange through trade, but warlike methods would be adopted when occasion offered.

There is no doubt that the Norse raids, as they occurred in the beginning, must have been a true calamity for the conquered peoples. Only in the course of time, as the association of the conquerors with the conquered gradually developed, could the talents for organization which distinguished the Scandinavians come to the fore, and, to a certain extent, compensate for the grievous conditions that existed.

The successes scored by the Varangians in carrying out their conquests depended not only on their own energy and valour, but also on the force of resistance which the different peoples of eastern Europe were able to oppose to these foreign invaders. The Slavs from Lake Ilmen, from the banks of the Dvina and the Dnieper, divided into various tribes and dispersed over vast areas, were incapable of consolidating their forces by forming larger unions, and succumbed to the onslaught.[1] On the other

[1] The same can be said of the Ugro-Finnish population in the basin of the Volga.

hand, we find some Slavonic groups which defended themselves for a long time within the framework of their tribal organization. Thus, the State of Rus was the achievement of great efforts on the part of more than one generation of Norsemen. Yaroslav the Wise might well remind his sons of these deeds when he exhorted them to remain united and act in mutual agreement. " But if ye dwell in envy and dissension, quarrelling with one another, then ye will perish yourselves and bring to ruin the land of your ancestors, which they won at the price of great effort."[1]

In historical works, one often encounters the theory that the " Eastern Slavs ", before the arrival of the Norsemen, already formed wider political organizations. Unfortunately, the sources lend no justification for such a conjecture, and know no term with which to define a supra-tribal entity. The so-called Dulebian League so frequently quoted in this connection is a fiction.[2] " Nestor " under the year 859, divides the Slavonic tribes into two groups, one northern and the other southern, but only in connection with their dependence on foreign invaders, the Varangians and the Khazars.[3]

The fact remains that the political division of the Slavs facilitated the conquests of the Norsemen. This lack of political unity among the Slavs also explains the successful expansion of the Lithuanians and the Tartars in eastern Europe at a subsequent period.

When speaking of the Norse Rus on the one hand, and of the Slavs and Finns on the other, " Nestor " uses two distinct terms. The Norsemen, according to the chronicler, are alien new-comers, *nakhodnitsi*; the Slavs and Finns, peoples settled on their lands for a long time, *naselnitsi*.[4] The sources have a great deal to say about the mutual relations of the two groups. According to Ibn Rusta and Gardizi, " the Rus go out to raid the Slavs in boats, and they take the Slavs prisoner and sell them to the Khazars and the Bulgars. They have no cultivated lands, and obtain grain from the Slavs."[5] This detail finds confirmation in Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who relates that the Rus used to come to Constantinople in order to sell slaves who were chained. The same author, in a passage we have already quoted more than once, tells how the Rus were in the habit of going, before the winter set in, among the Derevlians, Dregovichians, Krivichians, Severians, and other dependent Slavonic tribes, to live at their cost and to collect tribute.[6] Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub speaks of northern peoples who ruled over Slavs, and the Persian author of the treatise *Hudud-al-Alam* mentions Slavs as serving the Rus, etc. It should be pointed out that these authors do not mention any one Slavonic tribe as dependent on the Rus, but speak of all the Slavs settled in the East. Ibn-Miskawaih quotes the words supposed to have been addressed by the Rus to the inhabitants of the city of Bardha'ah in the Caspian region. They are interesting because they shed an illuminating

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[1] Cross, p. 231.
[2] See Appendix: " The Dulebian League."
[3] Cross, p. 144.
[4] *Ibidem*, p. 145.
[5] G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, p. 285.
[6] Cf. N. Popov, Spornoe mesto v cap. IX De administrando imperio Konstantina Bagryanorodnogo, *BS*, 1931, pp. 92—6; P. Lyashchenko, *Istoriya narodnogo khozyaistva SSSR* I, 1947, p. 107.

light on the attitude of the Rus towards a conquered population: "The one thing we desire is power. The duty is incumbent on us to treat you well, but on you to obey us."[1]

"Nestor" constantly stresses the dependence of many Slavonic tribes on the Rus, a dependence which finds expression first and foremost in the payment of tribute and participation in warlike expeditions.[2] Lyashchenko pertinently remarks: "The collecting of tribute by the (Rus princes') retainers often degenerated into simple plundering of the people, and sometimes into the enslavement of the population."[3] Here is, for example, what the *Povest* says on the collection of taxes by Igor in the land of the Derevlians: "In this year (945) Igor's retinue said to him: 'The servants of Sveneld are adorned with weapons and fine raiment, but we are naked. Go forth with us, oh Prince, after tribute, that both you and we may profit thereby.' Igor heeded their words, and he attacked Dereva in search of tribute . . . and collected it by violence from the people with the assistance of his followers. After thus gathering the tribute, he returned to his city. On his homeward way, he said to his followers, after some reflection: 'Go forward with the tribute. I shall turn back, and rejoin you later.' He dismissed his retainers on their journey homeward, but being desirous of still greater booty, he returned on his tracks with a few of his vassals."[4] The Rurikides treated many other Slavonic tribes as they did the Derevlians, but the chronicler limits himself to general terms in mentioning the Rus conquests and the gathering of tribute from the subjugated people.[5]

"Nestor" relates that before his conversion Vladimir the Great dispatched his envoys to various nations to study their religious beliefs. He communicated, among others, with the Volga Bulgars, who were Mohammedans, and with the Khazars, who professed Judaism.[6] A confirmation of this fact may be found in the works of Oriental writers such as al-Marvazi (12th cent.) and Aufi (13th cent.) who drew their information from an unknown source of the late 10th or early 11th cent., of Khoresmian origin. According to these writers, at the request of Vladimir, missionaries were sent to Kiev with the view of converting the Rus to Islam.[7] It may be that

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[1] A. Yakubovsky, O russko khazarskikh i russko kavkazskikh otnosheniyakh v IX—X vv., *IAN* III (5), 1946, p. 467.

[2] It follows very clearly from the description of Oleg's expedition against Constantinople in 907 (Cross, pp. 149—51) that the Slavs played a very subordinate role in the army of that Prince, as compared with that of the Norsemen. Cf. E. Rydzevskaya, K letopisnomu skazaniyu o pokhode Rusi na Tsargrad v 907 godu, *IAN*, 1932 (6), pp. 473—8.

[3] P. Lyashchenko, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

[4] Cross, p. 164.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 166—8, 171, 182—3, etc.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 183—5.

[7] V. Bartold, Novoe musulmanskoe izvestie o russkikh, *ZVO* IX, 1896, pp. 262—7; *idem*, Arabskie izvestiya o rusakh, *SV* I, 1940, p. 39; V. Minorsky, Sharaf al-Zaman Tahir Marvazi on China, the Turks, and India. *James G. Forlong Fund* XXII, 1942, pp. 23, 36, 118—9; B. Zakhoder, Eshche odno rannee musulmanskoe izvestie o slavyanakh i russakh IX—Xvv., *IVGO* VI, 1943; S. Tolstov, Iz predistorii Rusi, *SE* VI—VII, 1947, pp. 56—7; *idem*, *Po sledam drevnekhorezmiiskoi tsivilizatsii*, 1948, pp. 258—61; *idem*, *Drevnii Khorezm*, 1948, p. 16; T. Lewicki, Świat słowiański w oczach pisarzy arabskich, *SA* II (2), 1949—50, p. 371.

the contacts with Khoresm were made through the Volga Bulgars. Had Vladimir been a Slav, at one with the Slav population on the middle Dnieper, the question of the acceptance of Mohammedanism or Judaism could never have arisen, as the rite of the S.S. Cyril and Methodius had already taken roots and spread among the Polyanians.

Not only the princes themselves but their followers, too, were non-Slavs. Some examples relating to the sons of Vladimir the Great—Svyatopolk, Boris, Gleb, etc.—may be quoted; they belonged to a time when even a foreign dynasty could have become assimilated to the local Slavonic population. And yet the servant of Boris is a Hungarian of the name of George. When Svyatopolk undertakes to murder Boris, he sends two Varangians to commit the crime. Svyatopolk's most trusted friends are Putsha, Taletz, Elovit; Gleb's cook is Torchin,[1] etc. These names, or nicknames, are certainly not Slavonic. A further detail which characterizes the rule of the Rurikides is the fact that the population of Kiev, in the 10th and 11th centuries, is mainly a mixture of many nations.[2]

Much has been said of the Slavonic "patriotism" of Vladimir and Yaroslav the Wise. Here are some facts which contradict this thesis. When Vladimir, in 980, conquered the territory of Kiev with the aid of the Varangians, "he then selected from their number (not from among the Slavs) the good, the wise, and the brave men, to whom he assigned cities."[3] Cities were generally entrusted to the most devoted men and the most faithful troops. Whoever held the cities, kept the whole country in his possession.[4]

In A.D. 1015, riots broke out in Novgorod, directed against the Varangians who had been called in by Yaroslav. The Prince "summoned before him the chief men of the city who had massacred the Varangians, and craftily killed them."[5] After that, what can we think of the sentiments

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[1] Cross, pp. 215—7; cf. V. Dovzhenok, Oglyad arkheologichnogo vivchennya drevnogo Vishgoroda za 1934—7 rr. *A* III, 1950, p. 78.

[2] This is what Thietmar has to say about Kiev, A.D. 1018: "In magna hac civitate que istius regni caput est . . . populi autem ignota manus; quae sicut omnis haec provincia, ex fugitivorum robore servorum huc undique confluencium et maxime ex velocibus Danis, multum se nocentibus Pecinegis hactenus resistebat et alios vincebat," Thietmar von Merseburg, ed. R. Holtzmann, 1935, p. 528—32. When "Nestor" relates the building of cities on the Dnieper and its tributaries by Vladimir the Great, he says: "He (Vladimir) gathered together the best men of the (Novgorodian) Slavs, the Krivichians, the Chuds, and the Vyatichians, and peopled these towns with them." Cross, p. 207. That this transfer, not only of the Slavonic but also of the Finnish population, from its homes to the distant lands threatened by the nomads of the steppe, took place under constraint is indicated by an analogous episode in Polish-Rus relations: "1031. Yaroslav and Mstislav collected a large force and marched into Poland. They . . . ravaged the Polish countryside. They also captured many Poles and distributed them as colonists in various districts. Yaroslav located his captives along the Ros, where they live to this day." Cross, p. 225. As to the population of the Kiev region and especially that of Kiev itself, having been composed of various ethnic elements, see P. Lyashchenko, *Istoriya narodnogo khozyaistva SSSR* I, 1947, p. 145; N. Zernov, Vladimir and the Origin of the Russian Church, *SEER* XVIII, 1949—50, p. 428, etc.

[3] Cross, p. 180.

[4] In 1018, after Kiev had been occupied by the Poles, "Boleslav ordered that his force should be dispersed to forage throughout the cities, and so it was done." Cross, p. 221. Whenever the princes of Suzdal and Vladimir took Kiev in the 12th century, they always placed their men and their armies in the cities.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 219.

cherished by the Rurikides for the Polyanians, if a son of Vladimir felt himself so little at one with the Slav population of Novgorod ? Yaroslav's grandfather, Svyatoslav, of his own free will abandoned Kiev in order to found a capital for himself on the Danube.

" Nestor " derives the Rurikides from Scandinavia, but some historians doubt the truthfulness of this version, because the Norse sagas are silent on the Norse descent of the princes of Rus. But this argument is really not convincing ; the sagas say nothing of the ancestry of Vladimir the Great,[1] and only sketch the beginning of his reign very indistinctly. On the contrary, numerous observations can be made which support " Nestor's " thesis. Thus, the names of the earliest princes, with the exception of Svyatoslav, are definitely Scandinavian.[2] All the legendary and historical figures, such as Rurik, Oskold, Dir, Oleg, Igor, Svyatoslav, Vladimir, Yaroslav, are connected with the North, either as their place of origin, or as the centre of their power, and generally with Novgorod. It is known, furthermore, that down to the middle of the 11th century Novgorod paid tribute to the Varangians.[3] In the pages of the *Povest* we constantly come across instances of princes calling to the Varangians for help, both in their struggles with one another and in their foreign wars. All these facts testify to the close and lasting association of the Rurik princes with Scandinavia, and it should be remembered that the appeals to the Varangians took place not only in the 9th and early 10th centuries, but also throughout the 10th century and a large part of the 11th. The two outstanding personalities in the history of the Kievan State, Vladimir and Yaroslav, maintained their position on the Dnieper only thanks to the Varangians.

Vladimir the Great was in close contact with the King of Norway, Olaf Tryggvason.[4] In the sagas, we find much valuable information on the history of Yaroslav the Wise.[5] As eastern Europe and Britain were both subjected to Norse invasions about the same time, Alekseev points out the analogies and resemblances which occur in the history of the two countries under Scandinavian influence. The author shows that Anglo-Saxon sources are aware of Rus, and vice versa, that many common features are to be met with in the legends and records of the two regions,[6] that similar-

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[1] Many students think that the sagas do not mention the ancestors of Vladimir. Cross, p. 127, supposes that Allogia, who appears in these sources as the wife of Vladimir, is in fact Olga, i.e., that an error was here committed and the grandmother put in the place of the wife.

[2] A. Maver, The Vikings, in *The Cambridge Mediaeval History* III, 1922, p. 327 ; V. Minorsky, Rus, *Tirage à part de l' Encyclopédie de l'Islâm*, 1937 ; S. Cross, The Scandinavian Infiltration into Early Russia, *Sp* XXI, 1946, p. 506, and others.

[3] Cross, p. 147.

[4] N. Baumgarten, Olaf Tryggwison roi de Norvège et ses relations avec Saint Vladimir de Russie, *OC* XXIV, 1931, pp. 5—32 ; S. Cross, La tradition islandaise de Saint Vladimir, *RES* XI, 1931, pp. 133—48 ; E. Rydzevskaya, Legenda o knyaze Vladimire v sage ob Olafe Tryuggvasone, *TODRL* II, 1935.

[5] F. Braun, Das historische Russland, in *Festschrift Eugen Mogk zum 70 Geburtstag*, 1924, pp. 161, 179—82 ; A. Lyashchenko, "Eymundar Saga" i russkie letopisi, *IAN*, 1926, pp. 1061—86 ; S. Cross, Yaroslav the Wise in Norse Tradition, *Sp* IV, 1929, pp. 177—97 ; E. Rydzevskaya, Yaroslav Mudryi v drevne severnoi literature, *KSDPI* VII, 1940, pp. 66—72.

[6] Scandinavian elements in the *Povest* are a subject of investigation in A. Stender-Petersen, Die Varägersage als Quelle der altrussischen Chronik, *AJ* VI, 1934 ; N. Chadwick, *The Beginnings of Russian History, An Enquiry into Sources*, 1946.

ities are discernible also in legislative texts,[1] that Anglo-Saxon coins have been found in the northern parts of eastern Europe, etc. Many Norsemen visited both eastern Europe and the British Isles, e.g. Harald of Norway (1047—66) who married in Kiev Elizabeth, daughter of Yaroslav the Wise, and afterwards fell in England. Alekseev shows further that the celebrated Testament (*Pouchenie*) of Vladimir Monomakh, dating from the first quarter of the 12th century, was written under the influence of an analogous document produced by Harald II, the father of Vladimir Monomakh's consort, Princess Gyda of England.[2] The numerous Scandinavian marriages of Rurikides—such as Vladimir the Great, Yaroslav, and their descendants—and vice versa,[3] were the consequence and repercussion of the old Norse traditions preserved among the members of the Rus dynasty.[4]

The Rurikides who, by means of conquest, formed a large State in eastern Europe, were obliged in the course of time to devote more and more care to the strengthening of their rule over the conquered lands. The desultory looting of particular tribal territories soon ceased to attain its object, and in the 11th century it became necessary to place these territories under more careful administration, and to improve the economic conditions on the estates owned by the princes personally.[5] In order the more surely to maintain the integrity of their domains, the rulers of Kiev usually divided them into provinces, and appointed their sons or trusted followers as local governors. Now, the boundaries of these new administrative units did not correspond with those of the former tribal territories. Thus, for instance, the principality of Turov-Pinsk included lands belonging to the Dregovichians and Derevlians; that of Polotsk, Polochian and Dregovichian territory; that of Chernihov, Severian, Radimichian, and Vyatichian possessions; that of Smolensk, Krivichian, Dregovichian, and Vyatichian country, etc. The new provincial organization was not founded on respect for old boundaries, but on the deliberate breaking up of tribal territories. It is evident that the dynasty, in pursuing its own aims and

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[1] E. Shchepkin, Varyazhskaya vira, *ZIOOI* XXXII, 1915, has pointed this out.

[2] M. Alekseev, Anglo-saksonskaya parallel k Poucheniyu Vladimira Monomakha, *TODRL* II, 1935, pp. 39—80.

[3] N. Baumgarten, Généalogies et mariages occidentaux des Rurikides russes du X*e* au XIII*e* siècle, *OC* IX (I), 1927; G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, 1948, p. 336.

[4] The fact that the Norsemen spoke their native tongue on the conquered territories is confirmed by the existence of words of Norse origin in the language of the Eastern Slavs, such as *grid*, *gridnitsa* (cf. V. Rzhiga, Ocherki iz istorii byta do-mongolskoi Rusi, *TGIM* V, 1929, pp. 24—53), *tiun*, *yabetnik*, *knut*, *narva*, *styag*, etc. See C. Thörnqvist, Studien über die nordischen Lehnwörter im russischen, *TSF* II, 1948, pp. 271—3; K. Falk, Dneprforsarnas namn i kejsar Konstantin VII Porphyrogennetos' De administrando imperio, *LUÅ* XLVI (4), 1951, p. 255.

It may be pointed out that the sources call Vladimir and Yaroslav "kagans," a title given to their rulers by the Norsemen but not by the Eastern Slavs. M. Taube, Zagadochnyi rodovoi znak semi Vladimira Svyatogo, *Sbornik statei, posvyashchennykh P.N. Milyukovu*, 1929, pp. 117—32, thinks that the family crest of the Rurikides probably originated in Scandinavia. On this subject see B. Rybakov, Znaki sobstvennosti v knyazheskom khozyaistve Kievskoi Rusi, *SAr* VI, 1940, pp. 232—3; V. Tarasenko, Raskopki Minskogo Zamchishcha, *KSDPI* XXXV, 1950, pp. 126—8; A. Artsikhovsky, Arkheologicheskie otkrytiya v Novgorode *VAN*, 1951 (12), p. 68.

[5] B. Grekov, *Krestyane na Rusi s drevneishikh vremen do XVII v.*, 1946, p. 107.

objects, by no means honoured or maintained the ancient tradition of the Eastern Slavs.[1]

These conspicuous differences and contrasts between the Rurikides and all the East-Slavonic tribes, resulting from the foreign descent of the dynasty, induce us to examine a problem which has special importance, namely the relations between thee reigning dynasty and Kiev.

Our considerations of the subject have been hitherto mainly concentrated on the person of Vladimir the Great. "Nestor" indicates very clearly that it was the reign of this ruler which inaugurated the period of political stabilization on the middle Dnieper. This suggests that in earlier times conditions were very fluid.

We are confirmed in this opinion by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. His work (*De Administrando Imperio*) was written between 945 and 952.[2] "Nestor" mentions the death of Igor under 945.[3] All the indications, therefore, tend to show that Constantine describes Rus under the rule of Svyatoslav.[4] Certain students, such as Trotsky,[5] have tried to prove, on the basis of this source, that while Igor ruled in Kiev, Svyatoslav resided at Novgorod. Porphyrogenitus contradicts any such conjecture. He enumerates a number of cities whence the Rus sailed for Constantinople, but only in the case of Novgorod does he say that it was the capital of a prince of the Rus. And he only mentions one prince, namely Svyatoslav,[6] although he speaks simultaneously of Kiev, and adds that Svyatoslav was the son of Igor.[7] Nothing would have been more natural for him than to say that Igor at the time was ruling in Kiev; and yet, in his work, we find

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[1] Vladimir the Great moved his sons from one principality to another (Cross, p. 207); thus these princes could not form more intimate links with the territories which they possessed only on a temporary basis. It should be remembered that the very numerous descendants of Vladimir who had twelve sons disappeared with disconcerting rapidity from the stage of history. Closer contacts between the dynasty and the Slavonic population of the extensive territories of eastern Europe can be regarded as existing only from the days of Yaroslav the Wise who remained in fact the sole heir of Vladimir. But the Kievan domain of the Rurikides underwent a severe crisis, in so far as its cohesion was concerned, on the death of Yaroslav, in 1054.

[2] G. Moravcsik—R. Jenkins, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus. De Administrando Imperio*, 1949, p. 9.

[3] Cross, p. 164.

[4] The *Povest* assigns the beginning of Svyatoslav's independent rule to the year 964 (Cross, p. 170), but in another passage, which relates to his death in 972, we find the statement that this Prince reigned 28 years (*ibid.*, p. 177), and this would fix the date of his accession as 944 or 945. During his minority his mother Olga, whose historical personality is vouched for by Greek and German sources, wielded the sovereign power.

[5] I. Trotsky, Vozniknovenie Novgorodskoi respubliki, *IAN*, 1932 (4—5), p. 282.

[6] That Vladimir's uncle was an outstanding Novgorodian named Dobrynya (Cross, pp. 174, 180, 183) is a detail noted by "Nestor" in accordance with Constantine. Thus, the sister of Dobrynya, a Novgorodian lady, was the wife of Svyatoslav. This marriage must have taken place during Svyatoslav's rule on the banks of Lake Ilmen.

[7] "The single-straked ships which come down from outer Rus to Constantinople are from Novgorod, where Svyatoslav, son of Igor, prince of Rus, had his seat, and others from the city of Smolensk, and from Teliutza (Lubech?), and Chernigov, and from Vyshgorod. All these come down the river Dnieper, and are collected together at the city of Kiev." Certain historians affirm that the name of Nemogardas does not designate Novgorod, but some other city. All conjectures of this kind are exceedingly arbitrary. The text of the source refutes them definitely, as it indicates the route of the Rus' voyages, which runs from Smolensk through Chernihov, Vyshgorod, and Kiev. The city in question must have been situated North of Smolensk, and this corresponds to the position of Novgorod.

no reference to it. Had Kiev become the residence of the princes of Rus and the capital of a State, an Emperor of Byzantium would necessarily have been aware of the fact: Kiev was so much nearer Constantinople than Novgorod, situated in the far North.

According to "Nestor's" testimony, Svyatoslav, even after abandoning Novgorod as his capital, did not feel specially attracted by Kiev. The chronicler relates that Igor's son wished to establish himself permanently on the Danube—not on the Dnieper. Nevertheless, it should not be assumed that the Varangians attached little importance to the Dnieper. The land of the Polyanians, at the time under consideration, formed one of the principal territorial bases for the domination of the Norsemen over vast areas of eastern Europe. Constantine Porphyrogenitus states that the region of Kiev was at that time designated by the name "Rus;"[1] this, however, does not mean that the name "Polyanians" went out of use. According to "Nestor," "the Polyanians . . . are now called Rus."[2] By inserting the word "now," the chronicler indicates that in the opinion of men living in the 11th and 12th cent., this change of name was a relatively recent event.[3]

Al-Balkhi, al-Istakhri, Ibn-Hauqal, and others mention three centres of Rus: Slavia, Kuyaba, and Artania. In the literature relating to the subject, the first is generally identified with Novgorod, and the second with Kiev; as to the third, opinions differ.[4] But it is not with the identity of Artania, but with an altogether different question that we are concerned. The above mentioned Arabic authors describe conditions as they existed not later than the first quarter of the 10th century.[5] However, the existence

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[1] The Pechenegs, according to Constantine, were one day's journey distant from Rus; one clan of the Pechenegs (the province of Charaboï) was adjacent to Rus, etc. In all these passages the writer has in mind Kiev, and not Great Novgorod.

[2] Cross, p. 147.

[3] S. Yushkov, *Istoriya gosudarstva i prava SSSR* I, 2nd ed., 1947, p. 68; *idem*, *Obshchestvenno politicheskii stroi i pravo Kievskogo gosudarstva*, 1949, p. 57, states that the territory of Kiev began to be called Rus in the middle of the 10th century.

[4] V. Parkhomenko, Tri tsentra drevneishei Rusi, *IORYS*, 1913, p. 81; *idem*, *Nachalo khristianstwa Rusi*, 1913, pp. 43—4; B. Rybakov, Anty i Kievskaya Rus, *VDI*, 1939, pp. 335—7, etc., place Artania in the Taman Peninsula, at Tmutorokan; V. Moshin, Nachalo Rusi, *BS* III, 1931, p. 305; *idem*, Rus i Khazary pri Svyatoslave, *SK* VI, 1933, p. 201, argues that it was situated on the northern coast of the Black Sea, in territory subject to the Khazars; B. Grekov, *Kultura Kievskoi Rusi*, 1944, p. 55, is in favour of the Azov Sea region. S. Bykovsky, K voprosu o trekh drevneishikh tsentrakh Rusi, *TVPI* III (6), 1928, pp. 40—1, too, pronounces for the south-eastern territories. I. Lyapushkin, Slavyano—russkie poseleniya IX—XII st. na Donu i Tamani po arkheologicheskim pamyatnikam, *MIA* VI, 1941, p. 236, draws attention to the utter groundlessness of locating Artania in the region of the Black Sea or the Sea of Azov. A. Mongait, Staraya Ryazan, *Vol*, 1947 (4), p. 90, thinks that Artania signifies the Ryazan country. A. Udaltsov, *Osnovnye voprosy proiskhozhdeniya slavyan*, *Obshchee Sobranie Akademii Nauk SSSR* 14—17 *Oktyabrya* 1944 *goda*, 1945, p. 109, declares for Volynia and the Carpathian region. B. Grekov, Obrazovanie russkogo gosudarstva, *IAN* II (3), 1945, p. 136, does not oppose this hypothesis. A Shakhmatov, *Drevneishie sudby russkogo plemeni*, 1919, pp. 53—6, and after him, S. Platonov, Rusa, *DD*, 1920, pp. 1—5, consider Staraya Rusa to have been a great centre of the Rus. A. Karasik, K voprosu o tretem tsentre drevnei Rusi, *IZ* XXXV, 1950, pp. 304—5, thinks that Artania is a *nomen appellativum*, not *proprium*.

[5] In 921, Abu Zaid al-Balkhi compiled a geographical manual under the title *The Pictures of the Climates*. This work was revised and enlarged by Ibrahim al-Istakhri, in 953. Ibrahim's work was in turn supplemented by Ibn-Hauqal, in 977. The two latter authors are dependent on al-Balkhi.

of three centres of Rus is inconsistent with the thesis that Kiev was at that time the sole capital of Rus.

In the Norse sagas which call eastern Europe *Gardariki*, "the realm of castles," a great deal is said about Novgorod and very little about Kiev. All these observations seem to indicate that it is not possible to speak of Kiev, before the middle of the 10th century, as the "mother of Russian cities,"[1] and of the existence of a Kievan State.

Owing to its geographical position, Kiev was of considerable importance to the Norsemen. Constantine Porphyrogenitus states that the Rus from many northern countries assemble in Kiev on their way South, and to Kiev they return from the Black Sea border, again to scatter in many directions.[2] Kiev, therefore, is an important station on the Norsemen's long routes, a place for rest, for concentration, and for the organization of further expeditions.[3] When proceeding South of the Kievan land, the Rus entered the region of the steppe, and leaving the Slavonic territory behind them, found themselves in that of the Pechenegs.[4]

According to Braun, in the beginning, eastern Europe was not an end in itself for the Norsemen, but only a zone of transit, leading to other more distant but very rich countries. Scandinavian warriors and merchants made their way to the southern seas and beyond them, attracted by the wealth of the Arab world and of the Byzantine Empire.[5] The Varangians were obliged to take possession of certain regions of eastern Europe which were of importance to them from the standpoint of communications. The great forest area whence flowed the Dvina, the Volga, and the Dnieper was one of these regions. Kiev was in the same category.

The tendency, so characteristic of the Norsemen, constantly to go after fresh loot, to seek out new and wealthy countries, elucidates Svyatoslav's desire to make Pereyaslavets on the Danube the capital of his domain. "Nestor" explains the reasons for this decision on the Prince's part. "Svyatoslav announced to his mother and his *boyars*: 'I do not care to

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[1] Cross, p. 146.

[2] "When the month of November begins, their chiefs together with all the Rus, at once leave Kiev and go off on the "polyude" which means "rounds," that is, to the Slavonic regions of the Vervians (Derevlians), and Drugovichians (Dregovichians), and Krivichians, and Severians, and the rest of the Slavs who are tributaries of the Rus. There they are maintained throughout the winter, but then once more, starting from the month of April, when the ice of the Dnieper river melts, they come back to Kiev." G. Moravcsik—R. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 62—3.

[3] F. Koneczny, *Dzieje Rosji* I, 1917, p. 42, says: "From the very beginning, the Varangians regarded Kiev not as the capital of the country, but as a transitional station which it was important to have in one's possession, because it was situated on the way to Constantinople. For them (the Varangians) the entire Dnieper region was nothing more than the way to Greece."

[4] In our opinion—apart from geographical factors—Kiev owned much of its importance to Christianity of the S. S. Cyril and Methodius rite, already prevalent in the land of the Polyanians. Olga, a political personality of considerable stature, was an ardent Christian. It may be assumed that she prepared the ground for the subsequent transfer of the capital of Rus to the banks of the middle Dnieper. She might have influenced Igor in that sense. In any case, her extraordinarily hostile attitude towards the Derevlians, the sanguinary vengeance exacted for the death of her husband, seems to indicate that there existed a community of political ideas between Olga and Igor, and that they had mutually agreed on plans for the future.

[5] F. Braun, *Das historische Russland*, p. 150.

remain in Kiev, but should prefer to live in Pereyaslavets on the Danube, since that is the centre of my realm, where all riches are concentrated: gold, silks, wine, and various fruits from Greece, silver and horses from Hungary and Bohemia, and from Rus furs, wax, honey, and slaves'."[1] But Svyatoslav's set-backs in his wars against Byzantium in the Balkans frustrated his intentions.

There is yet another conclusion which follows from the quoted text of the *Povest*: If Svyatoslav was prepared to abandon Kiev for Pereyaslavets, in expectation of greater wealth and income,[2] this proves that we must not follow the example of the many scholars who exaggerate the power of Kiev in the first half of the 10th century and previously: i.e., before the final establishment of the Rus dynasty on the Dnieper.

All these remarks should throw some light on the subject of Kievan beginnings and show us how much Kiev owed to the Norsemen in its later development, and especially in its rise to political significance. They were not the only people to be instrumental in the attainment of these results: the city existed before the arrival of the Varangians,[3] and was an outstanding centre of production and an emporium of many countries;[4] yet the fact remains that the full efflorescence of the city took place only under the rule of the house of Rurik.

Many historians have enlarged at length on the glorious political traditions which, according to them, existed on the banks of the Dnieper before the appearance of the Norsemen. Rybakov, Derzhavin, Grekov, and others affirm that the history of Rus should not begin with the descendants of Rurik, but with the princes of the Antes—Bozh, Mezamer, etc.[5] If, however, we consider that these personages lived several centuries before the Norse period, that we know exceedingly little about the Antes,

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[1] Cross, pp. 172—3. On the position of Pereyaslavets near the mouth of the Danube, see N. Derzhavin, Ob etnogeneze drevneishikh narodov dneprovsko-dunaiskogo basseina, *VDI* I (1), 1939, p. 287; M. Tikhomirov, Istoricheskie svyazi yuzhnykh i vostochnykh slavyan v drevneishee vremya, *IsZ*, 1941 (10—11), pp. 66—7; S. Yushkov, *Obshchestvenno politicheskii stroi i pravo Kievskogo gosudarstva*, 1949, p. 77; K. Miyatev, Slavyanskii gorod v drevnei Bolgarii, *BS* X (2), 1949, p. 261.

[2] V. Parkhomenko, Iz drevnei istorii Vostochnogo Slavyanstva, *IORYS* XXV, 1922, pp. 480—2, thinks that actually Svyatoslav's attitude in respect of Kiev was one of disregard and contempt.

[3] The most ancient history of Kiev, reconstructed on the basis of archaeological findings, goes back to the 8th or 9th century. Cf. M. Karger, Dofeodalnyi period Kieva po arkheologicheskim dannym, *KSDPI* I, 1939; *idem*, K voprosu o Kieve v VIII—IX vv., *ibidem* VI, 1940, pp. 62—5; S. Kiselev, 25 let sovetskoi arkheologii, in 25 *let istoricheskoi nauki v SSSR*, by several hands, I, 1942, pp. 49—51; D. Blifeld, Z arkheologichnikh doslidzhen u Kievi v ostanni roki, *NZANU* I, 1943, pp. 100—16; N. Voronin—M. Karger, Poselenie, in *Istoriya kultury drevnei Rusi*, by several hands, I, 1948, pp. 197—201; P. Tretiakow, *Plemiona wschodnio-słowiańskie*, 1949, p. 211.

On the strength of Armenian sources, certain scholars assign the foundation of Kiev to an even earlier date; for the legend of the foundation of Kiev, cf. N. Marr, Knizhnye legendy ob osnovanii Kuara v Armenii i Kieva na Rusi, *IRAIMK* III, 1924, pp. 257—87; B. Rybakov, Drevnerusskii gorod po arkheologicheskim dannym, *IAN* VII (3), 1950, p. 239.

[4] B. Rybakov, *Remeslo drevnei Rusi*, 1948, pp. 114—5.

[5] B. Rybakov, Anty i Kievskaya Rus, *VDI*, 1939 (1), pp. 322—37; N. Derzhavin, *Slavyane v drevnosti*, 1945, pp. 18—9. Grekov goes even further and attempts to link up the origins of the Rus State with that of the Scythians. See B. Grekov, Ocherednye zadachi arkheologii v izuchenii skifo-sarmatskogo perioda, *KSDPI* XXXIV, 1950.

that there are no tangible data to prove the continuity of such a tradition, we come to the conclusion that all these conjectures are pure products of fantasy.

According to Soviet historians, the Kievan State arose in consequence of the evolution of economical and social conditions;[1] it was the work of Slavs exclusively, alien elements played no noteworthy part in this process. Such opinions are usually propounded in a most positive tone.[2] The sources provide us with very scanty information as to the social conditions of this area in the very distant past. It is quite impossible to form any picture of social transformations on the strength of such defective material. And finally, one fact contradicts all such hypotheses. "Rus" designates the Norsemen, and "Rus" was the one and only supra-tribal term in use in eastern Europe. The circumstance that the name of the Norsemen is linked with the political entity on the middle reaches of the Dnieper tells us who played the foremost part in the achievement of this great work.[3]

The theory advanced by the present writer that before the middle of the 10th century Kiev could not have been the capital of Rus seems to be contradicted by the treaties (*dogovory*) which the Rus concluded with the Greeks as early as the first half of the 10th century.[4] This question should be closely examined.

The *Povest* mentions two agreements of Oleg with Constantinople

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[1] H. Łowmiański, Stan badań nad podłożem gospodarczym i społecznym genezy państwa ruskiego, *PH* XLIII (1), 1952, pp. 34—59. Vukinich made a number of apposite critical observations on the subject of theories of this kind, advanced by Soviet historians; see A. Vukinich, The Soviet Theory of Social Development in the Early Middle Ages, *Sp* XXVI, 1951, pp. 243—54.

[2] E.g. "It would be extremely naïve to believe that the reunion of the Eastern Slavs and of non-Slavonic peoples under the overlordship of Kiev was the result of the action of any external causes." B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus*, 1944, p. 8.

[3] It is possible that some light is shed on the distant past of Kiev by another name given to the city—namely, *Sambatas*—mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. What this term implies is a mystery up to the present day, although scholars have advanced various conjectures. G. Ilinsky, in an article printed in M. Hrushevsky's jubilee memorial, 1928, is of the opinion that the name has a geographical meaning—namely, the junction of two rivers—as Kiev lies not far from the mouth of the Desna. Other authors derive this appellation from the name of a person. B. Rybakov, Rannyaya kultura vostochnykh slavyan, *IsZ*, 1943 (11—12), p. 79, supposes that *Sambatas* derives from a certain Sanbat, who is supposed to have lived in the 5th century. His son's tombstone, recently found in Constantinople, is ascribed to A.D. 529; H. Łowmiański, Geneza państwa kijowskiego, *SPAU* L (10), 1949, p. 596, derives the appellation in question from Smbat, who allegedly, in the middle of the 9th century, founded one of the fortified settlements which were, in the course of time, to form part of Kiev. J. Brutskus, The Khazar Origin of Ancient Kiev, *SEER* XXII, 1944, pp. 108—24, is of the opinion that *Sambatas* is a name of Khazar origin.

[4] On the strength of exceedingly vague and fragmentary mentions in the sources, certain scholars suppose that the first Russian-Greek treaties were concluded as early as the second half of the 9th century; cf. N. Derzhavin, Ob etnogeneze drevneishikh narodov dneprovsko-dunaiskoho basseina, *VDI*, 1939 (1), p. 286; M. Priselkov, Russko vizantiiskie otnosheniya IX—XII vv., *VDI*, 1939 (3), p. 99; B. Grekov, *Krestyane na Rusi s drevneishikh vremen do XVII v.*, 1946, p. 88; A. Vasiliev, The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860, *MAA* XLVI, 1946, pp. 229—33. We unfortunately know nothing definite about these early treaties, if ever they existed.

(907 and 911), one of Igor (944), and one of Svyatoslav (971).[1] With the last we are not concerned, as it contains nothing relating to the subject of our investigations: namely, Kiev's character as a capital. The first of the four is mentioned by "Nestor" only in the course of a narrative. Shakhmatov is of the opinion that the chronicler fabricated this alleged treaty by repeating certain words and phrases and even whole passages from later treaties.[2] The author of the *Povest* links the agreement of 907 between Rus and Byzantium with Oleg's expedition against Constantinople, which was undertaken at this time. Now, Greek sources know nothing whatsoever of any such warlike venture on the part of Rus, and although certain scholars attempt to defend the authenticity of the treaty of 907,[3] they can adduce but few convincing arguments.[4]

Whatever may be said about Oleg's and Igor's treaties of 911 and 944, these contain too many concrete and characteristic details for them to have been invented by the chronicler. It should be remarked that the *Nachalnyi Svod*, dating from the end of the 11th century, knows nothing of Russian-Greek agreements. Priselkov is of the opinion that "Nestor's" predecessors had no knowledge of the treaties.[5] Istrin, on the contrary, supposes that about the middle of the 11th century they were already known in Kiev.[6] No matter which of the two conjectures is more probable, the fact remains that the treaties must have been preserved somewhere for 150 or 200 years.

Historians often assumed that the *dogovory* were kept in the treasury or in the archives of the Kievan princes.[7] But this supposition is open to

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[1] Cross, pp. 150—1, 151—4, 159—64, 176—7. For observations concerning the dates of these documents see D. Likhachev, *Povest* II, 1950, pp. 272, 289, 318—9.

[2] A. Shakhmatov, Neskolko zamechanii o dogovorakh s Grekami Olega i Igorya, *ZNO* VIII, 1914, a work I was unable to obtain; *idem*, Povest Vremennykh Let i ee istochniki, *TODRL* IV, 1940, p. 115.

[3] G. Ostrogorsky, L'expédition du prince Oleg contre Constantinople en 907, *SK* XI, 1940, pp. 47—61; M. Shangin, Dva dogovora, *IM*, 1941 (2), pp. 114—5. The attitude of other scholars is not so decided as that of Ostrogorsky and Shangin. See D. Meichik, Russko vizantiiskie dogovory, *ZMNP*, 1915, pp. 361—2; Yu. Brutskus, Varyagi i kolbyagi, *SK* VII, 1935, p. 87; M. Levchenko, *Istoriya Vizantii*, 1940, p. 160 (French transl. by P. Mabille, 1949); R. Lopez, Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire, *Sp* XX, 1945, p. 34; R. Jenkins, The Supposed Russian Attack on Constantinople in 907: Evidence of the Pseudo-Symeon, *Sp* XXIV, 1949, pp. 403—6.

[4] Here is a list of works, the authors of which call in question Oleg's expedition against Constantinople in 907, or else the reality of the treaty of the same year: G. Barats, *Kritiko-sravnitelnyi analiz dogovorov Rusi s Vizantiei*, 1910, p. 32 seq.; G. Laehr, *Die Anfänge des russischen Reiches*, 1930, pp. 95—9; H. Grégoire, La légende d'Oleg et l'expédition d'Igor, *BCL* XXIII, 1937, pp. 80—94; *idem*, in *B* XIV, 1939, pp. 379—80; S. Bakhrushin, Nekotorye voprosy istorii Kievskoi Rusi, *IM*, 1937 (3), p. 172; D. Dolley, Oleg's Mythical Campaign against Constantinople, *BCL* XXXV, 1949, pp. 106—30; D. Likhachev, *Povest* II, 1950, pp. 266—8; G. Geiman, Pravo i sud, in *Istoriya kultury drevnei Rusi domongolskogo perioda*, by several hands, II, 1951, p. 35, and others.

[5] M. Priselkov, *Istoriya russkogo letopisaniya XI—XV vv.*, 1940, pp. 36—9.

[6] V. Istrin, Zamechaniya o nachale russkogo letopisaniya, *IORYS* XXVI, 1923, pp. 248—51; *idem*, Dogovory russkikh s grekami X v., *ibidem* XXIX, 1925, pp. 391—2.

[7] This opinion is shared by A. Pogodin, *S* XIII, 1934—5, pp. 490—1, in his review of *Die Varägersage als Quelle der altrussischen Chronik*, by A. Stender-Petersen; M. Priselkov, *op. cit.*, pp. 36—7; I. Mayakovsky, *Ocherki po istorii arkhivnogo dela v SSSR* I, 1941, p. 36—56; B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus*, 1944, p. 175; D. Likhachev, *Russkie letopisi i ikh kulturno-istoricheskoe znachenie*, 1947, p. 162.

serious doubt.[1] All the four agreements mentioned by "Nestor" were embodied in documents issued by the rulers of Rus, and not, as might have been reasonably expected, by the Greek party. Thus, we should have to conclude that Oleg, Igor, and Svyatoslav most carefully preserved the texts of their own obligations towards Byzantium, but not the documents setting out the obligations binding on the Greeks. No commentaries, such as those of Likhachev, seeking to invalidate this argument,[2] are capable of changing the nature of the case.

But we are asked to believe in further incongruities. As the texts of the treaties in question are supposed to have been lost in Constantinople, it would follow that the archives of Kiev were better organized than those of the Empire, and yet we know that the public institutions of the two parties do not even admit of comparison. Furthermore, the question arises why other records were not preserved in Kiev, but only just these few compacts with the Greeks?[3] In another work, the same Likhachev explains that the diplomacy of Rus was carried on chiefly by word of mouth, and that, as we know from later times, the Rurikides were not in the habit of recording their negotiations.[4]

In my opinion, those scholars were nearest to the truth who asserted that the texts of the Greco-Russian treaties were brought to Kiev in the 11th century.[5] It is scarcely admissible that at that time they were still binding on the Kievan State; it therefore would appear that the Greeks

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[1] S. Yushkov, *Obshchestvenno politicheskii stroi*, p. 83, doubts the existence of Kievan archives. L. Cherepnin, Proiskhozhdenie sobraniya dogovornych gramot Novgoroda z knyazyami XIII—XV vv., *IZ* XIX, 1946, p. 216, shows that not one original document dating from the 13th or 14th centuries has been preserved in the archives of the Novgorodian State. It is, therefore, hardly possible to suppose that Kievan archives existed as early as the 10th century.

[2] D. Likhachev, *op. cit.*, p. 162, assumes that the following procedure was applied in Constantinople to the issuing of documents: The document was written in Greek in two copies, one in the name of the Emperor, and the other in that of the party concluding the pact with the Empire. After this, the second copy was translated into the language of the country with whose ruler the treaty was to be concluded, and handed over to him. I. Mayakovsky, *op. cit.*, p. 40, states that, in accordance with the practice observed by Byzantium in its negotiations with Persia, Venice, etc., the party concerned received the Empire's obligations drawn up in its own language. Such documents, therefore, should have been, in the first place, preserved at Kiev.

[3] Some scholars think that the treaties concluded by Vladimir the Great with the Volga Bulgars were likewise kept in Kiev; but these are purely arbitrary conjectures, and even the existence of such treaties is more than doubtful.

[4] D. Likhachev, Russkii posolskii obychai XI—XIII vv., *IZ* XVIII, 1946, pp. 42—55.

[5] Cf. F. Uspensky, *Rus i Vizantiya v X v.*, 1888, p. 16. In connection with the problem which arises here, V. Istrin, Dogovory russkikh s Grekami X v., *IORYS* XXIX, 1925, pp. 391—3, makes the following remarks: "It remains a question whence came the Greek originals of the treaties . . . whether the Greeks brought them, or whether they were found in the ducal archives, or in the possession of anybody else. The first possibility should not be rejected . . . There is nothing astonishing in the Rus not having had at that time any copy . . . of the treaties (with the Greeks). The princes of Rus attached no importance to written contracts. Only the Greeks attached importance to them . . . Scholars pertinently point out that only the Greeks were interested in the agreements (with the Rus), while the Rus barbarians were not in any way concerned about them. Whenever they desired to pillage the country of a wealthy neighbour, they immediately gratified their desire, in disregard of any prior compacts . . . It may not be by pure accident that only the treaties containing the obligations of Rus in relation to the Greeks have come down to us . . . Evidently, the Greeks only were interested in such agreements . . ." Cf. N. Baynes—H. Moss, *Byzantium*, 1948, pp. 370—1.

accomplished the transfer for other ends, in the first place in order to provide sources for the earliest history of Rus.

One thing is certain, and on this all scholars are agreed: that the treaties were originally written in Greek. Obnorsky thinks that the translations from the Greek could not have been made at a late date. They would be roughly contemporary with the actual conclusion of these diplomatic contracts. The scholar just quoted discovered that there were important differences in the language of the treaties of 911 and 944. The translation of the former is on the whole awkward, following the Greek original very closely, and marked by all sorts of Hellenic idioms. That of the latter is more skilful, it is easier to understand, and less disfigured by Grecisms and faults of "Russian" syntax. The language of the first treaty is saturated with Bulgarian idioms, although it also contains vestiges of "Russian" modes of expression. The treaty of 944 contains a mixture of Bulgarian and "Russian" elements, but the "Russian" predominates.[1]

It is not necessary to examine Obnorsky's linguistic observations in order to state that the conclusions which he formulates at the end of his work do not necessarily follow from his arguments. I will not emphasize his erroneous use of the term "Russian language." The speech of the Slavs at that period cannot be so designated. If we were to follow Obnorsky's judgement, and assume that in each case the original and the translation were produced simultaneously, we should have to conclude that in a relatively short span of time—about 30 years (911—944)—significant changes in Old-Slavonic had taken place. It would be more convincing to assume that the translations of the two treaties were made by different scribes, coming perhaps from two different countries, with an unequal command of Slavonic writing, and endowed with different degree of literary talent.

As we cannot accurately establish the differences in Old-Slavonic occurring between the 10th and 11th centuries, it is not possible, on the strength of linguistic criteria, to decide when the treaties in question were translated from Greek into Slavonic.[2]

Of considerable importance to the problem under discussion is the form in which these treaties have been preserved in the *Povest*. Already Shakhmatov has remarked that in the texts of the treaties, as we know them, there are elucidatory additions concerning procedural details observed at the time of the conclusion of the agreements, or circumstances existing at the date of their ratification. This scholar decided that the additions came from the author of the *Povest* himself.[3]

Other students, too, noted that the treaties under consideration had not been handed down verbatim and in full, but in a distorted form. The

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[1] S. Obnorsky, Yazyk dogovorov russkikh s grekami, in *Yazyk i myshlenie* VI—VII, 1936, pp 102—3. Obnorsky's opinions are shared by several students. See B. Grekov, Itogi izucheniya istorii SSSR za dvadtsat let (1917—37), *IAN*, 1937, p. 1107; D. Likhachev, Istoricheskie predposylki vozniknoveniya russkoi pismennosti i russkoi literatury, *Vol*, 1951, p. 32, etc.

[2] For example, V. Istrin, *op. cit.*, pp. 383—93, considers that the translations were made in the 11th century.

[3] A. Shakhmatov, "Povest Vremennykh Let" i ee istochniki, *TODRL* IV, 1940, pp. 112, 118. A similar opinion is expressed by B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus*, 1944, p. 175.

chronicler left out certain passages, abridged others, etc.[1] The title of the Great Prince of Rus as applying to Oleg[2] and Igor must arouse doubts,[3] just as much as the term of *boyars* which figures in the treaties.[4]

The lack of East-Slavonic sources, with which the treaties preserved in the *Povest* could be compared, prompts us to pay more attention to the Byzantine sources. Mikucki proves that the text of the treaty of 911 could not issue from the pen of a Byzantine scribe for it conflicts with contemporary views on the position of the Emperor and his authority. Furthermore, in the formula of *datum* there appears, beside the month, the indiction, and the *annus mundi*, the day of the month. This chronological item is absolutely alien to Byzantine diplomacy, whether imperial or private. All these and other details, which are not met with in imperial documents, lead Mikucki to the supposition that the document of the treaty of 911 did not arise in the imperial chancery, although the original was written in Greek.

The said author makes an equally interesting observation in connection with the agreement of 944. The formulary of the document of this treaty is composed of two clearly distinct parts. The first comprises the introductory and concluding formulas, the second contains the middle part, the so-called disposition, the formula of documentation, and the announcement of the solemn confirmation of the treaty by the Prince of Rus and his people. The first part is drafted by the embassy of Rus, the second by the Byzantine Emperor. In the middle part, the confusion of the pronouns "ours" and "yours" can be clearly noticed. This leads us to suppose that the document of the treaty arose from the combination of two separate parts. The middle part originates in an imperial document, to which the introductory and concluding formulas were added, specifying the Rus as the draftmen. The combination was accomplished in a mechanical and casual manner.[5]

Our examination would seem to show that the *dogovory* have not been preserved in their original form. The texts handed down by "Nestor"

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[1] See M. Dyakonov, *Ocherki obshchestvennogo i gosudarstvennogo stroya drevnei Rusi*, 2nd ed., 1908, p. 19; V. Parkhomenko, *Nachalo khristianstva Rusi*, 1913, p. 84; S. Obnorsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 100—1, and others.

[2] As to Oleg, yet another serious difficulty occurs. The *Nachalnyi Svod* says that Oleg was a dignitary at the court of Prince Igor, where he performed certain functions in his name and by his orders. "Nestor" regards Oleg as the tutor of Igor during his minority. However, in the treaty of 911, Oleg figures independently as the supreme ruler of Rus. Igor is not even mentioned in the treaty, although he was at the time of an age rendering him capable of carrying on the government in his own right.

[3] We should expect Oleg and Igor to figure in the documents as the kagans of Rus. This form of address still existed in the days of Vladimir and Yaroslav. G. Barats, *Kritiko-sravnitelnyi analiz dogovorov Rusi s Vizantiei*, 1910, pp. 65—6, observes that the title of Great Prince did not come from Byzantium. On the use of this title in the Russian chronicles, which was relatively rare and fairly late, see L. Goetz, Der Titel "Grossfürst" in den ältesten russischen Chroniken, *ZOG* I, 1911, pp. 26—30; cf. G. Ostrogorsky, Die byzantinische Staatenhierarchie, *SK* VIII, 1936, pp. 47—9; D. Likhachev, *Povest* II, 1950, pp 274—5.

[4] L. Goetz, *op. cit.*, p. 26; S. Bakhrushin, K voprosu o kreshchenii Kievskoi Rusi, *IM*, 1937 (2), p. 54.

[5] S. Mikucki, Studia nad najstarszą dyplomatyką ruską, *SPAU* XLVIII (3), 1947, pp. 76—8; *idem*, Studia nad najdawniejszą dyplomatyką ruską, *PS* III, 1952, pp. 106—46; *idem*, Études sur la diplomatique russe la plus ancienne, *EBAP*, 1953, pp. 1—40.

are actually only excerpts of the agreements. It would be outside the scope of this work to examine and appraise all details contained in the treaties. However, there is one problem which we cannot pass over, as it is closely connected with the question of Kiev's position as a capital city.

How, in the light of the *dogovory*, does Rus. emerge in the territorial sense; how far does it extend, what does it include?

In the treaty of 911, Rus figures without any territorial indication.[1] In the document of 944—945, Rus includes Kiev, Chernihov, and Pereyaslavl.[2] Shakhmatov, following up these indications, concludes that Rus at the time was composed of the three districts just mentioned.[3] A number of considerations, however, prevents the acceptance of such a conclusion.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who writes a few years after Igor's death, places the Severians in the same category with other Slavonic tribes paying tribute to the Rus, and thus contrasts them with Rus itself. This author regards Novgorod and not Kiev as the seat of the prince of the Rus. Furthermore, it is impossible to accept the existence of Pereyaslavl in the days of Igor, for the good reason that "Nestor" speaks of its foundation by Vladimir the Great, in 992,[4] as a fact connected with that Prince's enterprise of erecting a number of strongholds in the near and remoter neighbourhood of Kiev. The Emperor Constantine enumerates several of the most important cities near the Dnieper, and Pereyaslavl is not among them. The very name of this city, as has been rightly pointed out by Vaillant, is derived from that of the Bulgarian town of Pereyaslavets, and is a reflection and mark of the connections between Rus and Bulgaria which existed in the reign of Svyatoslav, and consequently, in the days which followed Igor's reign.[5]

Now, if we direct our attention to the envoys who figure in the treaties with the Greeks, we can see that they are not men of the South, but exclusively of the North. Solevev was right in remarking that among their names there is not one that sounds purely Slavonic;[6] the overwhelming majority is Scandinavian. Krokhin and Zutis show that certain of the

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[1] In a commentary on the fictitious treaty of 907, the following are mentioned as Russian towns: Kiev, Chernihov, Pereyaslavl, Polotsk, Rostov, Lyubech, "and the other towns" (Cross, p. 150). Such a geographical and political conception of Rus did not exist in the days of "Nestor." It is, therefore, an unmistakable interpolation of later copyists. S. Yushkov, *Obshchestvenno politicheski stroi i pravo Kievskogo gosudarstva*, 1949, p. 81, says on this subject: "Even if we reject the idea of a falsification . . . of these treaties, it is difficult to maintain the opinion that the texts have come down to us without any modification. Undoubtedly, in 300—400 years, their contents could undergo greater or smaller alterations at the hands of copying chroniclers."

[2] Cross, p. 161.

[3] A. Shakhmatov, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

[4] Cross, p. 208. It is true that the relation concerning the founding of Pereyaslavl bears certain legendary elements, nevertheless, the fact that this town has been founded by Vladimir the Great does not seem to be subject to doubt.

[5] A. Vaillant, La ville de Perejaslavl, *Onomastica* II (2), 1948—9, pp. 111—2.

[6] A. Solovev, Zametki o dogovorakh Rusi s Grekami. Varyazhskii element v dogovorakh Olega i Igora, *S* XV, 1938, pp. 410—1. *Idem*, Tri zametki o nachale russkogo gosudarstva, *S* XI, 1932, pp. 118—25.

envoys may have belonged to the Finnish tribe of the Chud, which was subject to the Varangians.[1] There is also one Yatvingian.

In the document of the Novgorodian prince Svyatoslav, son of Oleg, of 1137, we find the list of ducal estates situated in the territory of Novgorod, the majority of which go by the names of their former owners. Some of these estates bear the names of envoys figuring on the *dogovory* under discussion.[2] This proves, unambiguously, that Rus, when concluding the treaties with the Empire, had its centre at Novgorod.[3]

The above considerations justify the conclusion that, in the agreements with the Greeks, only Rus figured, without any mention of a particular Rus city. But " Nestor " transfers the territorial conception of Rus, as it exists in his time, to the first half of the 10th century, and in so doing leaves out Novgorod, because in his day it did not form a part of Rus as it was then conceived.

In view of the lack of sources, or of their extremely laconic character, the chronicler fills the existing gaps with conjectures of his own making. Just as he tried to trace the beginnings of the reigning dynasty back to the remotest past, so he endeavoured to link up Kiev with the name of Rus as early as possible. In a word, our examination of the treaties with the Greeks reveals the same tendencies which we have already observed in " Nestor " on former occasions.

The fact that Kiev only became the capital of Rus in the middle of the 10th century has considerable importance for the entire picture of Varangian expansion in eastern Europe. And as we now proceed to establish the balance of or analysis of the sources in Chapters V—VII, we have to fix the chronological outline of the Norse period, its beginnings, its various phases, and finally, its end.

However, before discussing this problem, let us consider a question of a more general nature. The activities of the Varangians on Lake Ilmen, on the Dvina, the Volga, and the Dnieper were an important part of the process of grand expansion, which, during the period under review, characterized the Norsemen. This expansion reached, on the one hand, as far as America and Iceland, and, on the other, as far as the region of the Caspian Sea, embracing, in the North, Greenland and, in the South, the

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[1] V. Krokhin, *Nachalo russkogo gosudarstva v svete novykh dannykh*, 1930, pp. 57—8; Ya. Zutis, Russko estonskie otnosheniya v IX—XIV vv., *IM*, 1940, pp. 40—7.

[2] V. Vladimirsky—Budanov, *Khristomatiya po istorii russkogo prava* I, 4th ed., 1889, pp. 239—40. See B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus*, 1944, pp. 79—81, 183; *idem*, *Krestyane na Rusi s drevneishikh vremen do XVII veka*, 1946, pp. 99—103.

[3] A further detail is in keeping with these facts : at Gnezdovo, in the territory of the Krivichians, where in the old days there was an important Varangian centre, a gold solidus of the Byzantine Emperor Alexander has been found. See M. Tikhanova, Zolotaya vizantiiskaya podveska — moneta iz zhenskogo pogrebeniya v Gnezdove, *KSDPI* XI, 1945, pp. 28—30. That Emperor reigned independently for a very short time (912—13), and coins with his legend are rarities. A twofold observation should be made here : firstly, this discovery confirms the existence of trade connections between the Rus and the Empire a short time after the conclusion of the treaty of 911 ; and secondly, these connections extended to the North, and were by no means limited to the region of Kiev.

Mediterranean and the Black Sea.[1] The problem of Rus should be considered within the general Norse history.[2] Unfortunately, many scholars dealing with the remote past of the Rus do not make sufficient allowances in this respect.

During the closing years of the 8th century begin the robber expeditions of the Norsemen against England, Scotland, Iceland, in the early 9th century against the realm of the Franks and other lands. In the course of time the invasions became more frequent, more powerful and better organized.[3] It is not an accident that towards the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century the conquering activities of the Norsemen extended also to the European East. It was at that time that the name " Rus " first appeared. The year 839, recorded in the *Annales Bertiniani*, is in fact the first definite date, and thereby serves as a point of departure in the problem under discussion.[4] The last named source mentioned that the Rus were Swedes, which also accords with the generally known fact that expansion in the western direction was undertaken mainly by the Norvegians and the Danes.

The 9th century brings further details concerning the Rus in the European East. Ibn Kurdakhbih, in the middle of that century, relates that Russian merchants arriving in Baghdad were able to communicate with Slavs resident in the city. It would, therefore, appear that they must already have lived for some time among a Slavonic population, and acquired sufficient knowledge of its language.

The Patriarch Photius, who witnessed the greatest deed of the Rus in the times we are considering—i.e., their raid on Constantinople in 860 — says that the invaders undertook this expedition after having subdued other neighbouring nations. He therefore confirms, in a general way, the conquest by the Norsemen, before the middle of the 9th century, of lands in eastern Europe.

The " Bavarian Geographer " (9th cent.) enumerates a series of tribes inhabiting central and eastern Europe. Among them are the *Ruzzi*. Furthermore, " Nestor " repeatedly emphasizes in his work that the expansion of the Norsemen in the East of Europe began before the summoning of Rurik and his brothers.

We cannot describe the first ventures of the Norsemen in the East of Europe in any detail, as the sources contain too little information for that to be possible. Yet there seems no doubt that the reigning dynasty of the

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[1] A general survey of the activities of the Norsemen in the West of Europe may be found in the works of A. Olrik, *Viking Civilization*, 1930; S. Anderson, *Viking Enterprise*, 1936; H. Arbman, *Schweden and das karolingische Reich*, 1937; H. Shetelig, *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland*, especially Part I, *An Introduction to the Viking History of Western Europe*, 1940; U. Noack, *Nordische Frühgeschichte und Wikingerzeit*, 1941, and many others.

[2] T. Kendrick, *A History of the Vikings*, 1931; G. Bie Ravndal, *Stories of the East Vikings*. 1938.

[3] O. Montelius, *Kulturgeschichte Schwedens von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum elften Jahrhundert nach Christus*, 1906, pp. 253—4; A. Maver, The Vikings, in *The Cambridge Mediaeval History* III, 1922, p. 309; H. Shetelig—H. Falk, *Scandinavian Archaeology*, transl. by E. Gordon, 1937, pp. 267—9; C. Dawson, *The Making of Europe*, 1939, pp. 235—41.

[4] V. Parkhomenko, Pervaya izvestnaya tochnaya data sushchestvovaniya gosudarstva Rusi, *IM*, 1938 (6), pp. 191—2.

so-called Rurikides played a great part in establishing Varangian overlordship in the lands in which we are interested. This dynasty was to become such an important factor in the political history of these lands that we may regard its appearance as a new chapter in the achievements of the bold new-comers from the North. Now, the *Nachalnyi Svod* and the *Povest* place the beginnings of the dynasty in the latter half of the 9th century, and although it is impossible to verify the dates given by them, we think that this important event might well have taken place at that time. It should be remembered that in the West of Europe the Norse expansion also passed through a number of phases.

When, on the other hand, did the Norse period end in eastern Europe ?

Yushkov supposes that when Igor organized expeditions by sea against Byzantium, " the Norse elements in the State of Kiev had already almost disappeared."[1] Yakubovsky is of a similar opinion : " Whatever, whether Slavonic or Varangian, was the descent of the Rus, who appear in Arab sources, at all events, in the first half of the 10th century, they became Slavs in no way different from the other East-Slavonic tribes which formed part of the Kievan State."[2] Lyashchenko and Likhachev assume also that in the 10th century the Norsemen were absorbed by Slavdom.[3]

Such opinions, frequently to be met with in works dealing with the subject, are entirely false. It would be enough to remember the narrative of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, dating from the middle of the 10th century, and describing the relations that existed between the Rus and the Slavs. At that time there still existed, between the conquered and the conquerors, a clear conflict of interests. The most primitive forms of intercourse between these two ethnical elements—brutal force and exploitation of the one by the other—are glaringly visible in the pages of this outstanding writer. The companions of Vladimir the Great and of his sons are not Slavs. Vladimir selects the best among the Varangians and establishes them in the cities of the Dnieper region in order to control the Slavs. Nothing is more characteristic than Yaroslav's attitude at the moment of the Novgorod rising against the Varangians, and his decided partiality for the latter. Only thanks to Varangian auxiliaries could Vladimir and Yaroslav maintain their position in Kiev. The Varangians are continually appealed to by the princes of the house of Rurik. These princes were frequently married to Norse women. Only in view of the intimate relations existing between the Norsemen established in eastern Europe and Scandinavia, could this latter region, according to contemporary opinion, i.e., as late as the second half of the 10th century, be included in the appellation of Rus. It should be remembered that it is in this sense that a two-fold Rus—the Scandinavian and the east European—occurs in Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub, and in other sources.

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[1] S. Yushkov, *Obshchestvenno politicheskii stroi*, p. 53.
[2] A. Yakubovsky, O russko khazarskich i russko kavkazskikh otnosheniyakh v IX—X vv., *IAN* III (5), 1946, p. 463.
[3] P. Lyashchenko *Istoriya narodnogo khozyaistva SSSR* I, 1947, p. 96; D. Likhachev, *Povest* II, p. 269.

The *Povest* indicates very clearly that the Norsemen came to the East not only because they were summoned, not only because they were needed, but also on their own initiative. A contemporary of Vladimir the Great, Rogvolod, arrived from beyond the sea, and was successful in subduing Polotsk.[1] The information that Novgorod, from the late 9th century up to 1054, continued to pay the Varangians a regular tribute " for the preservation of peace "[2] is all the more remarkable, as it comes from a man who lived in the second half of the 11th century, and proves that the Norse drive towards the East continued in any case until the death of Yaroslav the Wise.

The age of Yaroslav was especially remarkable for the active and lively intercourse which then existed between Rus and Scandinavia. This fact is stated by many scholars.[3] To the arguments advanced by them I should like to add an observation concerning the work of Hilarion "Discourse on Law and Grace (*Slovo o zakone i blagodati*)",[4] written in the years 1037—50.[5]

Hilarion was Metropolitan of Kiev for a very short time (1051—54);[6] he owned this high dignity to the support of Yaroslav the Wise. He was elected by the Bishops of Rus against the will of the Patriarch of Constantinople. From the political point of view, the incident was unusual because the Metropolitan see of Kiev was thus filled by a non-Greek. All the more curious is Hilarion's attitude towards Byzantium. In his treatise, the author, with great determination, defends the sanctity of Vladimir the Great. This defence is the guiding idea and the chief motive of this work. Because the Greeks refused to agree to the canonization of Yaroslav's father, which, in fact, was only accomplished in the 13th century,[7] Hilarion argues in

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[1] " Nestor " writes under A.D. 980: " Now Rogvolod had come from overseas and exercised the authority in Polotsk . . . " Cross, p. 178. The name of that prince, and that of his daughter Rogned, are undoubtedly of Scandinavian origin. See E. Rydzevskaya, Yaroslav Mudryi v drevne severnoi literature, *KSDPI* VIII, 1940, p. 67. The later princes of Polotsk did not pass from one principality to another by seniority within the dynasty, as did the Rurikides. On the banks of the Dvina there existed a special tradition, distinct from that of the other Rus principalities. V. Lebedev—V. Panov, *Drevnerusskie letopisi*, 1936, commentary 169, are right when they state: " Norse (Varangian) conquests of . . . Slavonic lands were still continuing at the close of the 10th century."

[2] " He (Oleg) commanded that Novgorod should pay the Varangians tribute to the amount of 300 *grivni* a year for the preservation of peace. This tribute was paid to the Varangians until the death of Yaroslav." Cross, pp. 146—7.

[3] F. Braun, *Das historische Russland*, p. 156; S. Cross, Yaroslav the Wise in Norse Tradition, *Sp* IV, 1929, pp. 177—97; E. Rydzevskaya, *Yaroslav Mudryi v drevne-severnoi literature*, pp. 66—72. Trotsky suggests that the links binding Yaroslav to the North, and to Novgorod in the first place, were so strong that we cannot be certain, whether he was more strongly attracted by Kiev. See I. Trotsky, Vozniknovenie Novgorodskoi respubliki, *IAN*, 1932, p. 284.

[4] A. Ponomarev, *Pamyatniki drevne-russkoi tserkovno uchitelnoi literatury* I, 1894, pp. 59—76; N. Gudzy, *Khrestomatiya po drevnei russkoi literature XI—XVII vekov*, 1947, pp. 57—60.

[5] Some students have tried to establish this date with greater exactness. N. Priselkov, Borba dvukh mirovozzrenii, *RZ* I, 1923, p. 39, attributes this work, or at least its outline, to the years 1039—43; D. Likhachev, *Natsionalnoe samosoznanie drevnei Rusi*, 1945, p. 27, to about 1043, the date of the Russian expedition against the Greeks.

[6] M. Priselkov, Mitropolit Ilarion—v skhime Nikon—kak borets za nazavisimuyu russkuyu tserkov, *Sbornik statei, posvyashchennykh S. Platonovu*, 1911, pp. 188–201, advanced the doubtful conjecture that Hilarion, deprived of his dignity as Metropolitan, entered a monastery and took the name of Nikon.

[7] G. Fedotov, Kanonizatsiya svyatogo Vladimira, in *Vladimirskii Sbornik*, 1938, pp. 189—95.

favour of it with deep conviction of the justice of the cause, with uncommon rhetorical talent and with abundant knowledge. Sokolov rightly points out the purely polemical character of the work.[1]

The absence of miracles at the deceased Prince's tomb, an argument put forward by the Greeks against canonization, was only their pretext for rejecting the request, and the Patriarch's refusal was due to political reasons, so that it is not surprising that a political note is struck in Hilarion's answer.

The Discourse on Law and Grace contains some utterances not very favourable to Constantinople, and opposes the idea of Byzantine supremacy and its claim to exclusive domination over the world.[2] The circumstances under which Hilarion was raised to the Metropolitan see, and the way in which this was accomplished, show that he was not disposed to leave the appointment to this high dignity entirely in the hands of the Patriarch.

Yet it would be an error to exaggerate the anti-Greek attitude of the author. It has been rightly remarked that Hilarion's aim was to demonstrate a certain degree of independence of Rus in respect of Constantinople, but not to emphasize a rupture with the Greek Church.[3] Priselkov stresses Hilarion's desire for compromise. The writer selected only those features in Vladimir's life and work which could bring him closer to Byzantium.[4] Reared on Greek authors, imbued with their ideas and their culture,[5] Hilarion bows his head to Constantinople and calls it the " new Jerusalem ". His highest ambition is that Vladimir should be compared with Constantine the Great; that they should be considered as equal in services rendered in the spread of Christ's teaching ;[6] that it should be recognized that not only the Empire but Rus also had its mission and destiny pre-ordained by God, to be fulfilled in the world.[7]

There is no doubt that Hilarion, well aware of his ethnical distinctness from the Greeks, and ready to defend the rights and interests of the Rurikides stresses the power and the strength of Rus with considerable pride. When eulogizing Vladimir the Great, he states that this Prince "ruled not over a small and unknown country, but over the land of Rus which is known and heard all over the earth." The author, who is sometimes inclined to over-emphasize and exaggerate certain facts, in this case has every reason to assert that in his day Rus was passing through a brilliant period of its history. Foreign writers, such as St. Bruno, Thietmar, Adam of Bremen, "Gallus", etc., all speak of Kiev's magnificence and wealth.

Historians have written a great deal on the subject of Hilarion's "Rus-

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[1] B. Sokolov, Po povodu " Slova o zakone i blagodati Ilariona ", *IORYS* XXII, 1918, p. 315.
[2] D. Likhachev, *Natsionalnoe samosoznanie drevnei Rusi*, 1945, p. 25.
[3] W. Philipp, Ansätze zum geschichtlichen und politischen Denken im Kiever Russland, *JGO* III, 1940, pp. 7—17.
[4] M. Priselkov, Borba dvukh mirovozzrenii, *RZ* I, 1923, p. 41.
[5] F. Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*, 1949, pp. 236—7.
[6] In the work in question we read : "(When Vladimir baptized the population subject to him) there was not a single person to oppose the pious command . . . , and simultaneously our whole land glorified Christ together with the Father and the Holy Ghost." But other sources record how slowly and under what difficulties Christianity spread in the East of Europe, and this version is undoubtedly nearer to the truth.
[7] A. Solovev, Svyataya Rus, *SRAO* I, 1927, p. 79.

sian patriotism," but a discussion developed as to the interpretation of the term "Russian". One group of scholars, such as Istrin, M. Shakhmatov, Priselkov, and others, declare for the thesis that the term applies to present day Russia; others, such as M. Hrushevsky, Doroshenko, Zaikin, etc., assert that it refers to the "Ukraine" only. The value of all these writers' works consists in their negative observations: i.e., in their having demonstrated the groundlessness of their opponents' arguments. But all these authors are at one in their conviction that Hilarion was a Slav.

Is it possible to make such an assumption *a priori*?

Let us compare these two writers, Hilarion and "Nestor". They both lived in the same 11th century, though "Nestor" was scores of years the younger of the two, and both declared their attachment to Rus. Now, the chroniclers stress on every possible occasion that the Metropolitans of Kiev were Greeks. When speaking of Hilarion, they say that he was a Rus (*Rusin*), and apply the same appellation when speaking of Metropolitan Kliment, who came from the land of Smolensk (*Smolyatich*) and was also, in 1147, raised to the Metropolitan see against the wish of the Patriarch of Constantinople.

At the time referred to, Smolensk, as well as Novgorod, Polotsk, Suzdal, Ryazan, Halicz, etc., did not belong to Rus in the ethnical sense but, following the faith of Rus, they formed part of it in so far as Rus stood for a creed. Thus, the term of *Rusin*, applied to Hilarion, might equally well signify that he was a follower of this creed.

The Discourse on Law and Grace very largely settles this question. Describing the gradual development of Christianity in the world, the author says: "Faith of grace spread over the earth and finally reached our Russian *yazyk*."[1] This last term has been dealt with in Chapter I of the present work. After 988, the *yazyk* of Rus signifies Eastern Christianity with its centre at Kiev. But in the present case, in which pre-Christian times are concerned, *yazyk* in the sense of a creed cannot be admitted. There only remains the second, ethnical significance of the word *yazyk*, namely: a people, a nation. In his work, Hilarion uses the word in this sense several times.

What Rus people does the author allude to? In the text just quoted, one should not overlook the pronoun "our." By using it, Hilarion emphasizes the fact that he himself belongs to this people.

If we consider that, in the period under discussion, Kiev, Chernihov, Pereyaslavl became Rus only in a political and geographical meaning, and that Slavonic tribal names were in use as late as the 12th century ("Nestor" speaks of the Polyanians as a people existing in his time[2]), it would appear unlikely that Hilarion, if he were indeed a Slav, should have described himself as belonging to the Rus and not as a Polyanian or Severian, especially as the term "Rus" meant something alien to the Slavs. A long series of mutually independent sources testifies that in the 10th century "the Rus

[1] A. Ponomarev, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
[2] Cross, p. 139.

people," as an ethnical designation, signified only the Varangians. Hilarion who lives and writes during the time of the fullest flowering of the Norse period could only be a Norseman.

We know from "Nestor" that after his seizure of Kiev, Vladimir, in order to maintain himself in power, established selected Varangians in the different cities.[1] Hilarion might well be the son of one of these dignitaries. It is significant that he enjoyed the support of Yaroslav the Wise who, all his life, maintained his close connections with the Varangians. While the author of the *Povest*, who is assuredly a Slav, mentions the rite of S. S. Cyril and Methodius as extending to many countries and existing also among the Polyanians on the Dnieper, and while he states that the faith of Rus is the continuation of these older traditions of Christianity, it is impossible to discover, in the work of Hilarion, Slavonic reminiscences of any kind. Contrary to the historical truth, he attributes all the merit in the conversion of eastern Europe to Vladimir exclusively.[2] This bias helps to justify our conclusions concerning the origin of the writer himself.

Philipp pertinently emphasizes the point that in Hilarion's opinion there is a twofold foundation of the glory and greatness of Rus: the warlike deeds of the Rurikides, and the spread of Christianity.[3] It is noteworthy, therefore, that the author of the Discourse idealizes Vladimir's father and grandfather, "old" Igor and "famous" Svyatoslav,[4] although these were pagans, while completely passing over Olga, Vladimir's grandmother, a Christian, so enthusiastically glorified by "Nestor."

When contesting the Byzantine supremacy over Rus, Hilarion says that a new faith demands new tongues, just as new wine requires new skins.[5] This defence of languages not rooted in a long tradition may be supposed to relate to the liturgical language of the Church of Rus. However, the defence of the right to use the Slavonic tongue does not in itself prove that Hilarion was a Slav. The Discourse was produced in Slavonic. This fact indicates only that the Varangians in eastern Europe wrote in Slavonic. For technical and practical reasons the Slav script was much superior to the Scandinavian runes.[6]

The runic inscriptions, during the period under discussion, are being found among Norsemen, engraved mainly on tombstones.[7] Arne assumes that the lack of appropriate stone material in the East of Europe caused the

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[1] "980. Vladimir . . . selected from their (Varangians) number the good, the wise, and the brave men, to whom he assigned cities . . ." Cross, p. 180.

[2] At the same time he represents Vladimir as a man without a flaw in everyday life. "Nestor" was much nearer to the truth, as he perceived the prince's frailty, e.g., his dissoluteness. This feature finds confirmation in the Chronicle of Thietmar.

[3] W. Philipp, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

[4] A. Ponomarev, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

[5] R. Jacobson, The Beginnings of National Self-Determination in Europe, *RP* VII, 1945, p. 39.

[6] On runic scripts there are the works of L. Wimmer, S. Bugge, O. Friesen, S. Agrell, H. Pedersen, C. Marstrander, and others.

[7] They usually indicate the name of the deceased or fallen, the place and circumstances of his death, his descent, his military prowess, etc. See S. Müller, *Nordische Altertumskunde* II, 1898, p. 264; L. Koczy, Źródła staronordyjskie do dziejów Słowian, *SO* XI, 1932, pp. 69—71; H. Shetelig—H. Falk, *Scandinavian Archaeology*, 1937, pp. 287—8, and others.

Norsemen to use the runic script but rarely.[1] Slavonic was widely used as a written language in Great Novgorod, as proved by the recent archaeological discoveries dating from the 11th to 14th century.[2] Novgorod, closely connected with Scandinavia, was an important trading centre, and the development of commerce necessitated the use of writing.

On one of the vessels found in 1949 at Gnezdovo, near Smolensk, a great Norse centre, an inscription was preserved in Slavonic: *goroukhshcha* or *gorushna* i.e., mustard seeds.[3] It was really pepper, which was a precious spice in the Middle Ages. The complex of burial mounds in which the vessel was found dates from the 10th century.[4] It may be assumed, therefore, that the Norsemen used Slavonic writing before the time of Hilarion.

There is nothing uncommon in this fact. Other non-Slav peoples settled in the East of Europe acted similarly in the subsequent period; e.g. the Lithuanians,[5] the Moldavians and Wallachians (contemporary Rumanians),[6] the Finnish tribes—Merya, Ves, etc. It should be remembered that after their conversion the Norsemen on the Scandinavian Peninsula soon adopted the Latin language,[7] while the runic writing was preserved for special purposes only.

Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub (966) records that owing to their close relations with the Eastern Slavs, the Norsemen knew their language.[8] This information should be interpreted that they used Slavonic in speech and in writing. It is interesting to note that "Nestor", who repeatedly emphasized the Norse descent of the Rus, not once mentioned their native language, although he had a great deal to say about the speech of the Slavs. The adoption of the Slavonic script by the Norsemen did not necessarily mean that they abandoned the runes altogether. Apart from the records of Oriental writers, who seem to support this observation,[9] there is also more

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[1] T. Arne, La Suède et l'Orient, *AEO* VIII, 1914, pp. 61—2. Braun, Maver, etc. share this opinion.

[2] A. Artsikhovsky, Arkheologicheskie otkrytiya v Novgorode, *VAN*, 1951 (12), pp. 60—9; A. Borkovsky, Dragotsennye pamyatniki drevnerusskoi pismennosti, *PY* III, 1952, pp. 131—6; F. Kuzmin, Novgorodskaya berestyanaya gramota N 9., *ibidem* III, 1952, pp. 137—40.

[3] D. Avdusin—M. Tikhomirov, Drevneishaya russkaya nadpis, *VAN*, 1950 (4), pp. 71—9; P. Chernykh, Dve zametki po istorii russkogo yazyka. K voprosu o gnezdovskoi nadpisi, *IANOLY* IX (5), pp. 398—501; F. Mares, Dva objevy starých slovanských nápisu, *S* XX (4), 1951, pp. 497—511.

[4] P. Chernykh, *op. cit.*, makes the point that the barrow in which the vessel was found belongs to the period between 907—8 and the end of the 10th century.

[5] Apart from texts in other languages, in which may be found Lithuanian words, especially proper and geographical place-names, the earliest monument of the Lithuanian language, and at the same time the first book printed in Lithuanian, is the Catechism of Martynas Mazvydas, published in 1547.

[6] The Rumanians first used their own language in writing as late as the 17th century. See P. Panaitescu, Die Anfänge des Schrifttums in rumänischer Sprache, *SF* XI, 1946—52, pp. 3—33; M. Małecki, Najstarszy literacki język Słowian, *BSSUJ*, 1947, pp. 8, 9; V. Shishmarev, Romanskie yazyki Yugo-Vostochnoi Evropy i natsionalnyi yazyk Moldavskoi SSR, *VY* I, 1952, p. 96.

[7] K. Weinhold—G. Siefert, *Altnordisches Leben*, 1938, pp. 278—84.

[8] T. Kowalski, Relatio Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub de itinere Slavico, quae traditur apud Al-Bekri, *MPHNS* I, 1946, p. 52.

[9] In the Arabic sources of the 10th century we find some mentions of the writing of the Rus.

tangible evidence, in the form of a runic inscription engraved in stone and dating from the first half of the 11th century, found on the island of Berezan, near the mouth of the Dnieper, close to the famous route "from the Varangians to the Greeks."[1]

The paucity of archaeological relics with runic inscriptions on the territories of eastern Europe led many scholars to assume that the Varangians played but an insignificant part in early east-European literature.[2] These scholars left out of consideration the fact that runic inscriptions are exceedingly rare in western Europe, conquered by the Norsemen. Thus, for instance, no runic inscriptions of this period have been discovered in Normandy.[3]

Hilarion—in accord with "Nestor" and other sources—clearly shows that half-way through the 11th century the Norse period was still in full flowering. Brim thinks that great changes in this respect began to occur from the middle of the 11th century.[4] Sacke observes in the latter half of that century a weakening of the position of the Norsemen in eastern Europe.[5] In the opinion of Parkhomenko, the Varangian State of Kiev reached its end in the first half of the 12th century.[6] Braun and Koczy also consider that by the middle of the 12th century, the role of the Norsemen in eastern Europe came definitely to an end.[7] As a matter of fact, the 12th century, or to be more precise, its first half, concluded a period which began in the 9th century.

That even in the early 12th century, the conception of Rus had not lost its Norse content follows from the Testament (*Pouchenie*) of Vladimir Monomakh. This work was continued almost to the end of the Prince's life (d. 1126). The author writes about himself: "I, wretched man that I am, named Vasili at my baptism by my pious and glorious grandsire Yaroslav, but commonly known by my Russian name Vladimir (*russkym imenem*

One was handed down by Ibn-Fadhlan, who visiting the Volga Bulgars in the year 921—922, encountered there some itinerant Rus and witnessed the burial of one of them. The companions of the deceased carved his name on a tree; see Yu. Krachkovsky, *Putesbestvie*, p. 83. The character of this inscription, clearly consistent with Norse custom, permits the assumption that, in this case, runic characters were used. The second mention was made by the Arabic librarian Ibn-an-Nadim (about 987). He saw a wooden tablet with Rus lettering carved on it, and attempted, not very succesfully, to describe it; cf. Al. Garkavi, *Skazaniya*, p. 240; T. Lewicki, *Świat słowiański*, p. 368. The writing of the Rus is also mentioned in a Persian source of the beginning of the 13th century, Tarikh-i-Fakhru'd-din Mubarakshad, who no doubt based himself on earlier records. R. Frye, Remarks on some new islamic sources of the Rus, *B* XVIII, 1948, p. 122.

[1] The inscription proclaimed: "Grani erected this monument to the memory of his comrade Karl." See F. Braun, Shvedskaya runicheskaya nadpis naidennaya na ostrove Berezani, *IIAK* XXIII, 1907, pp. 66—75; M. Vasmer, Wikingerspuren in Russland, *SPAW* XXI, 1931, pp. 651—2; M. Boltenko, Starodavnya ruska Berezan, *A* I, 1947, pp. 39—50.

[2] E.g. B. Rybakov, *Remeslo drevnei Rusi*, 1948, p. 115.

[3] H. Shetelig—H. Falk, *Scandinavian Arkhaeology*, 1937, p. 289.

[4] V. Brim, Put iz varyag v greki, *IAN*, 1931 (2), p. 203.

[5] G. Sacke, Varjag und Kolbjag in der "Russkaya Pravda", *ZSP* XVII, 1941, pp. 290—1.

[6] V. Parkhomenko, Krizis Varyazhskoi derzhavy v Kieve, *S* VIII, 1929—30, pp. 769—70.

[7] F. Braun, *Das historische Russland*, p. 156. L. Koczy, Polska i Skandynawia za pierwszych Piastów, *PKH* VIII (3), 1934, p. 232, is of the opinion that the Rus-Scandinavian partnership definitely broke up in 1164, when the Rus for the first time adopted a hostile attitude towards Sweden.

Volodimir) . . . "[1] As the *Pouchenie* considers the name of Vladimir to be "Russian," unchristian, we cannot, when interpreting this text, attribute any of the customary religious significance ot the term "Rus." There only remains the ethnical, Norse meaning of the word. It is generally assumed that Vladimir is the Slavonic form of the Scandinavian *Valdimarr* (*Waldemarus* in Latin[2]).

The second observation concerns the prominent political part played by the Varangian George Shimonovich during the first half of the 12th century, mentioned in the Kiev *Paterikon.*

The long duration of the Norse period itself, covering four centuries (9th—12th), sheds a revealing light on the important part which the Varangians played in the history of eastern Europe. Many historians usually deny the considerable contribution of the Varangians to the development of the Kievan State, and attempt to limit the activities of these new-comers to the northern territories only. In the opinion of these scholars, the Kiev State was an achievement of the Slavs, of the Slavonic Rus. Yushkov rightly points out that if the Rus were Norsemen, it is necessary to recognize their great part in the organization of the first State among the Eastern Slavs. If, on the other hand, the Rus represent a Slavonic element, the role of the Norse Varangians is thereby diminished.[3] A large number of sources, which came into existence quite independently of each other, and which have been analysed in the preceding chapters of this work, offer a clear answer to this question.

Many scholars, while recognizing the Norse content of the term "Rus," maintain that both the Rus and the princely dynasty became during the 10th and 11th centuries completely slavicized.[4] Such deductions are usually made on the basis of an analogy with conditions which obtained in the West of Europe. It would exceed the scope of this work to dwell on the fact that, as far as the West is concerned, it is often too readily being assumed that the Vikings lost their Norse character very rapidly. It is true that they

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[1] Cross, p. 301. At this period, the Rurikides often had two names, one of which was Christian. See N. Tupikov, Slovar drevne-russkikh lichnykh sobstvennykh imen, *ZORSA* VI, 1903, pp. 61—3; D. Likhachev, *Povest* II, 1950, p. 432. It is known that Monomakh had a special devotion to his patron Saint. See A. Vaillant, Une source grecque de Vladimir Monomaque, *BS* X (1), 1949, pp. 11—5.

[2] Vladimir the Great used to be called Waldemarus; e.g., Olaf Tryggvason came to England "reversus a Rusciae partibus ubi nutritus et adiutus a Waldemaro rege fuerat." S. Cross, La tradition islandaise de saint Vladimir, *R ES* XI, 1931, p. 142. Vladimir Monomakh, too, was called Waldemarus; e.g.: "Quos Sueno paterni eorum meriti oblitus, consanguinee pietatis more excepit, puellamque Rutenorum regi Waldemaro . . . nuptum dedit." A. Holder, *Saxonis Grammatici Gesta Danorum*, 1886, p. 370. How strong was the tradition linking the name of Vladimir with its Norse origin appears in the following example: in many sources a son of Algirdas, Grand Duke of Lithuania, always figures as Vladimir; however, in the Lithuano-Livonian treaty of 1367, he appears as Waldemarus (". . . per Woldemarum, filium Olgherdem . . ." *L ECU* II, No. 1041, pp. 772—3). The etymology of the name Vladimir given by Thietmar is certainly wrong, as are other remarks in this field by this chronicler.

[3] S. Yushkov, *IM*, 1939, p. 171, in a review of the work of F. Yastrebov—K. Guglistyi, *Narisi z istorii Ukraini* I, 1937; cf. S. Tompkins, The Varangians in Russian History, in *Mediaeval and Historical Essays in Honour of J. W. Thompson*, 1938, pp. 465—90.

[4] A. Maver, *op. cit.*, p. 328; H. Shetelig—H. Falk, *op. cit.*, p. 270; V. Minorsky, *Hudud al-Alam*, 1937, p. 433, and others.

used an alien language in writing, but this is not a sufficiently convincing argument in favour of such a theory.

On the other hand, certain scholars assert that during the entire Varangian period the Norse Rus used the Swedish tongue in speech.[1] It would be idle to deny Slav influences on the alien new-comers, especially in Kiev. The Slavs were not the only inhabitants of eastern Europe, and that is why the Rus, in their conquests, seized also non-Slavonic territories; especially the region of Volga should be considered, where Norse speech remained in use as late as the 13th century, a fact clearly recorded by the sources. Moreover, it would be wrong to treat the entire Rurikides dynasty uniformly and to assert that all the branches of this prolific stock became slavicized in the same degree.

There are two fundamental questions which require more explicit elucidation. The first is, whether in view of their scant forces the Norsemen could have dominated the limitless expanses of the European East? An attempt to answer this question is made in Part III of this book, dealing with the Lithuanian expansion in the East and comparing it with the earlier activities of the Varangians.

The second question concerns the ethnical character of the people inhabiting the territory watered by the upper Volga, and the activities of the Norsemen and their dynasty in that region. The Rurikides, having sensed the danger of complete slavicization on the Dnieper, proceeded to organize the Suzdal-Vladimir State. This new political creation, of which Moscow finally became the heir, was aimed against Kiev and the supremacy of the Slavs. The problems involved are discussed in Part IV of this work.

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[1] S. Anderson, *Viking Enterprise*, 1936, p. 86; K. Jażdżewski, Atlas to the Prehistory of the Slavs, *APUL* I, 1948, p. 128; R. Smal-Stocki, *Slavs and Teutons, The Oldest Germanic-Slavic Relations*, 1950, p. 106, and others.

PART III

CHAPTER VIII

ANCIENT LITHUANIA

The Origin and Territory of the Lithuanians. The Lithuanian-Slavonic Border. Lithuanian Incursions into Slavonic Lands. The Establishment of Grand-Ducal Rule. Mindaugas and Traidenis. The Gediminas' Dynasty.

Historians studying the origins and the development of the term "Rus" did not carry their researches beyond the 11th and 12th centuries. Such treatment of this subject does not exhaust the enquiry, because the following two centuries, the 13th and the 14th, provide much valuable material for the proper appraisal of earlier events.

The history of eastern Europe is divided into a number of periods, two of which, the so-called general Russian and the Tartar period, are within the scope of the present work. The division is by no means a happy one. The term "Rus", after 988, when applied to anything more extensive than the basin of the middle Dnieper, refers only to religious conditions. And this religious signification of the term does not undergo any change after the incursions of Batu Khan. What is more, the history of eastern Europe, in the 13th and 14th centuries, cannot be limited to the domination of the Tartars alone as the chief problem of the period. Without wishing to minimize its importance, we are bound to remember that at this time Lithuania appears on the stage, and that her significance for the destiny of the Eastern Slavs is by no means smaller, and perhaps even greater, than that of the Khans' rule.

The history of pagan Lithuania is a subject in itself, but at the same time it is part of the general history of Rus, and one of its most important chapters. The comparison of Lithuanian expansion with that of the Norse —two analogous developments which, roughly speaking, embraced at different times the same territories—may lead to a better understanding of the role of the Scandinavians in the European East.

The considerations which follow are intended only to give the general outline of the remote past of Lithuania, up to the 14th century. As most historians attached little importance to Lithuania when dealing with the history of Rus, the relations between the Lithuanians and the Eastern Slavs are discussed here in somewhat greater detail.

The Lithuanians, with the Prussians and the Letts or Latvians, form the so-called Balts. It is generally assumed that originally the Lithuanians lived to the East and South of the territory occupied by them in later

historical times. They are thought to have migrated toward the North, probably under pressure from the Slavs.[1] This hypothesis is based chiefly on linguistic premises. The names of certain rivers to the North of the Pripet seem to be of Lithuanian origin, while the place-names are predominantly Slavonic.[2] However, certain scholars suppose that the Lithuanians arrived by sea and pushed into the interior by way of the rivers.[3] Such a conjecture cannot claim any great probability, as the Balts in later times did not show any great liking for the sea.[4] In the 15th century, Dlugossius speaks of the Roman origin of the Lithuanians, but this idea can be explained only by the influence of humanism, and is of a purely literary character.[5] In a word, we have little certain knowledge about the most distant past of Lithuania.

Lithuania appears in the sources for the first time under the date A.D. 1009, when the *Annales Quedlinburgenses* speak of the death of St. Bruno,[6] but during the 11th and a part of the 12th century we hear very little about her. For the 13th and 14th centuries, on which our attention will centre, we have a much greater abundance of material.[7] It should be remembered, however, that extremely few sources originating directly with the Lithanuians have been preserved. Many Lithuanian documents, some of them of capital importance, have been irretrievably lost.[8] Lithuania's neighbours write a great deal about her, but their attitude is strikingly hostile. This is due to religious antagonism—Lithuania having been pagan up to 1387—no less than to conflicting political interests. Followers of

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[1] Archaeological discoveries seem to indicate that already in the early centuries of the Christian era the Lithuanians occupied territories on which we find them subsequently. See W. Antoniewicz, Czasy przedhistoryczne i wczesnodziejowe Ziemi Wileńskiej, in *Wilno i Ziemia Wileńska*, by several hands, I, 1930, p. 122.

[2] K. Buga, Die Vorgeschichte der aistischen (baltischen) Stämme im Lichte der Ortsnamenforschung, *Streitberg Festgabe*, 1924, pp. 25—30; *idem*, Die litauisch-weissrussischen Beziehungen und ihr Alter, *ZSP* I, 1924, p. 26; C. Jurgela, *History of the Lithuanian Nation*, 1948, p. 16. The same subject has been dealt with also by earlier students, such as Pogodin and Kochubinsky, and more recently by M. Vasmer, H. Mortensen, and others.
The people of Golyad, settled on the river Protva, a tributary of the Oka, mentioned by a chronicler in the middle of the 12th century, are supposed to have been of Prussian origin (Golyad—Galindia). Many scholars consider this hypothesis, which is only of a purley linguistic character, as a proof that the Balts lived primarily on the Oka.

[3] W. Kamieniecki, Geneza państwa litewskiego, *PH* XIX, 1915, pp. 10—2.

[4] This has been pointed out by F. Bujak, Prusacy i Litwini a Bałtyk, *P V ZHP*, 1931, pp. 184—8.

[5] J. Jakubowski, *Studia nad stosunkami narodowościowymi na Litwie przed unią lubelską*, 1912, p. 32; K. Chodynicki, Tradycja jako źródło historyczne, *Studia staropolskie ku czci A. Brücknera*, 1928, pp. 177—8.

[6] This fact occurred "in confinio Rusciae et Lituae." *MGH, Script.* III, p. 80. The exact location of the place in which St. Bruno met his death is the subject of various hypotheses. See H. Voigt, *Brun von Querfurt*, 1907, pp. 290, 451; J. Widajewicz, Bruno z Kwerfurtu, *PSB* III, 1937, pp. 24—6; T. Chase, *The Story of Lithuania*, 1946, p. 6; Z. Wojciechowski, Rola św. Wojciecha w dziejach narodu polskiego, in *Święty Wojciech*, by several hands, 1947, p. 76; J. Jodkowski, Pieczęcie ruskie z XI—XII, wieku, znalezione w Grodnie i Drohiczynie, *PH* XXXVII, 1948, p. 168; E. Kucharski, Pierwszy pisarz polsko-łaciński Bruno z Kwerfurtu, *STNT* II, 1950, pp. 77—9.

[7] The sources of Lithuania's pre-Christian history are listed by H. Paszkiewicz, *Regesta Lithuaniae ab origine usque ad Magni Ducatus cum Regno Poloniae unionem* I, 1930. This volume covers the period from the beginning of Lithuanian history to 1316.

[8] A number of these documents which we know for certain to have existed are quoted in H. Paszkiewicz, *O genezie i wartości Krewa*, 1938, p. 3.

the Roman Church—Poles, Teutonic and Livonian Orders—and adherents of the Eastern Church, are all at one in calling the Lithuanians the enemies of Christianity and cruel spillers of innocent blood.[1] In the light of these sources, the Lithuanians are sons of Satan,[2] and godless men,[3] and as to the level of their culture and the traits of their character, we meet with the most drastic designations, such as: barbarians,[4] perjurers,[5] dogs,[6] men who through their natural vileness[7] attack their neighbours like so many rapacious wolves.[8] This picture of the Lithuanians was drawn largely in anger, with the feeling that Lithuania was hard to conquer, and this evident prejudice must cause us to treat the sources with great caution.

There are many uncommon features in Lithuanian history: the long perseverance in pagan beliefs at a time when all the neighbouring peoples had long ago received baptism,[9] and, especially, the foundation of a vast realm extending from the Baltic coast to the Black Sea steppes, and, in the East, far beyond the Dvina and the Dnieper. This expansion of the Lithuanians, an achievement of the 13th and 14th centuries, proved to be of unexpected vitality and permanence. This would seem to indicate that the Lithuanian nation must have been possessed of some high qualities and that their rulers were not lacking in political wisdom.

Lithuanian history, as a whole, differs fundamentally from that of the other Baltic peoples. It is a striking fact that, in the early days, Lithuania was not superior to the Prussians and Letts either in respect of population or the size of her territory.[10] In the course of the 13th century the Prussians were conquered by the Teutonic Order,[11] and gradually completely exterminated; the Letts, too, were subdued by the Livonian Order[12] established

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[1] *CDP* III, N 83, p. 107; *ibidem* N 87, p. 115; *VMPL* I, N 769; *MPV* III, N 375, p. 357; *MPH* II, p. 643; *RIB* VI, N 20, etc.
[2] *SRP* II, p. 508; *CDP* VI, N 3, p. 3; *ibidem*, N 4, p. 4; *LECU* II, N 696, p. 161, etc.
[3] *PSRL* II, p. 869.
[4] *CDP* VI, N 3, p. 3; *Dlugossius* III, p. 405.
[5] *MPV* III, N 393; *CDP* IV, N 34, p. 41.
[6] H. Paszkiewicz, *Jagiellonowie*, a Moskwa I, 1933, pp. 381, 446.
[7] *VMPL* I, N 882.
[8] *MPH* II, p. 630.
[9] As the Lithuanians remained pagan for so long, abundant material concerning their beliefs has been preserved in the sources. It has been listed by A. Mierzyński, *Mythologiae Lithuanicae Monumenta* I—II, 1892, 1896.
[10] H. Łowmiański, *Studia nad początkami społeczeństwa i państwa litewskiego* II, 1932, p. 95, has calculated that at the end of the tribal period the population of the Baltic countries was approximately, as follows: Latvia, c. 145,000 on a territory of 58,000 sq. kilometres; consequently the density of population was 2.5 to the square kilometre. Prussia, c. 170,000 inhabitants on a territory 42,000 square kilometres, with a density of 4 persons per square kilometre. Lithuania, 170,000 inhabitants, on an area of 58,000 square kilometres, with a density of 3 persons to the square kilometre.
[11] Conrad, Prince of Mazovia, brought to Poland the Teutonic Order, and in 1226 endowed it with the territories of Chełmno and Nieszawa, situated on the lower Vistula. These Knights of the Cross (*Cruciferi*) were to help Poland in the conversion of the pagan Prussians. However, it soon appeared that the Order pursued not missionary, but political aims, i.e., the foundation of a self-governing domain. The Knights of the Cross waged a systematic struggle against the Prussians; they carefully fortified their newly conquered territories, and brought in German settlers, and within about 50 years became masters of the whole of Prussia. In the 9th decade of the 13th century they reached the line of the Niemen.
[12] The Livs who gave their name to Livonia were a branch of the Baltic Letts.

at Riga, and only just succeed in preserving their existence as a nation. Lithuania alone among all the Balts played a significant role in history.

Lithuania was composed of two parts: Lithuania proper and Samogitia.[1] The sources of the period we are considering usually distinguish between Lithuania and Samogitia, although sometimes they confuse the two regions, and allude to the whole territory as Lithuania. Yet there existed some differences between Samogitia and Lithuania, geographical, linguistic, and psychological; the Samogitians were more resistant to foreign influences.

Lithuania proper bordered in the West on Prussia along the course of the Niemen (Nemunas, Memel).[2] The boundary between Lithuania and Samogitia was formed by the river Nevežis (Niewiaża).[3] Lithuania was separated from the Dvina by a wide expanse of forests.[4] The problem with which we are primarily concerned is the tracing of the actual border between the Lithuanians and the Eastern Slavs.

In attempting to fix the limits of Lithuanian territory in the 13th and 14th centuries on the basis of the available sources, we encounter various obstacles. Our material shows many gaps; it is fragmentary, and the place-names are difficult to locate with any accuracy. We must remember that in those days boundaries in the modern sense did not exist. The idea of a strictly defined frontier was unknown to the Lithuanians at that time, and even later.[5] Moreover, it was superfluous in a country where great forests surrounded on all sides the patches of cultivated land. Broad tracts of bogs, marches and woodlands formed the actual frontiers of pagan Lithuania.

In the East, Lithuania bordered on the principality of Polotsk. "Nestor" mentions the Polochians as a Slavonic tribe settled on the banks of the Polota, a tributary of the Dvina. Some historians suppose that the town of Braslav belonged to Polotsk[6] before it was taken by the Lithuanians. But the existence of Braslav can be traced only in sources of the 15th century. We are inclined to think that in the 13th century and earlier the territory where this city eventually arose was in the very depth of the virgin wilderness which separated Lithuania from Polotsk. It may be assumed that at that time the Lithuanians were in possession of the head waters of the river

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[1] S. Zajączkowski, Studia nad dziejami Żmudzi wieku XIII, *ATNL* III, 1927, pp. 132—3 W. Matthews, Medieval Baltic Tribes, *ASEER* VIII, 1949, p. 129.

[2] H. Mortensen, Die Nationalitätengrenze zwischen Alt-Preussen und Litauen, *ZGE*, 1922, p. 53 seqq.

[3] S. Zajączkowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 22—30; A. Salys, *Die žemaitischen Mundarten* I, 1930, p. 8. The territory of Samogitia has been competently traced on the map attached to Zajączkowski's study before mentioned.

[4] In the middle of the 13th century the Lithuanian territory furthest advanced in this direction was the domain of Upytė (Upita), on the upper reaches of the Nevežis. On the basis of 14th century sources, we can state that Uzpaliai (Uszpol), Utena (Uciana), Tauragnai (Tauroginie), etc., were the extreme limits of Lithuanian settlement on this border.

[5] W. Kamieniecki, Rozwój własności na Litwie w dobie przed I Statutem, *RPAU* LVII, 1914, p. 145.

[6] M. Lyubavsky, *Oblastnoe delenie i mestnoe upravlenie litovsko russkogo gosudarstva*, 1892—3, pp. 2—3; V. Danilevich, Ocherk istorii Polotskoi zemli do kontsa XIV v., *UIK*, 1896, p. 26; O. Hedemann, *Historia powiatu brasławkiego*, 1930, pp. 1—13.

Dzisna, an important artery leading through forest and marshland to the actual land of Polotsk.[1]

Concerning the eastern and southern limits of Lithuanian settlements, we must mention Svir, Krevo, and Geranony as part of the no-man's-land which formed the border between the Lithuanians and the Slavs. In the course of time this strip of woodland was narrowed, as a result of colonization proceeding on both sides. The Slavs settled round Lebedziov,[2] Traby, and Eishyshki.[3] It is generally assumed that this development took place in the 14th century, but it is quite possible that the process began earlier still. In the 12th and 13th centuries not only the upper reaches of the Niemen, but also the headwaters of its tributaries, the Berezina and Neris (Wilia),[4] were in the hands of the Slavs.

Earlier sources than those of the 14th century contain few data relating to the Lithuano-Slavonic border districts. We have only the most general indications. As the furthest advanced of the Slavonic cities, which undoubtedly were the centres of certain domains, we can mention Lokhoisk, Gorodets, Zaslav (Izyaslavl), Minsk,[5] and further to the West, Novogrodek[6] and Grodno.[7] Between Grodno and Merkinė (Merecz), there was a great forest, and Merkinė was the Lithuanian frontier-post on the Niemen.[8]

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[1] Some archaeologists assert that the population of the right bank of the Dzisna in the 8th and 9th centuries was Slavonic. Cf. E. Golubovich—V. Golubovich, Slavyanskie poseleniya pravoberezhnoi Disny, *KSDPI* XI, 1945, pp. 126—37; M. Alsekaitė—Gimbutienė, *Die Bestattung in Litauen in der vorgeschichtlichen Zeit*, 1946, p. 102; M. Cehak-Hołubowiczowa, Słowiańskie groby kurhanowe koło Czerniewicz w powiecie dziśnieńskim, *WA* XVI, (1939) 1948, pp. 419—55. I was unable to obtain W. Hołubowicz, *Granica osadnictwa Słowian i Litwinów na Wileńszczyźnie w czasach przed—i wczesnohistorycznych*, 1938.

[2] J. Jakubowski, Opis księstwa trockiego w 1387 r, *PH* V, 1907, pp. 24 and 45.

[3] J. Puzyna, Korjat i Korjatowicze, *AW*, 1930, pp. 433—4; J. Safarewicz, Rozmieszczenie nazw na—iszki na pograniczu słowiańsko-litewskim, *SPAU*, 1947, pp. 45—6.

[4] A. Rydzewski, Fizjografia województwa wileńskiego, in *Wilno i Ziemia Wileńska* I, 1930, p. 58.

[5] On the ancient past of Minsk, cf. H. Cehak Hołubowiczowa, Odkrycie starego Mińska, *ZOW* XVI, 1947, pp. 68—73; V. Tarasenko, Raskopki Minskogo zamchishcha, *KSDPI* XLIV, 1952, pp. 125—32.

[6] On the beginnings of Novogrodek see H. Łomiański, *Rys historyczny województwa nowogródzkiego w jego dzisiejszych granicach* 1935, pp. 5—10.

[7] Concerning the past of Grodno, according to the chronicles, in the period under consideration, cf. J. Jakubowski, Gdzie leżało "Horodno" hipackiego latopisu? *AW*, 1930, pp. 419—20. The remotest history of Grodno, with due regard to archaeological material, is dealt with by J. Jodkowski, *Grodno i okolice w zaraniu dziejów Litwy i Rusi nad Niemnem*, 1928; *idem*, O znakach na cegle "teremu" książęcego w Grodnie, *WNA* XV, 1933; *idem*, Grodno wczesnośredniowieczne w świetle prac wykopaliskowych na królewskim Zamku Starym w Grodnie, *PHW* VII, 1935; *idem*, Pieczęcie ruskie z XI—XII w., znalezione w Grodnie i Drohiczynie, *PH* XXXVII, 1948; J. Wojciechowski, Stary Zamek w Grodnie, *BHSK* VI, 1938; Z. Durczewski, Stary Zamek w Grodnie w świetle wykopalisk, in *Niemen* I, 1939; W. Hołubowicz, Znaki rodowe i inne na przedmiotach z wykopalisk w Grodnie, *SA* I, 1948; N. Voronin, Raskopki w Grodno, *KSDPI* XXVII, 1949; D. Gurevich, Iz istorii rannego Grodno, *SAr* XV, 1951. The Church erected in Kolozha, a suburb of Grodno, in honour of S. S. Boris and Gleb, is of considerable importance for the city's early history. Cf. M. Walicki, *Cerkiew św. Borysa i Gleba na Kołoży pod Grodnem*, 1929; M. Alpatov—N. Brunov, *Geschichte der altrussischen Kunst*, 1932, etc. Valuable observations on the landscape of the Grodno district are contained in J. Jakubowski, Powiat grodzieński w XVI w., *PKAHP* III, 1934.

[8] For the documentation of the Lithuanian-Slavonic border at the dawn of history, cf. H. Łowmiański, *Studia* I, 1931, pp. 53—9; H. Paszkiewicz, *Jagiellonowie a Moskwa* I, 1933, pp. 3—10.

The Chronicle of "Nestor," so often quoted in these pages, is also an important source of information as to the earliest relations between the Lithuanians and the Slavs. In his introduction the author of the *Povest*, without giving dates or particulars, mentions in general terms a long list of tribes settled in the North, who pay tribute to Rus. Both Finns and Balts figure among them.[1]

"Nestor" here omits the Prussians and Yatvingians,[2] although he is not ignorant of their existence, but mentions Lithuania and certain Lettish tribes. As the Dvina was the old artery which served the Varangian invaders in the European East, the conquest of the Latvians by the newcomers, whether lasting or not, cannot arouse any astonishment; doubt occurs only in the case of Lithuania.

Lithuania could have been dependent on the Rus only before the 11th century, because the sources of that century contain no data which would justify our assuming such dependence. But the *Povest* mentions Lithuania among the conquered Finnish tribes settled far in the North and East. This indicates that the Norse conquests, if they actually took place on a grand scale, occurred in the hey-day of Great Novgorod—i.e., before the middle of the 10th century, when Kiev became the capital of Rus. "Nestor's" information would thus appear to reflect a very old tradition, and we are justified in remarking that the author of the *Povest* was unable or unwilling to say very much about the remote past of Lithuania. According to the Chronicle, certain Finnish tribes took part in the appeal to the Varangians, in the expeditions of Oleg and Igor against the Greeks, etc., while Lithuania is completely passed over in the description of events in the 9th and 10th centuries. The inference is therefore admissible that her links with Rus were always much looser than those of the other tribes. When "Nestor" writes about the Krivichians, he immediately mentions their Finnish neighbours in the basin of the Volga.[3] But when he is speaking of the Polochians and Dregovichians he says nothing as to their bordering on Lithuania. All this confirms our conviction that at the beginning of the 12th century, when the *Povest* was being written, there was a greater feeling of remoteness between the Lithuanians and the Rus than between the Rus and the Finns.

What we know about the Lithuanians in strictly historical times shows that this nation, very much aware of its distinctness, and inhabiting a territory difficult to subdue by the invaders, boldly stood up to adversity. Even such enemy expeditions as were attended by success produced, in the outcome, only a temporary submission at the best on the part of the Lithuanians, and a tribute, generally paid only once, in order to buy off the further predatory action of the enemy. As Yaroslav the Wise set out in arms

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[1] Cross, p. 140.

[2] Among the envoys of the Rus who figure in the Greco-Rus agreement of 944 there occurs *Yavtyag*, a word which is generally corrected into *Yatvyag*, i.e., Yatving (Cross, p. 159). If we accept this conjecture, we may suppose that individual Yatvingians were at the time in the service of the Rus.

[3] Cross, p. 140.

against Lithuania in 1040,[1] it is evident that at this date she did not acknowledge his overlordship. And if in 1038 the same prince marched against the Yatvingians, and if Vladimir the Great fought them in 983, analogous conclusions may be drawn.

The laconic entries of the chronicler concerning the aggressive undertakings of the princes of Rus against Lithuania or the Yatvingians, without any allusion to the results of these expeditions, only prove that the aggressors scored no success.[2] The authors of the period are quick to record the victories of their own princes; indeed, they are even prepared to exaggerate them, for religious if for no other reasons. And yet there is no lack of evidence that the Lithuanians and their kin, in the 11th and 12th centuries, were capable of inflicting severe losses on the Rurikides.[3]

What reasons induced the princes of Rus to undertake these distant and difficult expeditions? Lyubavsky would like to explain them by economic motives, and the desire to rob the pagans of furs, wax, and honey.[4] But if we consider that the whole of eastern Europe was thickly wooded with the exception of its southern part, i.e., of the steppe, these arguments really do not carry conviction. There is no proportion between the profit they could yield and the greatness of the effort they demanded.

We know of only three offensive campaigns of the Rurikides in the 10th and 11th centuries. These are few indeed for so long a period. Two of them were directed against the Yatvingians, and one against Lithuania. It is noteworthy that the Yatvingians lived much further from Kiev than the Lithuanians. The dates of these expeditions undertaken by the Rus offer a clue to the problem. The first, that of Vladimir against the Yatvingians in 983, was connected with his successes in Poland in 981. Having conquered the Cities of Czerwień in the Bug region, the Prince of Kiev desired to enlarge his new conquest to the North. As for the campaign of Yaroslav the Wise in 1038 against the Yatvingians, and that of 1040 against Lithuania, these operations were connected with the wars waged by Kiev against Poland during the lifetime of Mieszko II, and after his death against the Mazovians and their leader Masław, who defended the Slavonic rite in Poland.[5] Threatened by a powerful enemy, Masław seems to have appealed to his pagan neighbours for help, and to have received it, as

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[1] "1040. Yaroslav attacked Lithuania." Cross, p. 227. This is the first information relating to Lithuania recorded in "Nestor's" Chronicle under a definite date.

[2] H. Łowmiański, Stosunki polsko-pruskie za pierwszych Piastów, *PH* XLI, 1950, p. 159, has remarked, in connection with Vladimir's expedition against the Yatvingians in 983, that the chronicler's words: "conquered them and seized their territory" (Cross, p. 182) should be understood in the sense that he devastated their country and subdued it for a time, but without lasting results. Information relating to A.D. 1038 is given in the *Povest* only in very general terms: "Yaroslav attacked the Yatvingians", Cross, p. 227. Certain historians (Danilevich, Kiprianovich, etc.), without any foundation, exaggerate the victories of Rus over Lithuania J. Totoraitis, *Die Litauer unter dem König Mindowe bis zum Jahre* 1263, 1905, p. 25, supposes that between A.D. 1040 and 1100 Lithuania was conquered by the Kievan State. This conjecture appears to be without foundation.

[3] *PSRL* VII, p. 331; I, p. 281; II, p. 290, etc.

[4] M. Lyubausky, Litva i slavyane u ikh uzaemaadnosinakh u XI—XII st. *ZAHN* VIII, 1929, pp. 1—7.

[5] See Appendix: "The Polish Metropolitan See of the Slavonic Rite."

Yaroslav fought them simultaneously. Probably, therefore, the Rus expeditions against the Yatvingians and Lithuanians were reprisals for the armed interventions of these pagans in territories where Kievan interests were strongly involved, especially in the Bug region. Such an explanation of the events is in complete harmony with what we know from later times about the Yatvingians' and Lithuanians' tendency to interfere in the wars between other countries.

Lithuanian forays into the lands of their neighbours, mentioned in sources from the 12th century onwards, were decidedly of a predatory character. Lithuania did not take part in international trade,[1] and did not lie on any of the great routes which linked up distant countries, nor did she attract merchants from other nations by her riches. Hidden in the heart of inaccessible forests, there was little that she could offer to foreigners. Even in the 14th and 15th centuries, the Lithuanians' only exports by way of the Niemen were timber, furs, hides, and bees wax.[2] In the 13th century, when the first indications of Lithuanian trade with her neighbours appear in the sources, conditions must have been similar, except that they were still more primitive. Lithuania needed and had to obtain from the surrounding world more than she was able to offer in exchange . Voluntary barter was not sufficient to attain the desired goal, and commerce was too undeveloped to be able to play any important part. Before the 13th century, the Lithuanians had no strong political organization providing for the general stability of conditions, the security of roads, etc.

The only outlet for their energy available to the Lithuanians, promising rapid and easy success, was to be found in their pillaging expeditions. These reveal on the one hand the remorseless cruelty of the invaders, but, on the other, they bear witness to the Lithuanians' energy and vigour, and their desire to attain the wealth and products of the more highly developed nations.

Quite naturally, the lands situated nearer to Lithuania were the first to be pillaged. The consequences for these countries were lamentable and necessitated certain voluntary sacrifices in order to counter the threat. The countries neighbouring on Lithuania granted the predatory bands free passage to more distant regions, the wealth of which was more attractive to the Lithuanians. The Slavonic lands were, with the exception of Polotsk, weak political entities, and soon began to collaborate with the Lithuanians, by providing them with intelligence as to existing dangers, supplying them with provisions, facilitating the fording of rivers, etc.[3] For their part, the

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[1] We omit here the trade in amber, because it was carried on in earlier times and concerned the Prussians rather than the Lithuanians. On the findings of Greek, Roman, and Arab coins in Lithuania, see M. Gumowski, *Numizmatyka litewska wieków średnich*, 1920, pp. 6—14.; T. Lewicki, Wiadomości o bursztynie w dziełach średniowiecznych pisarzy arabskich, *SA* III, 1951-2, pp. 154—76.

[2] J. Remeika, *Der Handel auf der Memel vom Anfang des XIV Jahrhunderts bis* 1430, 1926, pp. 47—9.

[3] *MPH* II, pp. 421—2; *PSRL* II, p. 798; Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae, *MGH, Script.* XXIII (*SRL* I), pp. 267, 284, etc. The translation of the last named source (with commentaries) in V. Bystryansky, *Genrikh Latviiskii. Kronika Livonii*, 1938.

Lithuanians did not ravage such territories when on the march across them.[1] These agreements were mutually advantageous to the parties concerned.

In consequence of such methods there developed a broad zone of half-dependent territories, which might be called the sphere of Lithuanian political preponderance. Without this we could never explain those very distant raids of the Lithuanians, which are often mentioned in the sources. In the late 12th and 13th century the limits of this zone ran roughly along the Dvina in the North-East, and in the South along the Pripet and the Bug.

The most important data preserved in the chronicles relating to Lithuanian raids into Slavonic lands, if we pass over the stereotyped descriptions of the plunder obtained, are the names of the localities enumerated as having been laid waste during these expeditions. It appears from these sources that the Lithuanians, in the course of their predatory exploits in the East and South, often raided the valleys of the rivers which served as important trade-routes, such as the Dvina, the Lovat, the upper reaches of the Volga, the Dnieper, etc. Kiev sent to the banks of Lake Ilmen various kinds of corn and other produce coming from Byzantium, such as wines, silk and cotton fabrics, gold plate, etc. To the South and far South-East, Novgorod shipped furs, and also flax, hops, salt, precious stones, and other goods from western Europe, while it received in exchange cereals, Bulgarian wax, Persian silk, eastern spices, etc.[2] All these evidently aroused the Lithuanians' greed, and their frequent raids greatly enhanced the wealth of the plunderers.[3]

The base of the Lithuanian sallies was the line of the Dvina, which was reached by way of its left tributaries. Both older[4] and more recent writings[5] stress the importance of this river as a trade-route. *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* indicates that as early as the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century, Lithuania, and to a certain extent Samogitia, held strong positions on this river, and that their military superiority over the Lettish tribes was conspicuous. The Lithuanian incursions were also an affliction to Riga and Polotsk.

In view of its geographical position, Polotsk was naturally exposed to frequent inroads by the Lithuanians. It is noteworthy that there are few records of Polotsk having been sacked. The great majority of the sources allude to Lithuanian raids directed against localities situated to the East of Polotsk. The chronicles depict what was already the second phase in the relations between Lithuania and Polotsk : the period of mutual understand-

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[1] *MGH. Script.* XXIII, pp. 249, 284 ; *PSRL* II, p. 754 ; *SRP* I, pp. 156—7, etc.

[2] A. Nikitsky, Istoriya ekonomicheskogo byta V. Novgoroda, *COID*, 1893, pp. 15—16, 93.

[3] Contrary to the later tradition which described the poverty of the Lithuanians in darkest hues, the sources of the 13th and 14th centuries suggest that there were in Lithuania important quantities of gold, silver, and other valuables. *PSRL* II, pp. 816, 20 ; *SRP* I, p. 149 ; H. Hildebrand, *Das Rigische Schuldbuch*, 1872, p. 48 ; L. Meyer, *Livländische Reimchronik*, 6405—6, 3071—3 ; etc.

[4] I. Tikhomirov, Torgovye i mirnye snosheniya russkikh knyazei s Livoniei v XIII v., *ZMNP*, 1876, pp. 162—70; M. Berezhkov, O torgovle russkich s Rigoyu v XIII i XIV vv., *ZMNP*, 1877, pp. 332—57.

[5] H. Schroeder, Der Handel auf der Düna im Mittelalter, *HG*, 1918, pp. 23—156 ; L. Goetz, *Deutsch-russische Handelsgeschichte des Mittelalters*, 1922, pp. 443—539.

ing, preceded by a time of struggle. Now Polotsk, at the cost of granting the Lithuanians free passage to more distant lands, insured itself against their pillage.

However, the fact remains that Lithuania consolidated her position on the Dvina not only by her military superiority, but also by her able policy aided by the conflict of interests between Polotsk and Novgorod, which the Lithuanians know how to exploit.[1] An understanding with Lithuania assured the princes of Polotsk of considerable advantages and the opportunity of joint action against their common enemies. At the beginning of the 13th century, when the Livonian Order began to enlarge its territory, Polotsk and other cities of the Dvina such as Gercike and Kukenois looked to the Lithuanians as their natural allies and defenders.[2]

And yet it must not be thought that alliances of this kind were durable arrangements. They were rather in the nature of short-term, though frequently renewed, agreements. Co-operation with Lithuania was often inconvenient for Polotsk. Lithuania's enemies, harassed by her, retaliated not only upon the pagans, but also upon Polotsk. Hence the tendency to double-dealing and subterfuge among the Slavs on the banks of the Dvina; the same tendency is observed in the case of other territories which were half-dependent on Lithuania; for example, Pinsk and Drohiczyn. The situation of Polotsk was undoubtedly difficult. It was obliged sometimes to oppose Lithuania in order to maintain at least a certain measure of independence. It is evident, however, that Lithuania was in a position of superiority in relation to her enemies, since Polotsk, more often than not, was her ally rather than her antagonist.

Having a secure operational base in the land of Polotsk, the Lithuanians, at the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century, several times overran the territory of Pskov, situated on the river Velikaya, and the territory of Novgorod on the river Lovat, and sometimes approached Lake Ilmen itself. Lithuanian inroads sometimes also followed a direction to the East of the Lovat river. In their more distant raids the Lithuanians reached the route from Novgorod to the Volga in both its branches, one running through Lake Seliger to the river Pola, and the other by way of the Msta and Tvertsa. The Lithuanians also advanced along the Dvina in a southerly direction, to the upper reaches of the Dnieper (Smolensk).[3]

The Pripet was another river route which appealed to Lithuanian initiative. But the country here was much poorer than that on the Dvina, Lovat, and Dnieper, less frequented by merchants,[4] and sparsely populated,

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[1] There were frontier conflicts between Novgorod and Polotsk in the region of the river Lovat.

[2] For details concerning the political situation on the Dvina, cf. F. Keussler, Das livische und lettische Dünagebiet und die Fürsten von Polozk, Gercike und Kokenhusen am Ausgang des XII und zu Beginn des XIII Jahrhunderts, *MLG* XV, 1893; M. Taube, Russische und litauische Fürsten an der Düna zur Zeit der deutschen Eroberung Livlands, *JKGS*, 1935; cf. further K. Löwis of Menar, *Burgenlexikon für Alt-Livland*, 1922.

[3] For a list of sources, and a more detailed account of Lithuanian expeditions to the East at the time we are considering, see H. Paszkiewicz, *Jagiellonowie a Moskwa*, pp. 29—36.

[4] The Chief trade-routes from Kiev into Poland were by land; these being, for many reasons, more convenient and also shorter. Cf. A. Spitsyn, Torgovye puti Kievskoi Rusi, *Sbornik statei posvyashchennykh S. F. Platonovu*, 1911, p. 239.

on account of the numerous bogs and marches. In the Lithuanian expeditions to the East and South,[1] the latter course was less often followed. If the Lithuanians appeared on the banks of the Pripet and Bug, it was generally on the way to Vladimir in Volynia, Chełm, Bełz, etc. These lands were richer and more fertile, and the trade-routes from Kiev passed through them.

Who led these bold, aggressive expeditions of Lithuanian warriors into Slavonic lands ?

It is not easy to answer this question, as the sources contain few indications which would enable us to penetrate the internal life of Lithuania. From the 13th century onwards we sometimes hear of the Lithuanian princes[2] as military commanders. The chronicles quote, especially when detailing Lithuanian battle casualties, truly suprising numbers of these eminent warriors.[3] The princes in the interior of the country possessed lands inherited from their ancestors,[4] and houses, in which they lived and accumulated the loot brought back from the wars.[5] The lands of the princes were cultivated by a dependent population.[6]

Evidently, there must have been great differences in fortune, political influence, and military strength between the princes. We are unable to produce accurate information on this point, but there is no doubt that from these princes there emerged later the Grand Dukes, who effected the unification of the whole territory. Among the Lithuanian supreme rulers of the 13th century, the best known figure on whom the sources shed the most abundant light is Mindaugas (Mindowe, Mendog).

Some scholars regard him as the founder of the Lithuanian State.[7] This opinion arouses some doubts. The Rhymed Chronicle of Livonia

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[1] As a matter of fact, there existed yet a third route which some of the raids followed ; it ran to the land of Chernihov, the old tribal territory of the Severians. The Lithuanians advanced along the Berezina (and the Svisloch) to the Dnieper.

[2] Such a prince was called *kunigas* or *rikis*.

[3] H. Paszkiewicz, Z zagadnień ustrojowych Litwy przedchrześcijańskiej, *KH*, 1930, p. 303.

[4] During these intestine struggles in Lithuania, individual princes were sometimes expelled from their lands by their rivals. Those who had suffered such injuries fled to the Knights of Prussia or Livland, or to Pskov, to Novgorod, etc. The Teutonic Order for example assured two Lithuanian refugees that after their return to Lithuania they "sullen nemen ir erbe". *PU* I (2), pp. 488—9. The Lithuanian Suxe offered the Archbishop of Riga " omnem hereditatem suam in terris, nemoribus et in aquis, cultis et incultis, quam . . . a progenitoribus suis noscitur possedisse." M. Perlbach, Urkunden des Rigaschen Capitel-Archives in der Fürstlich Czartoryski'schen Bibliothek zu Krakau, *MLG* XIII, 1886, pp. 17—8.

[5] On the princes' residences see *SRP* I, p. 149; *PSRL* II, pp. 815—22; L. Meyer, *Livländische Reimchronik*, 3002, 3006, etc.

[6] On land cultivation in Lithuania see M. Matlakówna, Średniowieczne szczątki roślinne ze Żmudzi oraz niektóre zagadnienia pochodzenia zbóż, *ASBP* III, 1926, pp. 196—228 ; *idem*, Dalsze badania nad zbożem średniowiecznym z Litwy, *ibidem* VI, 1929, pp. 370—6 ; V. Pashuto, Khozyaistvo i tekhnika srednevekovoi Litvy, *VoI*, 1947 (8), pp. 74—81.

[7] This thesis is based on the following words of the Chronicle of Halicz-Volynia: "Mindovg began to rule over the whole land of Lithuania." *PSRL* II, p. 858. The argument is not convincing, because the chronicler uses the same phrase when speaking of the accessions of Mindaugas' successors, although none of them was the first Grand Duke of Lithuania ; cf. *ibidem* II, pp. 860, 861, 869. In my opinion, Grand Dukes ruled in Lithuania before Mindaugas ; see H. Paszkiewicz, Litwa przed Mendogiem, *PWZHP*, 1930, pp. 246—58 ; *idem Jagiellonowie*, pp. 44—58.

relates that Mindaugas' father, who is not known to us by name, but whom a later tradition calls Ringold, was so powerful that he was without a peer in Lithuania. The aforesaid source seems to suggest that Mindaugas' achievement, the imposition of his overlordship on the whole of Lithuania, was inspired by the desire to renew his father's great tradition, and hand down this glorious inheritance to his sons.[1] It is noteworthy that Stryjkowski, in the 16th century, who, in addition to many confused versions, has also preserved quite a fair amount of reliable information,[2] asserts that Mindaugas' father, who probably lived at the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century, was the first Grand Duke of Lithuania.[3]

An agreement concluded between Lithuanian and Volynian princes in 1219[4] has great significance in respect of our knowledge of the internal conditions of Lithuania during the period which we are discussing. The chronicler gives a list of about 20 Lithuanian princes who have been parties to the treaty.[5] The first to figure on this list is Zhivinbud, of whom we know nothing.

Now, if we consider that the initiative in these negotiations came from Lithuania,[6] and that not only Lithuania proper but also Samogitia, which was no neighbour of Volynia, took part in them without being directly concerned, and that the Yatvingians at this period co-operated with Lithuania, as appears from other incidents,[7] it follows that the political consolidation of Lithuania had already gained much ground by the first quarter of the 13th century. The statements of the chronicles, to the effect that Lithuanian armies numbering thousands of warriors were appearing at this time on many battlefields,[8] are in keeping with such a conclusion.

Somewhat later events bear out these views. Mindaugas, conforming to their desires, invests the Germans with certain parts of Samogitian and Yatvingian territories which he probably does not actually possess at the time, and this proves that this ruler made certain claims to these lands, and that the Order took these claims seriously. So did the Samogitians who towards the end of Mindaugas' life advised the Grand Duke to change his policy, especially with regard to Christianity, and at that price they promised to recognize his authority.[9] These said claims of Minduagas to the overlordship over various territories, which during his reign did not always find justification in the facts, appear to have derived from the past, and point to the extension of the Lithuanian State at the beginning of the 13th century.

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[1] L. Meyer, *Livländische Reimchronik*, pp. 146—7.
[2] K. Skirmunt, Mindog król Litwy, in *Nad Niemnem i Bałtykiem* III, 1909, p. 9, and K. Chodynicki, Przegląd badań nad dziejami Litwy w ostatnim dziesięcioleciu (1920—1930), *KH*, 1930, pp. 8—9, share the opinion that Stryjkowski is unjustly underestimated.
[3] M. Stryjkowski, *Kronika polska* I, 1846, p. 251.
[4] On the date of this treaty see J. Latkowski, Mendog, *RPAU*, 1892, pp. 313—4.
[5] *PSRL* II, pp. 735—6.
[6] H. Paszkiewicz, *Jagiellonowie*, pp. 40—3.
[7] B. Włodarski, Polityka ruska Leszka Białego, *ATNL* III (3), 1925, pp. 65, 72, 74, etc.
[8] H. Paszkiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
[9] L. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 146. See S. Zajączkowski, *Studia nad dziejami Żmudzi*, p. 48.

If we connect the rise of Lithuanian power, and, in consequence the increased frequency of the Lithuanians' invasions of neighbouring lands, with the establishment of the Grand-Ducal power, we must admit that in this respect the reign of Mindaugas did not differ from the times which preceeded it. This would seem to show that Lithuania had already, at an earlier period, entered upon a stage of political consolidation and expansion. Between 1200 and 1263 we note at least 75 Lithuanian raids ;[1] of these 42 took place before the accession of Mindaugas,[2] and 33 under his rule.[3]

In our opinion, Zhivinbud, as the supreme ruler of Lithuania, continued the work undertaken by Mindaugas' father. It may be that after Zhivinbud's death the Grand-Ducal power was assumed by Mindaugas' elder brother Dovsprunk, or perhaps by Mindaugas himself. The sources do not enable us to establish exactly when Mindaugas acceded to sovereign rule over the whole of Lithuania. This probably happened in the fourth decade of the 13th century.[4]

Where was the capital of the newly founded State ?

Some scholars declare for Novogrodek,[5] while other seeks some locality in Samogitia.[6] Both these conjectures lack any convincing arguments for their support. Mindaugas' city appears anonymously in the sources. In the Rhymed Chronicle of Livonia, it figures as a *Burg*. The Chronicle of Halicz-Volynia mentions Voruta.[7] Buga observed that Voruta, in Lithuanian, was pronounced *varutá*, from *varà* meaning a walled city, *firmitas*, *castellum*.[8] Consequently, this was a *nomen appellativum* not *proprium*.

It is impossible that Novogrodek should have been the capital of the Lithuanian State, as it was situated in Slavonic, not in Lithuanian territory. Some years after the coronation of Mindaugas,[9] Lithuania voluntarily ceded

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[1] It is impossible to establish their number with complete accuracy. The sources often mention different dates for the same raid ; often we hear of princes or peoples asking for help against the Lithuanians, by whom apparently they are harassed, and at the same time we lack information as to any Lithuanian expeditions against these peoples ; while the chroniclers sometimes speak, in general terms, of the pillaging of a given land by the Lithuanians, we do not know whether this is in allusion to forays already known and recorded, or to fresh expeditions.

[2] H. Paszkiewicz, *Regesta Lithuaniae ab origine usque ad Magni Ducatus cum Regno Poloniae unionem* I, 1930, Nos. 63, 64, 66, 68, 69 and 73, 71, 74, 77, 81, 82, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 91, 95, 97, 98, 101, 103, 104, 107, 109, 110, 113, 114, 118, 121, 124, 125, 127, 128, 135, 136, 137, 140, 148, 153, 158, 160, 161, 166, 169.

[3] *Ibidem*, Nos. 177, 180, 181, 182, 187, 192, 193, 197, 198, 199, 203, 208, 210, 214, 215, 218, 222, 225, 226, 228, 260, 274, 311, 312, 316, 348, 351, 356, 357, 358, 393, 398, 401, 415, 416, 421.

[4] H. Paszkiewicz, *Jagiellonowie*, pp. 58—61.

[5] I. Lappo, *Zapadnaya Rossiya i eya soedinenie s Polsheyu*, 1924, p. 98; F. Bujak, *Studia geograficzno-historyczne*, 1925, p. 255.

[6] W. Kętrzyński, Najdawniejsza stolica litewska, *KH*, 1907, pp. 604—11 L. Krzywicki, W poszukiwaniu grodu Mendoga, *PH*, 1909, pp. 20—48.

[7] *PSRL* II, pp. 817—8.

[8] K. Buga, Kalbos dalykai. 29, Worouta, Ariôgala, Veredava, *Draugija* VIII, 1909 (unavailable to me).

[9] After having received baptism in the Latin Church, the Grand Duke was crowned King of Lithuania. Contemporary sources do not mention the place where this ceremony was performed ; later tradition, however, indicates that it was at Novogrodek. But the coronation need not have taken place in the capital of the kingdom. Mindaugas' contemporary, Danilo

Novogrodek to Roman, a son of Danilo of Halicz. The Chronicle of Halicz-Volynia relates that one of the Lithuanian princes (Tautvilas) returned to Samogitia from Mindaugas' city.[1] Consequently, that city was situated outside Samogitia. In the treaty of 1219 Mindaugas did not figure among the Samogitian princes.

The capital of the Grand Duchy should be sought within the limits of Lithuania proper. Many attempts have been made to ascertain the site of this city.[2] In my opinion, certain details concerning the expedition of the Livonian Order against Lithuania (1250), and especially the route along which the invaders advanced, indicate that the oldest capital of Lithuania was Kernavė (Kiernów).[3] We are confirmed in this opinion by the central position of this stronghold, which facilitated the launching of expeditions in various directions coinciding with the course of the rivers.[4]

The sources have preserved many details, indicating by what means and under what circumstances Mindaugas attained the Grand-Ducal throne. The winning and maintaining of supreme authority was in the first place a problem of force, and this depended on the extent of the territory united under one ruler. In order to carry out his ambitious plans, Mindaugas ruthlessly lays hands on the lands of many princes, of whom he murders some, and forces others into exile.[5] The sources, when speaking of the Grand Duke,[6] stress his wealth and his great power.[7]

We must not exaggerate the picture of these murders contained in the Chronicle of Halicz-Volynia. The great majority of the Lithuanian princes retained their domains, as can be seen from what followed during Mindaugas' reign, but this was at the cost of acknowledging the Grand Duke's overlordship, or obediently doing his will, and, more especially, taking part in expeditions in accordance with his injunctions. But again, we must not

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of Halicz, was crowned at Drohiczyn. On these two events, cf. A. Prochaska, Dwie koronacje, *PH*, 1905, pp. 184—208, 372—93. Knowing the hostile attitude of the mass of his Lithuanian subjects towards Christianity, Mindaugas may have chosen Novogrodek, inhabited by Christians of the faith of Rus, for the ceremony, as his coronation and his Christianity were closely connected.

1 *PSRL* II, p. 818.

2 J. Latkowski, *Mendog*, p. 337; J. Totoraitis, *Die Litauer*, p. 51; E. Volter, Gorod Mendovga ili gde iskat Letovyu XIII v., *IORYS* XIV (3), 1910, pp. 94—102; H. Łowmiański, *Studia* II, p. 110, etc.

3 H. Paszkiewicz, *Jagiellonowie*, pp. 79—87. That Kernavè was regarded as city of Mindaugas has already been admitted by F. Papée, Początki Litwy, *KH* XLI, 1927, pp. 469—70; L. Kolankowski, *Dzieje Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego za Jagiellonów* I, 1930, p. 3.

4 L. Meyer, *Livländische Reimchronik*, p. 191; *SRP* II, p. 48.

5 "Mindovg was an autocrat in the whole land of Lithuania . . . , and ruling over the Lithuanian land, he began to kill his brothers and his nephews, and others he expelled from their lands and began to reign alone over the whole Lithuanian land." *PSRL* II, p. 858. The chronicler stresses chiefly Mindaugas' struggles with his kinsmen, and this proves that the Grand-Ducal family, from which he was descended, had already, before his time, come to the forefront of Lithuanian life.

6 The Grand Dukes of Lithuania in the 13th and 14th centuries were known by various titles in different languages: *rex*, *dux*, *princeps*, *knyaz*, *koning*, *herczog*, *furste*, etc. To the title various predicates were added, such as: grand, supreme, elder (*magnus*, *summus*, *supremus*, *velikii*, *stareishii*, *grosir*, *obirster*).

7 Mindaugas was . . . "Lithuanorum potentissimus dux". *MPH* III, p. 132; "du ein kunic lobelich, gewaldic und dar bie rich . . . " L. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

suppose that the dependence of the princes on Mendog was complete and unrestricted. Certain facts show that the Grand Duke had to reckon with the opinions of the princes. They represented forces too powerful and traditions too ancient for it to have been otherwise.

Thus, it would be a mistake to think that Mindaugas obtained the Grand-Ducal dignity only by violence and compulsion; he must also have applied peaceful and less drastic means. The Chronicle cited relates how the Grand Duke gained the good will of the Yatvingians by making them rich presents of silver. He also brought over some of the princes to his side by family alliances, and took advantage of his kinsmen's external difficulties, such as those of the Samogitians in their struggles against the Germans.

The means Mindaugas' adopted in pursuance of his aims are clearly indicated by the sources, and have a broader significance as they can serve us for comparison and analogy. The same things happened in later times, and everything seems to indicate that in earlier periods events followed the same pattern. The history of Mindaugas' rule shows that he imposed his domination on certain lands which he afterwards lost, only to recover them again. Samogitia was such a land. There is no doubt that just as Mindaugas had moments of success and of defeat, so his successors on the Grand-Ducal throne rose and fell. In the present state of the sources, the details of these developments must remain a mystery. However, we do not suppose that anyone before Mindaugas' day maintained the Grand-Ducal power for any length of time. Thus, the 30 years' reign of this ruler was a turning-point in Lithuanian history.

Mindaugas definitely established the Grand-Ducal power in his country, although he was not able to bequeath it to his own descendants. In 1263 he fell victim to a conspiracy, and Lithuania, in the years that followed, witnessed violent internal struggles, and many occupants of the Grand-Ducal throne.[1] The country was at last effectively pacified by Traidenis (Trojden).[2] We do not know under what circumstances he came to the forefront of political affairs, nor are we aware to what family he belonged; but it would seem that, like Mindaugas, he came from Lithuania proper. The fact remains that he attained the Grand-Ducal power, that he unified the whole of Lithuania, including Samogitia, and that he extended his sovereignty to include the Yatvingians in the West, and some Lettish tribes in the North-East. To his neighbours, and more especially to the Germans of Riga, he made himself known as a powerful and formidable adversary. The reign of Traidenis, which was relatively short (1269/70—1281/2),

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[1] Mindaugas was murdered by his nephew, Treniota (Trojnat), prince of Samogitia. Treniota was murdered by the contrivance of Mindaugas' son, Vaisvilkas (Wojsielk) in 1264. The reign of Vaisvilkas extended over the years 1264—66, perhaps to 1267. This prince ceded first Novogrodek, and then Lithuania to Shvarno, son of Danilo of Halicz. Vaisvilkas was murdered in the same year, 1267, and Shvarno's reign did not last much longer than a year, perhaps to the second half of 1268.

[2] On events following the death of Mindaugas and the reign of Traidenis, see H. Paszkiewicz, *Jagiellonowie*, pp. 104—42.

is characterized by its noteworthy consistency and purposefulness. The violence and boldness of the Grand Duke's attacks are combined with remarkable prudence. The days of Mindaugas, by comparison, appear to us more stormy, and the rises and falls of the ruler more abrupt. Traidenis' position, at home and abroad, seems to have been exceedingly sound; hence there was less hesitation and fewer breakdowns; on the contrary, there was more steadiness in his actions. Traidenis played an important part in the history of his nation, and was, after Mindaugas, the second great consolidator of Lithuania.

The period which elapsed between the death of Traidenis and the accession of Gediminas (Giedymin) (c. 1282—c. 1316) is not easy to study, on account of the poverty of the sources; not so much because of their scantiness,[1] as because of the extremely sketchy and fragmentary information contained in the chronicles.[2] The years immediately following the death of Traidenis are especially obscure. Even so important a question as the identity of the Grand Duke at the time cannot be established. We can only state that Lithuania continued to be a unified realm, territorially intact, whence bold expeditions were undertaken in many directions. Between 1289 and 1291 a new ruler appears, Pukuveras.[3] He reigns until 1295. From his time onwards, a new principle contributes to the consolidation of the Grand-Ducal power in Lithuania; a principle which in actual fact was in force already in earlier times, but underwent frequent interruptions of continuity—that of hereditary monarchy.[4] From 1289 or 1291 up to 1572, there reigned the same Lithuanian dynasty, sons succeeding their fathers, or younger brothers succeeding elder brothers. The question arises whether the aforementioned Pukuveras was the founder of this celebrated family, from which Gediminas, Algirdas (Olgierd), and his successors were in turn descended, or whether it already existed before Pukuveras' day. If the latter alternative were accepted, we should have to conclude that Traidenis was the founder of the dynasty, and though the question cannot be decided with any degree of certainty, there is much to be said in support of such a possibility. It may be that Pukuveras reigned immediately after Traidenis. In any case, we do not learn that after Traidenis' death any internal conflicts and struggles occurred in Lithuania. The

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[1] H. Paszkiewicz, *Regesta Lithuaniae* I, 1930, contains 173 items up to A.D. 1236; for the years 1236—63, i.e., the reign of Mindaugas, there are 250 items, and for the period 1263—1315 the number of items is 436.

[2] We also have to consider that the Chronicle of Halicz-Volynia ends with the year 1292, and the Rhymed Chronicle of Livonia about the same time. Both sources are of great significance for Lithuanian history. A. Sobolevsky, Russkoe izvestie o poslednikh galitskikh Ryurikovichakh, *Sbornik statei v chest M. K. Lyubavskogo*, 1917, pp. 214—5, shows that the continuation of the Chronicle of Halicz-Volynia, which has been lost, went as far as the year 1321.

[3] "Pucuwerus rex Lethowie" . . . *SRP* I, p. 155. In other sources from the same years we meet with the names: Butegeyde, Butumer, etc. Hitherto historians have generally agreed that all these names refer to one and the same person.

[4] We find in the sources the explicit confirmation of the fact that after Pukuveras his two sons reigned, Vytenis (Witen) and Gediminas. "(Pucuwerus rex Lethowie . . . filium suum Vithenum cum magno exercitu misit versus Poloniam." *SRP* I, p. 155. And the inhabitants of Riga write to Gediminas: "Vithene . . . frater vester et antecessor." *LECU* VI, No. 3068 p. 466.

position of the new ruler, who, without being mentioned by name, figures in the sources as " King of the Lithuanians ", was strong from the beginning, which means that his rights to the sovereign power were uncontested. Further, if we consider that during the period following his death the policy of Traidenis was fully maintained, we are entitled to assume that Traidenis himself may have provided for his successor's untroubled accession.

The sources show that towards the end of his life this ruler disposed of very great forces. It appears from the Chronicle of Halicz-Volynia that he died a natural death; that he was not overthrown and liquidated by someone else.[1] Are we to admit that Traidenis, having a son, did not think about that son's future ? Bolesław, Prince of Mazovia, was married to Traidenis daughter, and maintained close relations with his father-in-law, and these relations were maintained also in later times, under the succeeding Grand Dukes of Lithuania. Had the adversaries of Traidenis and of his posterity attained the royal power, it is improbable that about 1284—86[2] the said Bolesław, the ally of Lithuania, would with some ostentation have given his son the pagan name of Traidenis. In his letters concerning the question of his receiving baptism, Gediminas speaks of his ancestors who governed Lithuania.[3] It should be noted that the Grand Duke here uses the plural, and very clearly distinguishes between ancestors (*progenitores*) and predecessors (*praedecessores*). However, we know only of one ancestor of Gediminas, namely, his father, Pukuveras, yet it appears that the writer of the letter has in mind more than one generation, and that his father's father also ruled in Lithuania. It is, therefore, probable that Traidenis was his grandfather.[4]

In contrast to the 13th century, in respect of which theories concerning the relationship between the particular Grand Dukes of Lithuania are often hypothetical, in the 14th we deal with ascertained facts. At that time, two brothers reigned one after the other, Vytenis (c. 1295—c. 1315) and Gediminas (c. 1315—1341/42). In the years 1345—1377 the Grand-Ducal power was wielded by Gediminas' son, Algirdas in co-operation with his brother Kestutis (Kiejstut). Jogaila (Jagiełło), Grand Duke since 1377, was son of Algirdas.

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[1] *PSRL* II, p. 869.
[2] O. Balzer, Genealogia Piastów, 1895, p. 437.
[3] *LECU* II, No. 687, p. 140 ; No. 690, p. 144.
[4] H. Paszkiewicz, *Jagiellonowie*, pp. 142—3 ; A. Kučinskas, Gedimino dinastijos kilme, *Musu Zinynas*, 1934 (unavailable to me) ; J. Puzyna, Kim był i jak się naprawdę nazywał Pukuwer, ojciec Giedymina, *AW*, 1935, pp. 1—43 ; S. Zajączkowski, *KH*, 1936, pp. 304—317, in a review of Puzyna's essay. It should be added that the story related by the Teutonic Order in 1412—13, according to which Gediminas was equerry to the Grand Duke Vytenis, whom he murdered in order to seize power, is highly tendentious and unlikely. See H. Łowmiański, Z zagadnień spornych społeczeństwa litewskiego w wiekach średnich, *PH* XL, 1950, pp. 100—1. Opinions differ as to the territory from which the Lithuanian dynasty originated. Some scholars incline for Samogitia (K. Chodynicki, Geneza dynastii Giedynima, *KH*, 1926, pp. 541—66 ; S. Zajączkowski, Przyczynki do hipotezy o pochodzeniu dynastii Giedymina ze Żmudzi, *AW*, 1927, pp. 392—416), others for Lithuania proper (H. Paszkiewicz, *Jagiellonowie*, pp. 152—6 ; J. Jakstas, Naujausi Gedimino dinastijos kilmes tyrinejimai, *LP* I, 1940, pp. 29—56).

Hitherto we have confined ourselves to several fundamental facts, with a view to introducing the reader to the main problems of Lithuanian history. Against this merely outlined background, it is necessary to examine at some length Lithuania's expansion into Slavonic lands. Lithuania's territorial development in the East and South was connected with the very origin of the Lithuanian State, influenced its formation and its character, and was decisive for its future in the course of the following centuries.

CHAPTER IX

EASTERN SLAVS UNDER LITHUANIAN RULE

Lithuanian Expansion in the East and South under Gediminas and Algirdas. Lithuanian Intercourse with the Eastern Slavs. Lithuania and the Church of Rus. Mutual Advantages of Collaboration between the Lithuanians and the Slavs. Growing Antagonism between Lithuania and Moscow.

The pillaging expeditions of the Lithuanians against their closer and remoter neighbours constituted the preliminary phase in the expansion of Lithuania. From the 13th century onwards, a new trend manifested itself: while the raids continued, the tendency was to subdue and permanently to attach to Lithuania various non-Lithuanian lands. The Grand Dukes were no longer content to leave the local rulers in possession of their domains, even as vassals, but made it their policy to eject them and to set up their own princes in the conquered lands.

From the history of Mindaugas' reign (we lack sources enabling us to deal with earlier times) it can be seen that the growth of the Grand-Ducal power brought about an increased thrust on the part of Lithuania to the East and South. The Grand Duke who desired to establish his position in the country, faced by the exiguity of Lithuania's ethnic frontiers, naturally wished at least to hold all his domains in his own grasp. The various princes who obstructed this trend were compelled, sooner or later, to seek outside Lithuania an equivalent of what they were fated to lose. Having many difficulties to overcome before they could stabilize their new positions, these refugees were reduced to invoking the aid of the Grand Duke of Lithuania, and to look upon their recent antagonist as a patron and protector.

The Chronicle of Halicz-Volynia relates that Mindaugas ousted from their patrimony his nephews, Tautvilas (Towtywił) and Erdivilas (Erdywił), and seized their " countless fortune." At the same time, Vykintas (Wikint) of Samogitia, the uncle of the two princes, was expelled. They were then all sent eastwards, in order that they might conquer Smolensk and other cities.[1] Stryjkowski informs us that Tautvilas acquired Polotsk, and that Vykintas took possession of Vitebsk, while Erdivilas obtained Smolensk.[2] This assertion appears highly plausible, the more so as it finds corroboration in other sources.

The new Lithuanian policy, no longer restricted to disconnected pillaging forays, aroused, in the course of time, alarm and counter-measures

[1] *PSRL* II, p. 815. The chronicler explicitly states that this measure on the part of Mindaugas was caused by the disobedience of his nephews.

[2] M. Stryjkowski, *Kronika polska* I, 1846, pp. 285—6.

of various kinds on the part of the Livonian Order, of Great Novgorod, and of the Grand Duke of Vladimir on the Klyazma. I here pass over the history of the lands of Rostov, Suzdal, Vladimir, and of the whole region between the Volga and Oka. This most important subject will be dealt with in the following chapters.

Smolensk was first to be lost. In 1239, Yaroslav Vsevolodovich, Grand Duke of Vladimir, took the field and forced the Lithuanians to abandon the upper reaches of the Dnieper.[1] But Tautvilas maintained himself in Polotsk and that for many years. This success he owed, undoubtedly, to the help of the Grand Duke of Lithuania.[2]

In the course of the 13th century we observe the conquest of Slavonic lands proceeding not only on the Dvina, in the region of Polotsk, but also in the South, on the Niemen. Up to 1183, at all counts, Grodno constituted an independent principality. Then it disappears for some scores of years from the pages of our sources, and reappears only in the sixth decade of the 13th century as a Lithuanian possession. Novogrodek was the centre of an extensive region composed of less important principalities and cities, such as Volkovysk, Slonim, Zdzitov, Svisloch, etc. It appears in the records only in A.D. 1235, and the other cities make their appearance even later: Volkovysk, Slonim, Zdzitov in 1252, Tureisk in 1276.

Lithuanian sovereignty in these territories did not immediately spell the ruin of the small, local rulers, whose descent we unfortunately do not know. Our acquaintance with them is extremely slight, and we are limited to the few laconic and generally disconnected references in the Chronicle of Halicz-Volynia.[3] It is apparent in any case that the Lithuanians tolerated them at first and suppressed them only at a later period.

Mindaugas advanced to the South, mainly along the Shchara, on the banks of which the principality of Slonim was situated, then along the Yasiolda, on which lay the city of Zdzitov, and thus attained the Pripet.[4] This river became the natural boundary between the territories of Lithuania, on the one side, and those of the duchy of Volynia, on the other.[5] The fact

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[1] *PSRL* I, p. 469. Cf. M. Lyubausky, *Litva i slavyane v XI—XII* st., 1929, p. 11.

[2] In the autumn of 1239 the Lithuanians raided the territory of Pskov. In the years 1240—42 they pillaged the banks of the river Luga and other lands in possession of Great Novgorod. We are struck by the great distances over which the Lithuanian expeditions extended, not only in the North, but also in the East. In 1245 they reached the river Tvertsa, where Torzhok was plundered. In 1248 battles were fought by the Lithuanians at Zubtsov on the Volga, and on the Protva, a tributary of the Oka. In all these expeditions the Lithuanians must have crossed the territory of Polotsk, and Tautvilas' direct or indirect share in the events was unavoidable.

[3] We read of Izyaslav of Novogrodek under the year 1238 (*PSRL* II, p. 775), and of Gleb of Volkovysk, and Izyaslav of Svisloch under 1254 or 55, *ibid.*, pp. 831; we find a reference to the same Gleb again a few years later, *ibid.*, p. 847; Vasili of Slonim is mentioned, *ibid.*, p. 884.

[4] The Yasiolda was at that time and later an important artery linking Lithuania with Volynia; cf. S. Wysłouch, Rozwój granic i terytorium powiatu kobryńskiego do połowy XVI w., *AW* VI, 1929, p. 108.

[5] E. Biletzky, Les relations entre l'Ukraine et la Lithuanie de 1205 à 1246. *Bulletin de la Commission pour l'étude des problèmes polono-ukrainiens*, 1938, No. 4, pp. 8—11. How strong Lithuanian influences were at that time in Pinsk appears from the fact that the princes of Halicz and Vladimir were obliged to use violence against Pinsk in order to force it to take part in an expedition against Lithuania. After the death of Mindaugas, armed forces of Pinsk actively supported Vaisvilkas. *PSRL* II, p. 818, 861.

that the Grand Duke established his son and principal heir Vaisvilkas in Novogrodek proves that he attached great importance to maintaining his hold upon the territory of Novogrodek. It is impossible to say whether Mindaugas acquired the territory of Minsk. Minsk is mentioned in our sources as early as the 11th century (for the first time in 1067), but in the 13th century there is a complete lack of any information about it; while in the 14th century (1326) it appears as an unquestionably Lithuanian dependency. There is no doubt that there was a certain analogy between the attitude of Tautvilas of Polotsk and Vaisvilkas of Novogrodek, and of that third, unnamed Lithuanian who resided at Grodno. The Slavonic territories bordering on Lithuania, which at this time were already under her sway, served the Lithuanians as bases for their incursions into more distant lands. The territories of Grodno and of Novogrodek were both of great convenience to the Lithuanians in their raids into Volynia, Brześć, Chełm, Bełz, etc.

But other no less important reasons brought about the extension of the Lithuanian frontiers towards the South. We must not overlook the role played by the Slavonic element in the foundation of the Lithuanian State.[1] I make bold to affirm that Mindaugas, when striving to become the master of the whole of Lithuania, received military help from the neighbouring Slavs, and thus forced the opposing princes into submission. Who knows whether the troops summoned, e.g. from the territory of Grodno, did not decide the fate of Tautvilas and of Erdivilas, when they were being pushed towards the East. We evidently lack direct proofs which would decide the question; nevertheless, a number of significant facts appear which repeat themselves on many occasions. When Tautvilas rebelled against Mindaugas and entered upon a close relationship with Danilo, Prince of Halicz, he invaded Lithuania at the head of forces from Halicz and Volynia (1250) in order to overthrow the Grand Duke. And when Mindaugas was murdered in 1263, the same Tautvilas, with his Polotsk army, attempted to conquer Lithuania. Shortly afterwards, Vaisvilkas marched into his father's domain from the South, with auxiliaries from Pinsk and Novogrodek, to whom he chiefly owed his power over Lithuania. It would be astonishing and even inexplicable if Mindaugas had never had recourse to similar methods.

Now, there undoubtedly existed a link of causality between the conquest of Slavonic territories and the rise, in Lithuania, of a centralized political authority. These developments were correlative. Bent upon obtaining and maintaining the Grand-Ducal throne, Mindaugas reinforced his aggressive activity in the Slavonic lands.[2]

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[1] V. Pashuto, O vozniknovenii Litovskogo gosudarstva, *IAN* IX, 1952, pp. 29—49.

[2] Consideration of Lithuanian expeditions against neighbouring countries before Mindaugas and during his reign yields some striking facts. Out of 42 raids which took place from 1200 to 1236, as many as 23 were directed against the Livonian Order and against Lettish tribes; in a word, they were directed towards the North and the North-East, while 15 were carried out against the Slavs. Of the 33 expeditions undertaken between 1237 and 1263, only 5 were aimed at the Livonian Order (cf. H. Paszkiewicz, *Regesta Lithuaniae* I, 1930, Nos. 197, 199, 203, 398, 416), while 20 went into Slavonic lands (*ibid.*, Nos. 180, 181, 182, 187, 192, 198, 208, 210, 218, 222, 225, 226, 228, 260, 274, 311, 312, 351, 356, 357, 401, and 421).

As is well known, the Grand Duke, threatened on all sides by a great coalition of his enemies (1249—51), was obliged to become a Christian for a while, and to enter into close relations with the Apostolic See. From Mindaugas' messages,[1] and from the Papal answers of this time, it is apparent that the Grand Duke was principally concerned with a twofold aim: to preserve for himself and his son the "Kingdom" of the Lithuanians, and also the lands of Rus linked with that "Kingdom."[2] It was for this reason that Mindaugas so assiduously sought the Papal confirmation of Lithuania's existing possessions in the Slavonic territories, and a preliminary acceptance of future conquests.[3] If the Grand Duke considered his realm as a whole to be composed of two distinct parts, this proves that he assigned to both the ethnical elements under his rule essential functions in the political system he was erecting.

In later times, in the reign of Traidenis and afterwards, when the position of the Grand Dukes had gradually become stable in Lithuania, and when there were no more rebels like Tautvilas, Vykintas and others, the custom of establishing Lithuanian princes in Slavonic cities and territories gained a new momentum. The Grand Dukes, holding Lithuania proper themselves, entrusted their brothers and sons with eastern and southern borderlands, inhabited by Slavs. There they helped them in times of difficulty, but also laid claim to their support when necessity arose. Thus, speaking in very general terms, they followed the pattern of Mindaugas' relations with Vaisvilkas.

Lithuanian expansion in Slavonic lands started, in the first place, from the needs of the reigning dynasty, which was obliged to provide lands for its members. The growth of the Grand-Ducal family led to the extension of the Lithuanian frontiers. The realm could only gain by this develop-

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[1] Students have long differed in their opinion regarding the authenticity of the documents ascribed to Mindaugas' authorship. Cf. A. Prochaska, Dwa objaśnienia do dziejów Litwy, *KH*, 1906, pp. 64—73; W. Kętrzyński, O dokumentach Mendoga, *RPAU* L, 1907, pp. 180—222; A. Seraphim, in the editor's notes, *Preussisches Urkundenbuch* I (2), 1909; P. Klymenko, Die Urkunden Mindowes für den livländischen Orden, *AF* VI, 1929, pp. 201—19; K. Maleczyński, W sprawie autentyczności dokumentów Mendoga z lat 1253—1261, *AW* XI, 1936 (unavailable to me).

Without venturing upon a minute analysis of the documents of Mindaugas, I will limit myself to stating that about this time the Grand Duke issued public documents and made certain territorial cessions in favour of the Livonian Order. These documents are mentioned in other sources: L. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 82; *Dlugossius*, under A.D. 1255. S. Zajączkowski, *Studia nad dziejami Żmudzi*, pp. 66—78, has shown that the donations relating to Samogitia are in complete harmony with the relations existing between Lithuania and Samogitia in the years with which we are dealing. The same can be said of Lithuano-Slavonic relations.

[2] Mindaugas placed under the authority of the Apostolic See "regnum Luthawie ac terras omnes quas per divine virtutis auxilium iam eripui(t) de infidelium manibus." *MPV* III, No. 67, pp. 36—7. In his deeds in favour of the Livonian Order, the Grand Duke states that he has been crowned "in regem totius Lettowiae ac terrarum omnium, quas . . . iam eripuimus de infidelium manibus." *PU* I (2), No. 39, pp. 33—5. We have the confirmation by Mindaugas himself that by "infidels" the followers of the faith of Rus are to be understood, as the Pope says in answer to his request: . . . "tu contra Regnum Russie ipsiusque habitatores in infidelitatis devio constitutos indefessa strenuitate decertans, nonnullas terras tue subiugaveris dicioni." *VMPL* I, No. 123, pp. 60—1.

[3] Mindaugas cherished plans of further conquest in the Slavonic territories ("quas terras . . . eripere poteris in futurum . . . " *MPV* III, No. 67, pp. 36—7).

ment, as indeed it did, so long as friendly relations were maintained between the different scions of the dynasty. Thus, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was from the outset closely bound to the Slavonic world, and the bonds became stronger with every decade that elapsed.

Traidenis preserved Mindaugas' conquests in the South. He held Kopyl, Tureisk, Novogrodek, Slonim, Grodno, and other cities.[1] For a time he even secured Drohiczyn,[2] and often ravaged Volynia. Traidenis had several brothers. We possess some details about one of them (Sirputi); of the others we only know that they fell in the wars with the princes of Volynia. Traidenis was well known for his attachment to the pagan tenets, while his brothers were Christians, and, like Vaisvilkas, professed the faith of Rus. From this it would appear that the Grand Duke must have established them in Rus, although, unfortunately, we cannot ascertain in what particular cities. These Christian brothers on many occasions gave their support to the pagan Traidenis, and were faithful promoters of his policy. Traidenis entrusted them with the care and guard of his southern frontiers, while he himself was engaged on other fronts, principally against the Livonian Order. It is a striking fact that during Traidenis' entire reign there is no question of any Lithuanian expedition against Smolensk, Bryansk, or Chernihov, while such ventures recurred more than once in the reign of Mindaugas. Evidently the Grand Duke, always cautious, avoided any unsafe dispersal of his forces.

After Traidenis, Lithuanian activities in Rus were clearly on a defensive basis. The domain of Halicz and Volynia expanded towards the North, and in the ninth decade of the 13th century possessed Volkowysk, Slonim, and other cities.[3] This change was undoubtedly brought about by a fact which was crucial in Lithuanian history: the Teutonic Order, after having accomplished the conquest of the whole of Prussia, in 1283,[4] set foot on the banks of the Niemen, and began, with extraordinary perseverance and stubborness, to penetrate directly into Lithuanian and Samogitian territories. Faced by this new enemy, Pukuveras was, naturally, obliged to concentrate on the defence of the threatened western frontier, and erected new strongholds on the Niemen, both in Lithuania and in Samogitia. In view of the common danger, Samogitia co-operated with the Grand Duke, and the two sons of Pukuveras, Vytenis and Gediminas, were established in fortresses on the Niemen.[5]

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[1] *PSRL* II, pp. 872—7.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 871.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 884, 933.
[4] "Anno Domini 1283 eo tempore, quo ab incepto bello contra gentem Pruthenorum fluxerant jam 53 anni et omnes naciones in dicta terra expugnate essent et exterminate . . . , fratres dom. Theut . . . contra gentem illam potentem . . . , que fuit vicinior terre Prussie, ultra flumen Memele in terra Lethowie habitans, inceperunt bellum in hunc modum . . ." Petri de Duisburg, Chronicon terrae Prussiae, *SRP* I, p. 146. The Chronicle of Peter of Duisburg remains as eloquent evidence of the Teutonic Order's warlike ardour, and of their hatred of Lithuania; cf. W. Ziesemer, *Literatur des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen*, 1928, pp. 29—31.
[5] *SRP* I, pp. 170, 183, 190, 217; II, p. 709. See S. Zajączkowski, Przyczynki do hipotezy o pochodzeniu dynastji Giedymina ze Żmudzi, *AW* XIII, 1927, p. 409; *idem*, Wilhelm de Machaut i jego wiadomości do dziejów Polski i Litwy w XIV w., *KH*, 1929, p. 228.

But Pukuveras had two more sons, Voin and Fedor. The latter two make their appearance only in the reign of Gediminas; the first as Prince of Polotsk,[1] the second most probably of Kiev.[2] It is impossible to say what part they had played in the preceding years. But as Vytenis, who reigned after Pukuveras, did not continue the work of Lithuanian expansion into Slavonic lands on any important scale,[3] we must suppose that it was Gediminas who established his younger brothers in the southern and eastern borderlands.[4]

In the reign of Gediminas the position of the Grand Duke overshadowed that of all the other princes, and reduced them to subordinate and auxiliary status. From now on only the Grand Duke and his descendants were called upon to direct the affairs of the State. Although Gediminas was not the first "King" of his family, yet in the eyes of posterity he appeared as the founder of a new dynasty. He represents a completely new departure in Lithuania's history.

When Gediminas took over supreme power about A.D. 1315 (for it is in that year that Vytenis for the last time figures in the sources), he was a man in his prime, already surrounded by a grown-up family. The large number of his sons and daughters was a great asset in the hands of the new Grand Duke, and his desire to endow his sons and grandsons with lands contributed to the widening of Lithuania's frontiers in the first half of the 14th century. Gediminas' domain comprised Lithuania proper,[5] and also Samogitia, although the latter was somewhat less intimately bound to him. Separatist tendencies, in relation to Lithuania, on the part of the Samogitians appear several times in the records of Gediminas' reign. And yet the common danger from the Teutonic Order of Prussia overcomes the sense of distinctness, and spurs the Samogitans to many warlike ventures undertaken in common with the Lithuanians against the Germans. The wars between Lithuania and the Knights of the Cross during Gediminas' reign, though frequent, and conducted with great stubborness, resulted in no decisions, and no important territorial changes. And yet we cannot overlook the fact that invasions by the Order were much more numerous than the retaliatory expeditions of the Lithuanians.

Lettish Semigalia was the apple of discord between Lithuania and the Livonian Order. Gediminas took the title of ruler of this land (*princeps et dux Semigalliae*), but was unable, in spite of many efforts, to make good his

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[1] Under the year 1326, *PSRL* III, pp. 73—4. Voin (Woyn-at) was probably mentioned by the Grand Duke himself some years earlier. *LECU* VI, No. 3074, p. 484.

[2] Fedor appears in 1331, or late in 1330, as Gediminas' brother; cf. M. Priselkov — M. Fasmer, Otryvki V. N. Beneshevicha po istorii russkoi tserkvi XIV v., *IORYS*, 1916, p. 58. At the same time the chronicles mention a Prince of Kiev named Fedor, who acted strictly in unison with the Lithuanians. *PSRL* III, p. 75—6.

[3] For details of Vytenis' reign, cf. H. Paszkiewicz, *Jagiellonowie*, pp. 157—66.

[4] Polotsk was in Vytenis' direct possession. The Bishop of Polotsk, about 1298, alludes to him as his son. But he does not say a word about Voin. *HU* I, No. 1278, pp. 427—8.

[5] When enumerating the lands which were subject to him, Gediminas, in the first place, mentioned Lithuania proper. *PU* II (1), No. 418; cf. M. Perlbach, Königsberger Correspondenzen aus der Zeit Werners von Orseln, *AM*, 1873, No. 4, p. 81.

claims. In short, the territorial status of Lithuania at this time differed little from what it had been under the Grand Duke's predecessors, especially under Traidenis. Important changes, however, occurred in the Slavonic lands.

The records concerning Lithuania's expansion in the East and South are very poor and fragmentary. We lack any source containing a description of this aggrandizement of the Lithuanian State, which is all the more astonishing, in as much as the subject certainly deserved some attention on the part of contemporaries. The most valuable sources of information for the first half of Gediminas' reign are the notes made in the chancellery of the Metropolitan Theognostus, late in 1330 or in 1331.[1] They refer to many matters, and amongst others to the estate left by the Metropolitan, who died about 1330, and had been especially consecrated by the Patriarch of Constantinople as Metropolitan of the lands of Rus, which now belonged to Lithuania. The authority of this Church dignitary extended as far as the frontiers of Gediminas' domain and also to territories within the Grand Duke's influence. This record is therefore most important for fixing Lithuania's territorial status in these years, although it also has considerable defects. It does not give the date when Lithuanian domination was extended to these lands, and does not indicate the degree of their dependence on the Grand Duke.

For the latter period of Gediminas' reign a passage in the Chronicle of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania—a Lithuanian source, written in Slavonic —is of great value. It contains an enumeration of the sons of Gediminas, and of the cities with which they were endowed.[2]

Throughout almost the whole of Gediminas' reign Lithuanian pressure in a southerly direction was relatively weak. As the Knights of the Cross, in their expeditions against Lithuania, ravaged the territory of Grodno, it appears that this town must have belonged to the Grand Duke. The frontiers of the duchy of Halicz-Volynia in 1325 approached Grodno on the one side,[3] whilst at that time those of Mazovia were not far distant on the other.[4]

Podlachia belonged to Volynia approximately up to 1336;[5] this allows us to conclude that Lithuania manifested no specially powerful desire for conquest in the direction of the Bug (Drohiczyn and Brześć).[6] The same may be said of the upper and middle reaches of the Pripet, with Pinsk and Turov. In 1328, therefore at a time when the Metropolitan see of Lithuania was in existence, the Bishop of Turov depended on Halicz.[7] Had

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1 *IORYS*, 1916, pp. 49—61.
2 *PSRL* XVII, p. 71.
3 *PU* II, 1939, No. 536, p. 361.
4 *CDP* II, No. 114, p. 153.
5 H. Paszkiewicz, Z dziejów Podlasia w XIV w., *KH*, 1928, p. 242.
6 At the time of Gediminas' death, a belt of territory along the Bug, with Drohiczyn as its most important city, was in the possession of Mazovia. H. Paszkiewicz, *Jagiellonowie*, p. 354.
7 V. Vasilevsky, Zapiski o postavlenii russkikh episkopov, *ZMPN*, 1888, p. 450. As to the Bishopric of Turov having belonged, in the beginning of the 14th century, to the ecclesiastical province of Halicz, cf. J. Fijałek, Średniowieczne biskupstwa kościoła wschodniego na Litwie i Rusi, *KH*, 1896, p. 492.

Turov belonged to Gediminas at this time, we must suppose that its Bishopric would have been part of the ecclesiastical province of Lithuania. Now, as far as the Pripet region is concerned, there is a complete void in the sources through long years of the 14th century. Only towards the close of his life did Gediminas hand over to his son Narimantas (Narymunt) the land of Pinsk, to which Turov had been joined. Contrary to the opinion of many historians, who ascribe the acquisition of these territories to the days of Vytenis or to the first years of Gediminas' reign, I am inclined to think that it took place much later; that is, rather in the last years of the Grand Duke's life.[1]

Gediminas' unmistakable restraint in relation to conquests in the southern region can be explained not so much by his lack of strength or of interest, as by a political situation which bade him avoid a conflict with Poland, who was equally interested in the fate of the Halicz-Volynian territory. Gediminas was at the time linked with Poland in an alliance directed against the Teutonic Order.[2] Another son of Gediminas, Liubartas (Lubart), bearing the Christian name of Dimitri, and as early as 1320 or thereabouts designated by his father to be Prince of Volynia, was obliged to remain for a long time in the shade, awaiting the propitious moment for military intervention. This occurred in 1340, when Liubartas actually took possession of Volynia. Up to that time he had to content himself with a much more modest inheritance.

In the Records of the Metropolitan Theognostus we are told that a part of the Lithuanian Metropolitan's estate was seized by "Prince Dimitri" (1330). As the Metropolitan's see was Novogrodek, Liubartas-Dimitri must presumably have resided in some city not far away. This city was no other than Geranony.[3] Novogrodek itself was probably then,[4] and was certainly later, in the hands of Gediminas' son Karijotas (Korjat).

In 1326 Vasili, Prince of Minsk, was Gediminas' envoy to Great Novgorod.[5] This fact shows that at that time Minsk had already acknowledged the Lithuanian overlordship, although it gives us no clue about the date when this dependence began. This was probably in the first years of Gediminas' reign. It is difficult also to say who Vasili, Prince of Minsk, was. His name indicates a follower of the faith of Rus, but he may have been either a Lithuanian, or the scion of some line of the Rurikides. The latter possibility appears more probable, because Voin, Prince of Polotsk, also

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[1] Narimantas, who is known to have professed the faith of Rus under the name of Gleb, possessed Polotsk on the Dvina in the fourth decade of the 14th century, and as prince of that land concluded a treaty of commerce with Riga. *LECU* II, No. 796, pp. 332—3. Cf. L. Goetz, *Deutsch-Russische Handelsverträge des Mittelalters*, 1916, pp. 336—8. As late as 1338, the Novgorodians issued an invitation to Narimantas, who at that time sojourned in Lithuania. *PSRL* III, p. 78.

[2] S. Zajączkowski, *Przymierze polsko-litewskie* 1325 *r. KH*, 1926, pp 517—617; E. Długopolski, *Władysław Łokietek na tle swoich czasów*, 1951, pp. 225—34.

[3] " . . . ac etiam curia, quae iacet in Goranonach, quam quondam patruus noster Lubart tenuit . . . " *AUPL*, No. 38, p. 35.

[4] J. Puzyna, Korjat i Korjatowicze, *AW*, 1930, p. 426.

[5] *PSRL* VII, p. 199.

took part in the embassy, and the chronicler mentions that he was a brother of Gediminas. And as nothing is said of any relationship between Vasili and the Grand Duke of Lithuania, this seems to indicate that the ruler of Minsk did not come of Lithuanian stock. The fact that he had not yet been removed from his native city by the Lithuanians suggests that Gediminas had not been in possession of Minsk for very long.

Now, if we assume that Gediminas' brother Fedor, mentioned in the Metropolitan Theognostus' Records, is identical with the Prince Fedor, who at the same time appears at Kiev and there co-operates with the Lithuanians, it will become clear that in 1330—31 the Lithuanian domination in the South-East had reached as far as Kiev. This is very probable considering that Gediminas' successor on the Grand-Ducal throne, Algirdas, was without doubt in possession of Kiev. Evidently, we cannot say when and in what circumstances Fedor obtained his principality, but in any case it must have been before 1330.

At this time, Bryansk was the most powerful principality to the North-East of Kiev, beyond the Dnieper. Both Chernihov and Novgorod-Seversk belonged to it. The southern border of the principality of Bryansk probably followed the course of the rivers Seim and Desna, while its western frontier was on the Dnieper. And if the said Fedor of Kiev, with only a weak escort, could move freely around Chernihov,[1] this proves that Chernihov, as well as Kiev, was under the authority of the Lithuanians. In the Records from the chancellery of Theognostus we find the information that at Bryansk there remained the silk robes of the deceased Metropolitan (of Lithuania), together with vestments, stoles, surplices, and other garments, and many valuable ornaments, while his money was kept at Kozelsk, to the North-East of Bryansk. We see also, from the source in question, that the financial connections of the late Metropolitan reached as far as Murom on the Oka, as the Prince of that place had borrowed certain sums from him.[2] All these details are of considerable importance, as they indicate how far to the East extended the frontiers of the Lithuanian State, or at least the sphere of its influence. From other sources, we know that two principalities which were situated on the route from Bryansk to Murom —Novosil and Ryazan—were at that time linked with an ally of Lithuania, the Prince of Tver, and thus, indirectly, with Lithuania herself.

Evidently we must not exaggerate the importance of the above details, and develop bold conjectures as to the Lithuanian domination of territories beyond the Dnieper. Kozelsk and Novosil, Ryazan and Murom, were small political entities weakened by the great multiplication of the local princely stock, and the continual divisions which were the consequence.

How strong was the gravitation towards Lithuania of all these principalities, and on the other hand, how much diplomatic adroitness and perspicacity was employed by Gediminas in the appraisement of situations

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[1] *Ibid.* III, pp. 75—6.
[2] *IORYS* XXI, 1916, pp. 49—58.

existing on the Desna, the Oka, and their tributaries—these are matters which it is impossible to judge with any accuracy. We must suppose that these connections were fairly loose. They were conditioned by the great expanse of territories, and the abundance of impenetrable forests, which strengthened provincial separatisms, and rendered permanent control of these lands impossible. How difficult it must have been to establish and maintain contact, for example, between the Metropolitan of Lithuania at Novogrodek and the principality of Murom, is illustrated by the fact that the journey only from the Dnieper to Bryansk, across the great forests, lasted nearly 20 days, during which hardly any human settlements were encountered.[1]

Now, let us turn further northwards.

As already stated, the master of Polotsk was Voin, a brother of Gediminas.[2] But in 1326, Fedor, son of Svyatoslav, Prince of Dorogobuzh and Vyazma,[3] went, as the Lithuanian ruler's envoy, to Great Novgorod, together with Voin of Polotsk and Vasili of Minsk. From this it would appear that as early as the third decade of the 14th century, Gediminas' writ ran as far as the eastern limits of the territory of Smolensk. In 1335, Moscovite armies ransacked the Lithuanian border towns of Osechen, Ryasna, etc.[4] These localities have been correctly located by M. Lyubavsky, who in sources of the 15th and 16th centuries found a domain of Osechen on the upper reaches of the Volga, and not far from this town, slightly to the North-East, the estate of Ryasna.[5] In a word, the line Ryasna, Osechen, Vyazma allows us to establish the border of the Lithuanian realm in this region.[6]

This border ran further to the North through the territories of Smolensk and Vitebsk, to the possessions of Pskov and Novgorod. As early as the autumn of 1322, during their fierce battles with the Livonian Order, the Pskovians called to the ducal throne the Lithuanian chief David,[7] who a few years previously had stubbornly defended the Niemen stronghold of Grodno against the Teutonic Order. David, who distinguished himself in the service of Gediminas, was on terms of intimacy with the Grand Duke.[8]

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[1] *CEV*, No. 347, p. 131.

[2] That Polotsk belonged to Gediminas' realm throughout the whole of his reign may be seen from his treaty with the Livonian Order and with the city of Riga, in which the Prince of Polotsk figures on the side of the Grand Duke of Lithuania, *LECU* VI, No. 3081, p. 508. The Prince of Vitebsk appears in the same capacity in the treaty just quoted, a circumstance which proves that the line of the Dvina was decidedly in Gediminas' possession.

[3] His principality is correctly located by P. Golubovsky, *Istoriya smolenskoi zemli do nachala XV v.*, 1895, pp. 202, 315; cf. A. Presnyakov, *Obrazovanie velikorusskogo gosudarstva*, 1918, p. 161. An outline of the history of Vyazma is found in I. Vinogradov, *Istoricheskii ocherk goroda Vyazmy s drevneishikh vremen do XVII v.*, 1890.

[4] *PSRL* III, p. 77.

[5] M. Lyubavsky, *Obrazovanie osnovnoi gosudarstvennoi territorii velikorusskoi narodnosti*, 1929, p. 82.

[6] Considering that the eastern borderlands of Smolensk depended upon Lithuania, Smolensk itself must have been all the more in that position. Ivan, Prince of Smolensk, when he concludes a peace treaty with the Livonian Order in 1339—40, speaks in it of the Lithuanian overlordship as recognized by himself. *LECU* II, No. 796, p. 333.

[7] *PSRL* III, p. 73; IV, p. 75; *LECU* VI, No. 3068, p. 466.

[8] . . . " vos (Gediminas) et ipse (David) estis amici speciales ", write the inhabitants of Riga to the Grand Duke of Lithuania in 1322. *LECU* VI, No. 3068, p. 466.

Thus Pskov, through its decision, became dependent on Lithuania,[1] but this dependence brought it considerable advantages, military aid against all threatening enemies, and political support in many important matters. Pskov's connection with Lithuania was maintained after David's death (1326), and, with certain changes, persisted all through the reign of the Grand Duke.[2] Gediminas also tried to reduce Novgorod to dependence, but Novgorod was too robust a political entity for this plan to be fully realized. Nevertheless, at certain moments (as, e.g., in A.D. 1333 and 1338), the Novgorodians themselves sought to make contacts with Lithuania, and offered their princely throne to Narimantas, the son of Gediminas.[3] Novgorod, threatened by two powerful neighbours, Lithuania and Moscow, tried to maintain its independence by manoeuvring between them.

Every student of these events must be struck by the extraordinary growth of Lithuania's domination and influence in the East and South during the first half of the 14th century. The realm of Gediminas extended from Pskov in the North to the southern limits of the land of Kiev, from the upper reaches of the Volga to Volynia. This enormous expanse of newly subjected territory, this collection of lands linked with Lithuania in different ways, in various degrees of stability, testifies to the success of the Grand Duke's policy. It was in connection with this broad expansion that the transfer of the capital from Kernavė to Vilnius (Wilno) took place.[4]

In the last years of Gediminas' reign, the impetus of the Lithuanian advance appears to have somewhat abated. No doubt, the Grand Duke's advanced age may have been one of the reasons of this decline,[5] while the great extension of the realm, and its relatively weak political organization rendered impossible the actual concentration of the supreme power in the hands of a single man. Hence the important role played by the ruler's sons in the political life of Lithuania;[6] it was to his sons, and to his sons only,[7] that Gediminas entrusted his great work and its future.

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[1] In 1323, Gediminas used not only the title of Duke of Lithuania and Samogitia, but also that of Prince of Pskov. *PU* II (1), No 418, p. 301.

[2] *PSRL* III, p. 75 ; *HU* II, No. 569, p. 251.

[3] *PSRL* III, pp. 77—8.

[4] The new capital appears in the sources for the first time under Gediminas (1323). Earlier references are very uncertain. The well-known account of its foundation by Gediminas is a literary work. Cf. K. Chodynicki, Tradycja jako źródło historyczne. *Studia staropolskie ku czci A. Brücknera*, 1928, p. 178. On the beginnings of the city see M. Limanowski, Najstarsze Wilno, in *Wilno i Ziemia Wileńska*, by several hands, 1930. On its fortifications in the 14th cent. see E. Golubovich—V. Golubovich, Krivoi gorod-Vilno, *KSDPI* XI, 1945, 114—25.

[5] Gediminas was born in the latter half of the 13th century (about 1280) ; the date has not been exactly ascertained. His sons and daughters married about 1320, and Gediminas had, in 1338, a grown-up grandson, Alexander, a son of Narimantas.

[6] No wonder, therefore, that Lithuania often appears in the sources as a country ruled by several princes. Thus, in 1325, the Tartar Khan despatches an army to wage war against " the princes of Lithuania ". *PSRL* X, p. 189; in 1331 envoys come to Volynia, to the Metropolitan Theognostus, " from Gedyminas and from all the Lithuanian princes ", *ibid.* III, pp. 75—6 ; in 1340, Knights of the Cross relate that " imperator Tartarorum una cum . . . regibus Litwinorum " intended to attack them. *LECU* II, No. 793, p. 330.

[7] Very little can be said of the nephews of Gediminas. Vytenis had a son, who is mentioned once only in the sources (1309). We know nothing about any descendants of Fedor of Kiev. Voin of Polotsk had a son, who, however, did not succeed his father to that principality. Towards the end of the reign of Gediminas, the ruler of Polotsk was his son, Narimantas.

The division of his lands, carried out by Gediminas during the declining years of his life, deserves special attention. These lands represented the Lithuanian realm in the strict sense, i.e., the territory of which the Grand Duke could freely dispose. It consisted of two components, varying in race and religion: the one Lithuanian and pagan, the other Slavonic and following the faith of Rus.[1] The Lithuanians were foremost in Gediminas' domain, the Slavs held an important but less prominent position. It was to this state of affairs that the division of their paternal inheritance between Gediminas' sons was adapted. In the matter of faith, they, too, formed two groups: one pagan, and predestined to play the leading role, comprising Yaunutis (Jawnuta), Mantvydas (Moniwid), Algirdas, and Kestutis; the other Christian, and of lesser importance, including Karijotas—Michael, Narimantas—Gleb, and Liubartas—Dimitri.

Gediminas died during the winter of 1341—2, and after his death considerable changes occurred within the pagan group. Mantvydas, who was without issue, died shortly after his father; Jaunutis was deposed by Algirdas and Kestutis from the Grand-Ducal throne in the winter of 1344—5; he accepted the faith of Rus, took the name of Ivan, was established in the minor principality of Zaslav, and joined the Christian and politically less important group. The two most talented of all the sons of Gediminas, and the last two pagans in the Grand-Ducal family, Algirdas and Kestutis, took over the government of Lithuania. Their joint and harmonious rule lasted more than 30 years,[2] and was destined to bestow on Lithuania a measure of grandeur not unworthy of their father's inheritance. In addition to certain Slavonic lands[3] they held jointly the whole of Lithuania proper, a territorial foundation which was indispensable for the maintenance of a strong Grand-Ducal power, and the efficient conduct of political affairs. Algirdas' residence at Vilnius, and Kestutis' at Trakai (Troki), raised these cities to the position of the two capitals of Lithuania.

The distribution of power among the members of Gediminas' family, far from shifting in the course of time, rather became more stable. Neither Karijotas of Novogrodek, nor Narimantas of Pinsk, nor yet Liubartas of Volynia could change this state of affairs. Both Karijotas and Narimantas

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[1] The Chronicle of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania, when enumerating the cities and lands with which Gediminas endowed his sons, does not refer to Samogitia, *PSRL* XVII, p. 71, etc. Therefore, S. Zajączkowski, *Dzieje Litwy pogańskiej*, 1930, p. 48, seems to be right in thinking that this land was only loosely connected with the Grand Duchy; and we may add that this connection, such as it was, was certainly less close than that which linked the Slavonic territories on the Dvina or North of the Pripet with Lithuania.

[2] The subject of Algirdas' condominium with Kestutis has been treated by many authors. See O. Halecki, Wcielenie i wznowienie państwa litewskiego przez Polskę, *PH*, 1917—18, pp. 8—9. J. Pfitzner, *Grossfürst Witold von Litauen*, 1930, pp. 29—30; S. Zajączkowski, Witold, wielki książę litewski, *AW*, 1930, pp. 460—1; K. Avižonis, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des litauischen Adels*, 1932, p. 95; S. Sužiedelis, Lietuva ir Gediminaiciai sėdant Jogailai i Didziojo Kunigaikscio sostą, in *Jogaila*, by several hands, 1935, pp. 15—28; J. Deveike, The Lithuanian Diarchies, *SEER* XXVIII, 1950, pp. 392—405, and others.

[3] Algirdas held Krevo, situated on the border of the Lithuanian and Slavonic lands, and Vitebsk on the Dvina; Kestutis, Grodno and a part of Podlasie (Podlachia). In any case, in later times Kestutis owned these lands; he had obtained the whole of Podlasie before 1355.

had numerous families. Each one of Gediminas' grandsons, if he was able to maintain himself at all in his father's domain, did so only in a small territory. Liubartas, involved in wars with Poland under Casimir the Great, was unable to take part in the internal affairs of Lithuania.

After Narimantas' death (1348) his sons divided among themselves the territory of Pinsk.[1] In 1362 or 1363, Karijotas died;[2] in 1366 or 1367, Jaunutis ended his days,[3] leaving Zaslav to his son Michael. But when these young princes were established, not only questions of mere form, such as the right of succession, counted, but also the wishes of the Grand Duke and of those who were most closely connected with him; and these wishes were often of decisive importance.

As the young generation grew up, Algirdas drew his nephews into public service, sent them to various lands as envoys, associated them with the conclusion of treaties between Lithuania and her neighbours, and called upon them for the defence of the country's frontiers. But what is specially noteworthy is his system of establishing the young princes in frontier cities. Thus, in 1352 we hear of an unnamed nephew of Algirdas who holds Smolensk, at the time threatened by Moscow,[4] and such cases may have been more numerous in the East.[5] But these instances of Grand-Ducal policy are especially prominent in relation to the Lithuano-Polish border.

In 1349—52, Lithuanian domination in Volynia was seriously threatened by Poland. In 1351, Liubartas was a prisoner of Casimir the Great, and Algirdas, desiring to strengthen his position in the face of the Polish offensive strategy, established George, a son of Narimantas,[6] at Bełz, and sons of Karijotas, George, and possibly also Alexander, at Vladimir and probably at Chełm. Thus was Liubartas' domain broken up, and when the Prince returned from captivity he was obliged to rest content with only a part of the territory he had previously possessed.[7] It is not astonishing that this son of Gediminas, thus injured, should have harboured deep resentment against the descendants of his brother Karijotas.

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[1] For details cf. J. Puzyna, Narymunt Giedyminowicz, *MH* IX, 1930; *idem*, Potomstwo Narymunta Giedyminowicza, *MH* X—XI, 1931—2.

[2] For detailed arguments in support of this date, cf. H. Paszkiewicz, *O genezie i wartości Krewa*, 1938, pp. 28—31.

[3] Jaunutis still appears in the Lithuano-Polish treaty of 1366. Cf. B. Barvinsky, *Istorichni prichinki* II, 1909, pp. 57—9. As we do not find his name in the agreement between Lithuania and Livonia signed in November 1367, *L ECU* II, No. 1041, pp. 772—3, nor later, it is asumed that he must have died before the latter date.

[4] *SRP* II, p. 518.

[5] It is possible, e.g., that one of Narimantas' sons was established by Algirdas at Mstislavl; cf. J. Wolff, *Ród Giedymina*, 1896 p. 20, all the more so as at this time the Grand Duke was campaigning in the territories of Smolensk and Bryansk.

[6] The instance of George, son of Narimantas, shows that the Grand Duke had an eye for the personal qualities of his nephews, to whom he entrusted important missions. Bełz now became, and was to remain for long years, the chief centre of resistance to Poland. George who was loyal to his kinsmen, and particularly to Liubartas, stubbornly defended the stronghold which was in his charge against Polish and Hungarian attacks, and was often the driving force in offensive undertakings against Poland. *MPH* III, p. 212. If ever he was forced by circumstances to submit to the enemy, he did so hypocritically, and, at the most difficult moments, was still planning revenge. *MPH* II, p. 631.

[7] For details of these events see H. Paszkiewicz, *O genezie*, pp. 26—7, 275—86.

Karijotas' influence at the Grand-Ducal court forced Liubartas to wait a long time for the desired hour of revenge. When finally, in 1362—1363, Karijotas died, and his sons were ousted from the land of Novogrodek, the territory being divided into two parts, one becoming a dependency of Algirdas and the other a dependency of Kestutis; Liubartas also proceeded to remove his nephews from Vladimir and Chełm.

But the Grand Duke appears to have entrusted the sons of Karijotas with another task: namely, to take possession of Kamieniec and other cities of Podolia. If this theory is correct,[1] it would go far towards showing how greatly internal affairs and family arrangements between the descendants of Gediminas influenced the territorial expansion of the Lithuanian realm.

The fact is that under the rule of Algirdas, especially in the latter half of his reign, the position of the Grand Duke's nephews was very perceptibly weakened. The sons of Narimantas, Karijotas, and Jaunutis sank to the rank of princelings, with very limited spheres of action. And as Gediminas kept all the members of the dynasty, with the exception of his own children, in the background, so, in the following generation, the principal part in the political life of Lithuania was played by the sons of Algirdas and Kestutis.

Algirdas was more keenly interested than Kestutis in the eastward expansion of Lithuania, and he considerably enlarged the Grand Duchy; but we must remember that, at the same time, the reigning dynasty had become more numerous, and had to be suitably provided for.

Algirdas, twice married,[2] had twelve sons. The older ones, those of his first marriage, he set up in spacious duchies during his lifetime. The eldest, Fedor,[3] received Ratno, and probably also Kobryn and other cities.[4] Andrew was given Polotsk; Dimitri, Bryansk; Constantine, Chernihov and Czartorysk in Volynia; Vladimir, Kiev. Without going into details as to when and how these principalities were assigned,[5] we note that Algirdas

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[1] Our sources do not allow us to fix the date when the sons of Karijotas obtained Podolia. They were certainly in possession of that country in the eighth decade of the 14th century, but they may have held it already earlier than this. Among the many circumstances which would seem to suggest this, we might quote Algirdas' offensive in 1362—3 (a date which is not without significance) on the Horyn, the Sluch, and possibly also on the Boh. Cf. S. Kuczyński, Sine Wody, *Księga ku czci O. Haleckiego*, 1935, pp. 81—141, and H. Paszkiewicz, *O genezie*, pp. 264—99.

[2] Algirdas' first wife was a princess of Vitebsk, from whom he inherited that duchy; the marriage took place about 1320; his second wife was Juliana of Tver, whom he married about 1350. With regard to the date of the second marriage, cf. A. Presnyakov, *Obrazovanie velikorusskogo gosudarstva*, 1918, p. 286.

[3] Louis of Anjou, King of Hungary and Poland (he gained the throne of Poland in 1370, on the death of his uncle, Casimir the Great), wrote in the first months after Algirdas' death (1377) in a letter to Francesco Carrara: "Codor magni Olgordi summi principis Lituanorum primogenitus . . ." O. Halecki, Przyczynki genealogiczne do dziejów układu krewskiego, MH, 1935, p. 102.

[4] In the letter just quoted, Louis stresses that Fedor "plurima habet fortissima castra." It is possible, therefore, that Algirdas' son possessed yet other lands.

[5] According to the Lithuano-Polish treaty of 1366, Kobryn was to belong to Algirdas, and Ratno to Casimir the Great. Consequently, before 1366, Algirdas was able to establish Fedor in Kobryn. Fedor laid hands on Ratno after the death of the King of Poland, i.e., after November

must have disposed of much more extensive territories than Gediminas. In the East, the frontier, little changed since the fourth decade of the century, ran along the line: Ryasna, Lukovnikovo (Luki Velikiya), Osechen, Rzhev, Fominskoe (Fomin Gorodok, near Zubtsov), Berezui (Berezuesk) Khlyapen (Khlepen), Kozlovo, Vyazma.[1] Evidently these borderlands were often lost by Lithuania, and then restored to her, only to be lost again; and conditions there were far from stable.[2] More important were the changes which took place in the basin of the upper Oka, where a number of principalities and cities depended on Algirdas, such as Kaluga, Lipitsy, Kozelsk, Mtsensk, Novosil, etc.

We have already mentioned that Algirdas' elder sons were established at Bryansk and Chernihov. Thus, we obtain new data for fixing the territorial status of Lithuania in regions situated further to the South. The connections of Kiev with Lithuania, unstable as they appear to have been, remain a matter of conjecture in the reign of Gediminas, but under Algirdas they become much more definite. In the South-East, Lithuania's borders merge with the Black Sea steppes.[3]

In addition to the direct possessions of the Grand Duke, entrusted to his sons or to appointed governors, important areas were in a looser relationship with Lithuania. Relations with these principalities were somewhat fluid; they were developed or neglected in accordance with the general political situation. In the case of these principalities, there could be no question of subjection and subordination, but rather of the co-operation of the local princes with Algirdas against common enemies. Yet in view of the predominance of the Grand-Duke's power, a certain measure of protection by Lithuania over her minor allies was inevitable. In the reign of Algirdas the lands on the Volga and its tributaries belonged to this sphere of Lithuanian influence.

In the 14th century, Lithuania was, above all things, a military power. Nicephorus Gregoras (d. 1360) makes a series of interesting remarks on this subject, which are undoubtedly the expression of opinions prevailing in Constantinople. " The Lithuanian people subject to one ruler are numerous

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1370. Andrew obtained Polotsk as early as 1359. Concerning the dimensions of Andrew's share, cf. S. Kuczyński, Ziemie czernihowsko-siewierskie pod rządami Litwy, *PUNI* XXXIII, 1936, pp. 159—60, 181. On the relations of Polotsk with Lithuania, see N. Baumgarten, Polotsk et la Lithuanie, *OC* II, 1936, pp. 223—53. S. Kuczyński, *op. cit.*, p. 171, supposes that about 1369 Algirdas transferred Bryansk to Dimitri, and Chernihov to Constantine. Vladimir's instalment in Kiev took place after 1367; in that year the prince figures as Algirdas' representative in the treaty between Lithuania and the Livonian Order, *L ECU* II, No. 1041, pp. 772—3. On Vladimir's rule in Kiev, see M. Hrushevsky, Ocherk istorii Kievskoi zemli do kontsa XIV st., *UIK*, 1891, pp. 497—9; P. Klepatsky, *Ocherki po istorii Kievskoi zemli* I, 1912, pp. 24—30.

[1] Algirdas' letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople, written at the end of 1370 or the beginning of 1371, contains a series of details which, for the first time, allow us, with approximate accuracy, to trace the eastern border of the Lithuanian State during this period. *RIB* VI, No. 24, pp. 135—40.

[2] For a more detailed account of the history of these lands, cf. H. Paszkiewicz, *Jagiellonowie*, Chapter IV.

[3] Beyond the border of the Kiev territory extended a no-man's-land designated by contemporaries as " solitudines inter Tartaros et Rutenos ", *SRP* II, p. 80.

and very brave, even unconquerable . . . Their King surpasses immensely all the Christian princes of northern Rus in the power and the warlike qualities of his army. He alone does not pay the Mongols any yearly tribute, because his Kingdom is very great and well fortified . . . "[1]

This view is further strengthened by the behaviour of the Tartars, who avoided any major armed conflicts with Lithuania. We are also made well aware how much toil and effort the war with Lithuania cost the Teutonic Order of Prussia and similarly the Livonian Order. The Rhymed Chronicle of Livonia often speaks of Lithuanian *schônes her* and *manchen helt*. Peter of Duisburg's Chronicle acknowledges that the Lithuanians were *viri experti et subtiles in bello*.[2]

The sources often mention the great strength of Lithuania's armed forces, the rapidity of their military operations, and skill in surprising the enemy.[3] In defence, on the other hand, the Lithuanians profited from the inaccessibility of their own lands, protected, as they were, by well-fortified strongholds.[4] But from all these facts we must not conclude that Lithuania's territorial expansion under Gediminas and Algirdas was exclusively the result of military conquest.

Both components of the realm, Lithuanian and Slavonic, appear in the Grand Duke's titles,[5] a detail worthy of note. Lithuanian policy in the Slavonic land was based on the maintenance of the *status quo*, and on the preservation of local customs and traditions (*starina*).[6] The Lithuanian State was federal in character, at least in relation to certain principalities, such as those of Polotsk, Vitebsk, and Smolensk, which enjoyed a wide internal autonomy.[7] In the sources, the tolerant attitude of the Lithuanians with regard to the faith of the Slavs is plainly apparent.

Against the background of the inveterate antagonism between the Eastern and Western Churches, each of which denied the other's right to the name of Christian,[8] the religious tolerance of the Lithuanian " kings " forms a striking contrast, which testifies to their political maturity and their

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[1] J. Fijałek, Średniowieczne biskupstwa kościoła wschodniego na Rusi i Litwie, *KH*, 1896, p. 518.

[2] V. Pashuto, Khozyaistvo i tekhnika srednevekovoi Litwy, *Vol*, 1947 (8), p. 81.

[3] *PSRL* XI, p. 11; cf. J. Puzyna, W sprawie pierwszych walk Litwinów z Tatarami o Ruś w latach 1238—43, *PHW* IX, 1937, p. 396.

[4] *CDP* II, No. 114, p. 152; MPH II, pp. 630, 678, etc.

[5] Gediminas used the title: "Letwinorum et multorum Ruthenorum rex", *LECU* II, No. 687, p. 140. The inhabitants of Riga in 1322 address Gediminas as " domino Gedemynde . . . Letwinorum Ruthenorumque regi," *ibid.* VI, No. 3068, p. 466. In 1326, there appears " quidam dominus Lesse nuntius . . . domini Gedeminni, Lethowinorum et multorum Ruthenorum regis," *ibid.* VI, No. 3075, p. 486, etc. The State title of Lithuania as Grand Duchy (Magnus Ducatus Lithuaniae) becomes fixed only in the 15th century. Cf. J. Adamus, O tytule panującego i państwa litewskiego parę spostrzeżeń, *KH* XLIV, 1930, pp. 313—32.

[6] W. Kamieniecki, Rozwój własności na Litwie w dobie przed I Statutem, *RPAU* LVII, 1914, p. 98; O. Halecki, Litwa, Ruś i Żmudź jako części składowe W. Księstwa Litewskiego, *RPAU* LIX, 1916, p. 228; W. Hryszkiewicz, Rola ziem białoruskich w uniach polsko-litewskich, *PVIZHP*, 1935, p. 184.

[7] V. Picheta, Obrazovanie Belorusskogo naroda, *Vol*, 1946, pp. 19—20.

[8] In the eyes of the Eastern Slavs, Catholicism was a " pagan," " German " faith, " abominable before God." Followers of the faith of Rus were often looked upon as little better than pagans by the Roman Catholics.

wisdom. Gediminas, in his letters, strongly emphasized this Lithuanian attitude ;[1] Algirdas acted in accordance with the same principle,[2] and we have evidence that Jogaila followed in his father's and grandfather's footsteps in this respect.[3]

In the course of time it became almost the rule for Lithuanian princes established in Slavonic lands to embrace the faith of Rus. We may note the first case of this kind in the reign of Mindaugas, when Vaisvilkas, becoming ruler of Novogrodek, adopted Eastern Christianity. All the brothers of Traidenis were Christians ; and Fedor, the brother of Gediminas, was also a Christian. The Christian sons of Gediminas are known to our sources under double names. The elder sons of Algirdas, however, gave up their Lithuanian names, and were mentioned by their Christian names exclusively. The progressive adoption of the faith of Rus continued in the reign of Jogaila and embraced also some of the younger sons of Algirdas and the Princess Juliana of Tver.[4] All these facts show clearly how much importance the Lithuanian princes attached to binding the subject Slavs permanently to their realm.

In the 14th century, ecclesiastical conditions in eastern Europe underwent important changes. The Metropolitan see was transferred to the North, from Kiev to Vladimir on the Klyazma, and in fact to Moscow, and, as a consequence, the Metropolitans became the advocates of their new secular patrons' interests. Now, it was of great importance for Lithuania, on religious and political grounds, to possess a Church organization of her own, directly dependent on Constantinople. That is why, in the reign of Gediminas, a Lithuanian Metropolitan appears several times in the sources, under the years 1317, 1327 and 1329.[5] It may be supposed that this Metropolitan died about 1330, and that the Lithuanian see, with its centre at Novogrodek, was at that time abolished, for we hear nothing about it for a long

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[1] These are memorable words of the Grand Duke: " . . . Christianos facere Deum suum colere secundum morem suum, Ruthenos secundum ritum suum, Polonos secundum morem suum et nos colimus Deum secundum ritum nostrum, et omnes habemus unum Deum." *LECU* VI, No. 3073, p. 479.

[2] We must not think that Algirdas murdered Christians, *PSRL* V, p. 226, or, conversely, punished pagans with death in defence of Christians, as would follow from the legend of the martyrdom of the 14 Franciscans. Cf. K. Chodynicki, Legenda o męczeństwie czternastu franciszkanów w Wilnie, *AW*, 1927, pp. 53—78.

[3] In 1385, the Grand Duke undertook to receive Roman baptism " cum omnibus fratribus suis nondum baptisatis." *AUPL*, No. 1, p. 2 ; these he contrasted with his other brothers, who belonged to the Eastern Church and were already baptized. The emphasis thus laid on the equality of both Churches is very characteristic. Pope Urban VI tried unsuccessfully, in 1388, to obtain from the new Polish King an undertaking that his brothers, followers of the faith of Rus, should also embrace Catholicism (. . . " fratres ad fidem revoca ". *KDKW* I, No. 12, p. 24). It is noteworthy that these Orthodox brothers of the King—Skirgaila (Skirgiełło), Vladimir, and Kaributas (Korybut)—were called upon to supervise the propagation of the new faith in Lithuania. *KDKW*, Nos. 1, 6, pp. 6, 8, 14, etc.

[4] Skirgaila was baptized in the Eastern Church, and took the name of Ivan (c. 1380). H. Paszkiewicz, *O genezie*, pp. 100—3. This baptism took place when Skirgaila was endowed with Polotsk. Kaributas—Dimitri, established in Novgorod—Seversk, was also baptized about 1380. Cf. H. Paszkiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 103. Lengvenis (Lingwen), too, became a Christian. It may be emphasized that these younger sons of Algirdas are much more frequently mentioned in the sources under their pagan names.

[5] *APC* I, Nos. 39, 65, 67, pp. 72, 143, 147.

time after this date. We are confirmed in this opinion by the Records, mentioned above, of the Metropolitan "of all Rus", Theognostus,[1] a Greek who had already held this high office for some years. In consequence of his clever manoeuvring, Theognostus became not only the heir to the deceased Lithuanian Metropolitan's property, but also the liquidator of his see. The restitution of the ecclesiastical unity of all Rus was in the first place a personal success for Theognostus, and in the second, an undeniable victory for Moscow. Algirdas was fully aware of the significance of the defeat which his father had suffered. Consequently, after he succeeded his father, he never wearied in his efforts for the restoration of a separate Lithuanian Metropolitan see, and was at least partly successful. Since Lithuania was still pagan, the Church policy of Gediminas and Algirdas must have appealed to their Slavonic subjects, who were especially interested to preserve this Metropolitan see.[2]

Besides their respect of local customs and tradition, their religious tolerance, and even their support of the faith of Rus, we can distinguish in the policies of Gediminas and Algirdas some further elements which produced a tightening of the links between the Slavs and the Lithuanians. The intermarriages between the two groups may be mentioned here by way of example. There is a close analogy between Algirdas' marriage to a princess of Vitebsk and Liubartas' to one of Volynia. Both married heiresses who were the last of their respective lines, and, in this way, both came into possession of extensive lands.[3] The numerous intermarriages between Lithuanians and non-Lithuanians helped to expand the influence of the Grand-Duchy in various regions.

In the 14th century, a prolonged and stubborn struggle took place between Moscow and Tver for preponderance in the basin of the Volga. Both sides sought support and allies, in order to shift the balance in their favour. Tver became linked with Lithuania, and more than once received political and military support from Gediminas and later from Algirdas. Marriages between members of the two houses took place in connection with these events. In 1320, Dimitri, the son of Michael, married Gediminas' daughter Mary.[4] In 1350, Algirdas married Juliana, daughter of Alexander, and niece of Dimitri. This marriage was of great importance, not only in

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[1] *IORYS* XXI, 1916, pp. 48—67.

[2] For details concerning the Metropolitan see of Lithuania in the 14th century, cf. J. Fijałek, Średniowieczne biskupstwa Kościoła wschodniego na Rusi i Litwie, *KH*, 1896, pp. 513—21; H. Paszkiewicz, *Jagiellonowie*, Chapters III and IV; K. Chodynicki, *Kościół prawosławny a Rzeczpospolita Polska*, 1934.

[3] *PSRL* XVII, p. 71. The pedigree of the Princes of Vitebsk attached to the Chronicle of Bychowiec is not a reliable source. Yet the year 1318, indicated as the date of Algirdas' marriage with Mary of Vitebsk, has probability to recommend it. Liubartas must have married the daughter of Andrew of Volynia before 1322—23, because Andrew and his brother Leo of Halicz, both perished at that time. For the listing and analysis of the sources concerning Liubartas' marriage and the deaths of Andrew and Leo, cf. H. Paszkiewicz, Polityka ruska Kazimierza Wielkiego, *RHWTN* IV, 1925, pp. 15—6; S. Zajączkowski, Wołyń pod rządami Litwy, *RW*, 1931, p. 2. An important source of information on these matters, which students mostly overlook is: A. Sobolevsky, Russkoe izvestie o poslednikh galitskikh Ryurikovichakh, *Sbornik statei v chest M. K. Lyubavskogo*, 1917, pp. 214—5.

[4] Lithuanian brides usually embraced their husbands' faith on marriage.

view of Algirdas' position, but also because of the outstanding personality of Juliana. Finally, in 1375, Ivan of Tver married the daughter of Kestutis.

Similar alliances, though not of so decisive a character, occurred between Lithuania and Nizhni Novgorod on the Volga. This city was, in the 14th century, an important centre, which had grouped around itself wide territories, such as Suzdal, Gorodets, Berezhets at the mouth of the Klyazma, Yurev on the Volga, Shuya, etc. In the period of the anti-Muscovite policy of Nizhni-Novgorod, there took place the marriage of its Prince, Boris Constantinovich, with Algirdas' daughter. In 1360, Dimitri, the brother of Boris, was able, if only for a short while, to secure the Grand-Ducal throne of Vladimir, an event which undoubtedly marked a setback for Moscow.

Lithuania's matrimonial policy also scored more than one important success on the upper reaches of the Oka. Ivan of Novosil and Svyatoslav of Karachev were both Algirdas' sons-in-law, and the Prince of Zvenigorod likewise had a Lithuanian wife. Thus, Lithuania, through her allies, tried to check Moscow on every side. We have evidence to show how accurately Algirdas remembered the numerous injuries suffered at the hands of Moscow by members of his family, his brother-in-law of Tver, his sons-in-law of Nizhni Novgorod, Novosil, and others.[1] It is clear that he was interested in their fate.

It is impossible to deny that the Lithuanians very cleverly took advantage of their neighbours' antagonisms, of the quarrels between Polotsk or Great Novgorod and the Livonian Order, between Polotsk and Novgorod, between Novgorod and Pskov, between the Archbishop of Riga and the Livonian Order, between Eastern Slavs and Tartars; of the internal feuds among the Tartars, and the rivalries between Moscow and Tver, between Moscow and Nizhni Novgorod, etc.[2] All this allowed the Lithuanians to advance their frontiers and widen the sphere of their influence by peaceful means. In the records there is a complete lack of such information as we might expect concerning the great conquests of Gediminas and Algirdas, considering the territorial extension of the Grand Duchy in their day. But it is enough to compare Tartar sway with Lithuanian domination in eastern Europe to be convinced that the latter served the interests of the population concerned very much better. That is why Lithuania maintained her position in the Slavonic lands very much longer than the Tartars.

Solidarity between the Lithuanians and the Slavs definitely benefited both parties. It brought Lithuania not only fiefs for the members of the dynasty, but what was much more important, the mass participation of the Slavs in wars against Lithuania's enemies, especially against the two Orders, of Prussia and Livonia, which long ago (1237) formed an organizational unity. These Slavs subject to Lithuania appear in the sources under the name of *Rutheni*, i.e., followers of the faith of Rus. In the bloody battle

[1] *RIB* VI, No 24, pp. 135—40.
[2] H. Paszkiewicz, *Jagiellonowie*, pp. 31—2, 101, 159—60, 254—67, 408, etc.

fought in 1348 against the Germans on the river Strava, we find on the side of Lithuania Slavonic contingents from Vladimir in Volynia, from Brześć on the Bug, from Vitebsk, Smolensk, and Polotsk[1]; and warriors from Pinsk, Novogrodek, and other places were doubtless also present.[2] In this particular case the chroniclers enumerate the principalities which gave support to the Grand Duke, but for the most part the sources speak only in general terms of the share of the Slavonic forces in expeditions undertaken in common with the Lithuanians.[3] This solidarity depended largely on the fact that the Germans ravaged territories inhabited by the Slavs with the same callousness and cruelty as those of Lithuania proper. The Slavonic contingents, scattered all over the ethnically Lithuanian territory, chiefly on garrison duties, took part in the defence of Lithuania and Samogitia. Such instances are described by the chroniclers many times.[4] We have evidence that the Slavonic warriors defended Kaunas (Kowno)[5] and Trakai;[6] and that from these regions the Knights of the Cross abducted multitudes of captive Slavs.[7]

Kamieniecki remarks that the threat of total ruin already began to hang over Lithuania in the last years of the 13th century, from the moment when

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[1] " . . . Rutenis vocatis ex diversis partibus, scilicet Lantmar, Breusike, Vitebeke, Smalenske et Plotzeke . . . " *SRP* II, p. 75; similarly *SRP* II, p. 511; K. Höhlbaum, *Die jüngere livländische Reimchronik des Bartholomäus Hoenecke*, 1872, p. 35.

[2] In the battle on the Strava, Narimantas, Prince of Pinsk, was killed. That Karijotas must, at this time, have had close relations with Algirdas, is shown by the fact that in the very next year the sons of the Prince of Novogrodek served as Lithuanian envoys to the Tartars.

[3] The Rhymed Chronicle of Livonia: " . . . quam der kunic Thoreiden mit im vil manich heiden vor Duneburc gerennet; er wolde sie hân verbrennet . . . Rûzen schutzen wâren komen kunige Thoreiden zû vromen," L. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 188. Petri de Duisburg Chronicon terrae Prussiae: " Scumandus (in agreement with Traidenis) . . . cum magno exercitu Sudowitarum et Ruthenorum terram Colmensem vastavit," *SRP* I, p. 128; (The Knights of the Cross fight with armies of the " King " of Lithuania). " Extunc improvise irruit in eos rex cum suis, et in primo congressu frater Bolandus junior . . . lancea cuiusdam Rutheni est transfixus", *ibid.*, p. 172. Canonici Sambiensis Epitome gestorum Prussiae: " Magnus exercitus Litwinorum et Ruthenorum Curoniam . . . intravit." *SRP* I, pp. 284—5; " Litwani cum tota sua potestate circumvallabant castrum Cristimemele, erigentes machinas tres, et multos secum habentes sagittarios Ruthenorum," *idib.*, p. 286. Wigand of Marburg's Chronicle: " Huis tempore Wytan rex Lithwanorum cum suis et Rutenis venit in Prusziam per deserta . . . ; fratres cum letitia revertuntur captivos ducentes Rutenos et paganos," *SRP* II, pp. 454—5. " se loden de Rusen unde de Lettowen unde andere heydenen vele ". Aufzeichnungen Albrechts von Bardowik vom Jahre 1298. *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte* XXVI, 1899, p. 314. " Rutheni et Lethwini hoc tempore Lyvoniam bello vexabant." H. Hildebrand, Auszüge aus einem verlorenen rigischen Missivbuche von 1347—1384, *MLG* XIII, 1886, p. 100. " . . . Rutheni cum Lithuanis venientes . . . " *MPH* II, p. 839. Similar information on Lithuanian and Slavonic common action: *PSRL* II, p. 776; IV, pp. 186—9; XI, p. 10, etc.

[4] *SRP* II, pp. 100, 543, 571, 590, etc.

[5] *SRP* III, p. 126.

[6] The garrison of Trakai surrendered to the Teutonic Order: " Multi Ruteni et Lituani . . . cum rebus suis a castro recesserunt." *SRP* III, p. 126.

[7] " . . . intrant terram in locum, ubi quondam antiquum Cawen stetit . . . Properantes in Trakken domum . . . deinde proficiscuntur in Wilkenberg . . . Magister convertit se ad Prussiam cum multis captivis Rutenis (et) paganis." *SRP* II, p. 645. And here is the description of another expedition: . . . " ultra Tracken 1 miliare vastant . . . ; marschalkus cum suis festinat in Willam . . . In reversione intendens in Tracken . . . leti repatriando cum captivis Rutenis et paganis." *Ibid.*, II, p. 579. And yet another: " procedunt ad flumen Strebe, 3a die prope magnum stagnum steterunt 2 diebus juxta Tracken . . . Et rediit in Prusziam cum suis marschalkus adducens captivos Rutenos." *Ibid.* II, pp. 616—7.

the conquests of the Teutonic Order had reached the Niemen, and there were no indications of their being halted there.[1] If the Lithuanians did not share the fate of the Prussians and the Letts, it was because they mobilized for defence the Slavs under their rule.

The Slavs subject to Lithuania enjoyed, on their part, considerable advantages, as their customs and traditions, and above all their faith were safeguarded. While the unceasing internal wars among the descendants of Rurik had brought about the devastation of many principalities, Lithuania introduced peaceful conditions with possibilities for the development of culture and increased prosperity, and most important of all, protected the lands under her sovereignty against dangers from without, especially from the Tartars. It was Algirdas' desire to see the Teutonic Order transferred from Prussia to the Black Sea steppes, and thus to oppose the Knights of the Cross to the Tartars and protect the Slavonic lands under his sceptre from a formidable adversary.[2] It is superfluous to add that Lithuania would also have greatly profited from such a transfer ; still it was to the honour of the Grand Duke that he knew how to harmonize the interests of his Lithuanian and Slavonic subjects.

For the lands of the Slavs, too, were threatened by the two Orders. As early as 1260, the Knights of the Cross obtained the Papal consent to their future conquest of territories inhabited by the followers of the faith of Rus and of other lands subject to the Tartars,[3] which shows what a campaign for the possession of eastern Europe the Germans were planning. It was Lithuania's long and stubborn resistance that brought to nought these projects.[4] As, in the course of the 14th century, the Orders of Prussia and Livonia endeavoured to extend their sovereignty to the Slavonic lands, there was no great exaggeration in what Algirdas, in 1370—71, wrote to the Patriarch of Constantinople : " The Metropolitan (Alexius, known for his hostility towards Lithuania) should bless (the armies of) Moscow, in order that they should help us, as we are fighting for them against the Germans."[5] This shows that the Grand Duke ably linked his struggle against the Order with the defence of the faith of Rus.

In the course of time, the sense of community of interests helped to

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[1] W. Kamieniecki, Społeczeństwo litewskie w XV wieku, *RHWTN*, 1947, p. 9.

[2] In 1358, the Grand Duke's envoys, when discussing with the Emperor (Charles IV of Luxemburg), a protector of the Teutonic Order, the possibility of Lithuania's becoming christianized according to the Latin rite, "postulabant quod ordo locaretur ad solitudines inter Tartaros et Rutenos ad defendendum eos ab impugnacione Tartarorum." *SRP* II, p. 80. Cf. L. Kolankowski, Litwini a Prusacy, *PVZHP* II, 1931, pp. 159—60. On similar plans relating to the transfer of the Teutonic Order, which also arose later, cf. K. Forstreuter, Preussen und Russland im Mittelalter, *OF* XXV, 1938, pp. 22—7.

[3] Pope Alexander IV wrote as follows : " Hinc est, quod nos vestris supplicationibus inclinati omnes terras, castra, villas seu opida et quecumque loca, que vobis ab illis, ad quos pertinent, data sunt aut legitime dari contigerit in Ruscia, vel ea, que sunt illic a Tartaris impiis occupata, si ea poteritis de ipsorum manibus eripere." *PU* I (2), No. 89, p. 80.

[4] A. Prochaska, Od Mendoga do Jagiełły, *LR*, 1912 ; S. Zajączkowski, *Dzieje Litwy pogańskiej*, 1930 ; H. Paszkiewicz, *Jagiellonowie a Moskwa* I, 1933 ; T. Chase, *The Story of Lithuania*, 1946 ; C. Jurgela, History of Lithuanian Nation, 1948, and others.

[5] *RIB* VI, No. 24, pp. 135—50.

intensify Lithuano-Slavonic relations. Time deepened mutual understanding. We must not forget that those relations began at a very early date, and that geographical conditions also played their part in their development.[1] As has been explained, the Slavs contributed to the emergence of the Grand-Ducal power in Lithuania and caused the new State from the very beginning to have a character of duality. The conditions and needs of life, the ceaseless collaboration of men professing different creeds, which we have observed as early as the 13th century, and the tolerant attitude of Lithuania towards Eastern Christianity, gradually toned down religious antagonisms. This explains why, in the eyes of the Eastern Slavs, Lithuania did not appear as foreign and hostile; why the Bishop of Polotsk could call the pagan Vytenis his son;[2] why Slavonic *boyars* volunteered for Lithuanian service;[3] why Slavonic elements were able to settle in ethnically Lithuanian territories, and to hold real estate there;[4] why the Slavs lived at Vilnius and there formed a special quarter;[5] why Vaisvilkas could assign Lithuania to a non-Lithuanian Prince Shvarno, a son of Danilo of Halicz, or why, inversely, the Prince of Vitebsk regarded his son-in-law, Algirdas, as his natural heir, while the Prince of Volynia did the same in relation to Liubartas, etc., etc.

Lithuanian rule was accepted with good will among the followers of the Eastern Church, not only in lands situated near Lithuania, such as Grodno, Novogrodek, and Polotsk, but also much further away at Pskov, Tver, and elsewhere. This is illustrated by the fact that the Metropolitan Alexius, a zealous defender of Muscovite interests, could not content himself with benign exhortations, but was obliged to have recourse to the most drastic means, and to excommunicate the princes who went hand in hand with Lithuania. In the Metropolitan's opinion, the Christians of Rus, becoming linked with pagan Lithuania, committed a grave sin, which deserved severe condemnation. The struggle against Algirdas was to be considered a holy war for the highest ideals of Christianity, and Moscow's final success would signify the victory of the Cross over the most malicious enemies of Christ.[6] The Grand Duke of Lithuania countered these attacks with the utmost

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[1] J. Jakubowski, *Mapa Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w połowie XVI wieku*, 1928, p. 20, has rightly remarked that the Slavonic population settled on the upper reaches of the Niemen, of the Ptych and, the Svisloch, must have gravitated more strongly towards Lithuania than towards more distant centres, such as Polotsk and Smolensk. This population shared with Lithuania the river system of the Niemen, while they were divided from Polotsk and Smolensk by enormous wooded areas.

[2] *HU* I, No 1278, pp. 427—8.

[3] E.g. Eustace of Ryazan, Procopius of Polotsk, and others. *PSRL* II, pp. 855, 861. Dlugossius (*op. cit.* III, p. 172), basing himself on some lost source, qualifies David, the famous commander of Gediminas' reign, as "Ruthenus."

[4] In the Reports on Lithuanian Roads (*Die litauischen Wegeberichte*), originating with the Knights of the Cross, villages are mentioned belonging to various Ivans (Yvanendorff), Andrews (Andrewshoff), etc. *SRP* II. Wigand's Chronicle speaks of a *boyar* Ivan, living on the river Nevežis (Niewiaża): . . . "intrant . . . curiam cuiusdam bayoris nomine Yvan juxta fluvium Nawosen." *SRP* II, p. 552.

[5] . . . "exercitus (of the Teutonic Order) festinat prope Willam et premisit magister 4 commendatores . . . , ut civitatem Rutenicam incinerarent." *SRP* II, p. 623; cf. W. Semkowicz, Hanul, namiestnik wileński (1382—7), i jego ród, *AW* VII, 1930, pp. 3—4.

[6] *RIB* VI, Nos. 16—21, pp. 97—124.

energy. In his letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople already quoted, he accused Alexius of neglecting his elementary ecclesiastical duties in relation to the Slavonic lands under Lithuanian domination, and of completely subordinating religion to the political interests of Moscow.

A circumstance which rendered the links between Lithuania and the Slavs specially strong and effective was the fact that the Slavs, although subject to Lithuania, played an important part in the government of the realm. Besides the military aspect of their mutual relations, which has already been dealt with, the Slavs took sides in political matters, went as envoys to many countries,[1] and were included in treaties which Lithuania concluded with other States.[2] The attitude of disapproval on the part of the Slavs professing the faith of Rus was decisive for Gediminas' refusal to receive baptism in in the Latin Church.[3] All this helps us to understand why the Eastern Slavs, far from opposing the expansion of Lithuania, regarded the Grand Duchy as their own realm[4] and alluded to it as " our Lithuania."[5]

Algirdas formulated the aims and tasks of Lithuanian policy in the South and East, when he said that all Rus should belong to the Lithuanians.[6] The question arises as to what he understood by Rus. And the history of pre-Christian Lithuania contains much material for solving the central problem of the present work, the meaning of the term " Rus."

In the preceding chapters it has been pointed out that the view hitherto prevalent in historical works, to the effect that at the dawn of history there existed a nation of Rus, supposedly comprising all the Eastern Slavs, is incorrect.

Lithuanian expansion in the Slavonic lands did not encounter a resistence which would have been the expression of a nation's solidarity. The only forces with which the Lithuanians had to deal were the individual, greater or smaller, principalities, each acting on its own. It is enough to compare the small area of Lithuania proper with the enormous expanse of Slavonic lands controlled by her, in order to be confirmed in the conviction

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[1] *LECU* VI No 3075, p. 487 ; *PSRL* III, pp. 73—4, etc.

[2] E.g., Jogaila concluded treaties with the Teutonic Order "cum omnibus nostris hominibus nobis subiectis, Littwanis et Ruthenis." *CDL*, No. 9, p. 69.

[3] . . . "verba minatoria habuerunt Rutheni contra eum (regem) et propter ista rex esset aversus a fide, ita quod non auderet amplius loqui de baptismo." *LECU* VI, No. 3073, p. 482. On the position of the Slavs in the Lithuanian State, cf. T. Chase, *Significance of Ruthenian and Muscovite Elements in Lithuanian History*, 1944, pp. 3—29. Certain historians lay stress on the injuries—the loss of independence in the first place—which Slavonic lands suffered through their subjection to Lithuania. What these historians forget is that the Rurikides, too, were of alien origin and that some of these territories, such as Grodno, Novogrodek, Minsk, etc. formed insignificant principalities without deeply rooted political traditions. See O. Halecki, Litwa, Ruś i Żmudź jako części składowe Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. *RPAU* LIX, 1916, p. 216.

[4] W. Hryszkiewicz, Rola ziem białoruskich w uniach polsko-litewskich, *PVIZHP* I, 1935, pp. 184—5.

[5] V. Pashuto, *Ocherki po istorii Galitsko-Volynskoi Rusi*, 1950, p. 121. Foreigners in that period were already calling the Slavonic lands subject to Lithuania, simply : Lithuania.

[6] " Omnis Russia ad Letwinos deberet simpliciter pertinere." *SRP* II, p. 80 ; cf. F. Papée, Jagiellonowie a Moskwa, *KH*, 1922, p. 41 ; O. Halecki, *Borderlands of Western Civilization*, 1952, p. 112.

that if a nation of Rus had existed at the time and had defended its independence in the name of common interests, a Lithuanian State would never have arisen with the frontiers that we see in the 14th century.

Many scholars who give the term "Rus" an ethnical meaning have put forward yet another thesis: namely, that the Tartars accomplished the disintegration of a nation of Rus, and thus rendered possible Lithuanian expansion on so large a scale. But the untenability of this conjecture is obvious. The great invasions of Batu Khan (1236—1241) never reached the Dvina region with Polotsk and Vitebsk, nor the upper reaches of the Dnieper with Smolensk, nor yet the lands situated to the North of the Pripet; in a word, the territories which formed the actual basis of the Lithuanian realm and the sphere of its earliest influence. The region of the upper Oka, or Podolia, were subdued only in the reign of Algirdas.

It is worth while to compare the frontiers of the Lithuanian State in the latter half of the 14th century with the distribution of the Slavonic tribes, according to "Nestor." We need only look at the map in order to see that the territories of the following tribes were comprised in the Grand Duchy: the Dregovichians, Derevlians, Polyanians, Severians, Radimichians, Vyatichians, Krivichians, and Polochians. With the exception of the Novgorodians, who, for that matter, at different times submitted to Lithuanian political influence, we find here all the Eastern Slavs. The frontiers of Lithuania in that period were identical, roughly speaking, with the limits of East Slavonic settlements.

Now, if Algirdas envisaged in future the acquisition by Lithuania of the whole of Rus, he could not have had in mind only the Slavs. Most of their lands were already linked with Lithuania. We cannot suppose that he wished to point out as a future task for himself and his successors an undertaking which was already on the point of realization. In the projects of the Grand Duke, Rus had a much wider connotation, and comprised all those who professed the faith of Rus.

The most convincing proof of this is the date at which Algirdas disclosed his ambitious plans, the year 1358. At that very time, the question of Church organization in the East of Europe presented itself with particular acuteness. The ruler of Lithuania, taking advantage of the break between the Byzantine and Bulgarian Churches, and of his own possession of Kiev, intended to threaten Constantinople with dire consequences should the policy of Theognostus be continued. The latter desired to maintain one Metropolitan see for "all Rus" and to link it with Moscow. The moment was opportune, as Theognostus, before he died in 1353, was ill for several years, and foreseeing his death, had designated as his successor Moscow's candidate, Alexius, already mentioned.

In 1352, a new Metropolitan of Rus, Theodorite, made his appearance in Kiev, after having been consecrated by the Patriarch of Tirnovo. Two years later, Alexius was appointed by Constantinople as the Metropolitan of "all Rus." But Algirdas' threat had, nevertheless, been effective: Theodorite had performed his duty and was obliged to withdraw, much against his will. The Grand Duke of Lithuania agreed to the retirement

of Theodorite as a Church dignitary who had been consecrated in contempt of law and tradition. At this price he secured the consent of Constantinople to have the Metropolitan see of " all Rus " filled by his candidate, Roman. Roman occupied this high position shortly after Alexius. " In the same year—says the chronicler—a disturbance occurred in the Metropolitan see, such as had never before occurred in Rus : the Patriarch at Constantinople consecrated two Metropolitans of all the lands of Rus, Alexius and Roman." And he adds : " And there was great hostility between them."[1]

Algirdas was not concerned, at this time, to have within his domain a Lithuanian Metropolitan, in the narrow sense, residing at Novogrodek, as had been the case in the reign of his father, but desired to have the head of all Christendom in eastern Europe. That is why he had established Theodorite in Kiev, and now directed Roman also to go there.

Both Alexius and Roman endeavoured to extend their authority over as large an area as possible. In practice, both ecclesiastical provinces comprised lands which were subject to the domination or the influence of Moscow on the one hand, and of Lithuania on the other. And although Lithuania could score certain successes in forestalling her rival,[2] in Constantinople Moscow began to win the upper hand. In 1356, the Patriarchal Synod refused to Roman the right to Kiev, and in 1361 it divided the two sees, plainly to the disadvantage of Roman.[3] His death during the winter of 1361—2 put an end to the existence of the second Metropolitan see.

The conflict between Alexius and Roman, though fought out in the ecclesiastical sphere, was nevertheless of a distinctly political character. Algirdas formulated his programme of uniting the "whole of Rus " with Lithuania, and Roman was an instrument of this policy. At the same time, stubborn battles were fought along the extended Lithuano-Muscovite border.[4] All this tends to show that the conflict was not territorially limited to Slavonic settlements, but concerned the mastery of all the lands inhabited by the followers of the faith of Rus. Constantinople, Moscow, and Vilnius were at one in their interpretation of the term " Rus".

Lithuania was primarily concerned with gaining control of the extensive territory which lies along the Volga and its tributaries. In his well-known letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople, written at the end of 1370 or early in 1371, Algirdas claimed the restoration of a separate Metropolitan see for his domain, which was, according to the Grand Duke's plans, to include Kiev, Smolensk, Tver, Nizhni Novgorod, Novosil, etc.[5] Lithuania's aim

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[1] *PSRL* X, p. 227.

[2] Great Novgorod for some time recognized the authority of Theodorite. *RIB* VI, Nos. 10—11 ; Tver accepted Roman. *PSRL* X, p. 231. This is not astonishing, as Roman himself was descended from the princes of Tver ; cf. J. Fijałek, Biskupstwa greckie w ziemiach ruskich od połowy w. XIV, *KH*, 1897, p. 16. Evidently those Slavonic lands, which were directly subject to Algirdas, were the first to acknowledge Roman. After the acquisition of Bryansk by the Lithuanians, that Bishopric was immediately made to depend on the Metropolitan see of Roman. *RIB* VI, No. 14, pp. 87—8.

[3] *RIB* VI, Nos. 13—14, pp. 69—92.

[4] For details of these battles see H. Paszkiewicz, *Jagiellonowie*, pp. 292—3, 405—12.

[5] *RIB* VI, No. 24, pp. 135—40 ; No. 25, pp. 141—56 ; cf. H. Krüger, Ein Brief des Litauerfürsten Olgerd an den Patriarchen von Konstantinopel, *MLLG* V, 1911, pp. 360—1.

was to extend her sovereignty to the entire territory of the Grand Duchy of Moscow, in the broadest sense.[1]

Was Lithuania capable of carrying out so vast a plan ?

It we bear in mind the attitude and the support of the Eastern Slavs who were by then almost all linked with Algirdas, the answer should on the whole be affirmative. And here we touch a problem which is of special importance to our considerations as to the significance of the term " Rus." When Lithuanians received Eastern Christianity, they became Rus in the same sense, as the Greeks, the Norse Varangians, the Finns on the Volga, and others, a point explained in other passages of the present work. With regard to the Lithuanians, we shall quote some instances. Andrew, though the son of a Lithuanian prince, became Bishop of Tver. The Lithuanian Dovmont fled to Pskov, where he received baptism, and the name of Timofei (Timothy), and was raised to the ducal throne. In the sources, Dovmont figures as a prince of Rus.[2] After his death he was soon canonized, became an object of the peoples' devotion and was recognized as the Patron Saint of Pskov.[3] In descriptions of the battle of Kulikovo Pole, on the Don (1380), which ended in the defeat of the Tartars, two Christian sons of Algirdas, Andrew and Dimitri, who fought on the side of Moscow, are eulogized and called heroes. Now, these princes are said to have declared that they were ready to lay down their lives for the land of Rus. In the Annals of Toruń, which relate the journey of Jogaila's brother Skirgaila (Skirgiełło) to the West (1379), we find reference to the fact that he went to the King of Hungary and to the German Emperor and " became a prince of Rus."[4] Members of the Lithuanian dynasty, when they were Christians of the Eastern Church, were generally alluded to as " princes of Rus." In the above reference, the writer wishes to stress that the pagan Skirgaila, though undertaking a journey to Hungary and Germany concerning his baptism,[5] nevertheless became a follower of the faith of Rus.

All this is of importance for our understanding of the nature of Slavonic-Lithuanian relations. The Eastern Slavs had every reason to suppose that Lithuania would finally abandon the pagan beliefs of her ancestors, receive baptism, and thus become Rus as they were themselves. The same hopes were cherished at Constantinople.[6] That is why, upon the desire ex-

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[1] S. Kuczyński, Tatarzy wobec Litwy i Moskwy w drugiej połowie XV w., *PEW* I, 1939, p. 9.

[2] *PSRL* IX, p. 166 ; XXIII, p. 87, etc.

[3] A. Nasonov, *Pskovskie letopisy* I, 1941, pp. 4, 5, 14, 16, 19, 23, etc.

[4] . . . " et processit ulterius ad regem Ungarie et ad regem Romanorum et fuit dux Russiae," *SRP* III, p. 111.

[5] We have evidence that Skirgaila, during this journey, showed readiness to receive baptism in the Roman Church : " . . . quem (Skirgaila) de tenebris ad lucem, ut speramus, vocavit Altissimus." T. Narbutt, *Dzieje narodu litewskiego* V, Appendix No. 2, pp. 7—9. According to Wigand's Chronicle, Skirgaila at the time was to have visited the Pope (. . . "proposuit deinde visitare . . . papam Urbanum a quo si absolveretur a peccatis, fidem Katholicam susciperet." *SRP* II, p. 593).

[6] Priselkov has quite rightly supposed (*IORYS*, 1916, pp. 66—7) that Gediminas fairly easily obtained a separate Metropolitan see, because he suggested to the Patriarch the possibility of Lithuania's conversion. The see was abolished " because there were too few Christians in Lithuania " (cf. H. Paszkiewicz, *Jagiellonowie*, p. 322), and thence we can conclude that

pressed by the Grand Dukes, Metropolitans of Lithuania were several times consecrated. Summing up, we come to the conclusion that Lithuania had the power of extending her domination to all the followers of the faith of Rus. At the same time, however, we have to note that great difficulties attended the carrying out of her plan.

Evidently, the first step towards success in so great an undertaking would have been the reception of Eastern Christianity by the Grand Dukes, together with their subjects. Perhaps Lithuania would have taken that decision had she been certain that Constantinople would side with her against Moscow, but earlier experience provided no such certainty. In the opinion of the Patriarchs, always eager to maintain unity of Church organization in the European East, the Metropolitan see of " all Rus ", at one time linked with Kiev, was to remain, even under changed political conditions. It was a great success for Alexius when Constantinople recognized Vladimir on the Klyazma as the permanent residence of these Metropolitans.[1]

If the Grand Dukes of Lithuania delayed their resolve to receive baptism into the Eastern Church, this was partly because this step would not have changed the attitude of Constantinople in relation to Moscow. The decision in this great conflict could not come from Byzantium, but had to be fought out in a direct armed struggle between Lithuania and Moscow. If the Grand Dukes of Lithuania, after receiving baptism, were able to beat Moscow decisively and to impose on her their sovereignty, then Constantinople would most probably accept the new situation and comply with Lithuanian wishes.

In his letter of 1370—71 to the Patriarch, Algirdas mentioned by name the two adversaries whom he regarded as his mortal enemies. One of them was Moscow.[2] And it is impossible to deny that the Grand Duke's opinion was justified when we consider the immense expanse which was the stake in the conflict between the two ambitious rivals, a conflict of which nobody knew either the origin[3] or the prospective end. Without going into the details of the unceasing rivalry all over the extended borderlands between the two powers, we should consider the most outstanding events, such as the three expeditions of Algirdas directed against the city of Moscow

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it had been hoped there would be more, i.e., that Lithuania would become Christian. Nicephorus Gregoras (d. 1360) writes: " The entire people of the Lithuanians . . . is as yet immersed in paganism, and adores fire as a god. . . . Their king . . . bows to the sun, but he promises to receive our faith with all his nation, because he is pious and well disposed towards the divine dogmas of our religion, to which he listens eagerly, praising them, learning the writings of the prophets and apostles, so that he is already near receiving holy baptism." J. Fijałek, Średniowieczne biskupstwa kościoła wschodniego na Rusi i Litwie, *KH*, 1896, p. 518.

[1] *RIB* VI, No. 12, pp. 63—70.

[2] H. Fleischhaker, Die staats - und völkerrechtlichen Grundlagen der moskauischen Aussenpolitik (14—17 Jh.), *JGO* I, 1938, p. 12, states that Lithuania was a more dangerous enemy of Moscow than were the Tartars. The latter could be defeated and their suzerainty thrown off. They had no support from any quarter, while the Lithuanians were supported by large masses of the non-Lithuanian population.

[3] In their letters to Constantinople, both Moscow and Lithuania accused each other of the desire to spill blood and of agressive war. Each party asserted that the enemy had brought about the conflict.

itself. For Dimitri, son of Ivan, the ruler of Moscow, they certainly were a threat and a warning, but on the other hand, one cannot help remarking that on each occasion the Lithuanians ordered what seems an over-hasty retreat on the part of the attacking side. In 1368, they stood only for three days under the walls of Moscow. In 1370 they remained somewhat longer, and yet retired in haste, in their fear of an unconquered enemy. But the third expedition, that of 1372, was the most characteristic of all. Both sides faced each other ready for battle, which neither began. After the lapse of several days, peace was concluded. Both Algirdas and Dimitri returned to their capitals without a decision . Fear of the enemy, prevailing on both sides, seems to have symbolized equality of strength. The stake was so high, and the consciousness on both sides of the incalculable consequences of defeat so deep that neither of the rivals would risk a decision regarded as all too perilous.[1]

But there were yet other causes which explain why the two antagonists could not engage all their strength against one another. Moscow was held back by having to heed the Tartars, and Lithuania was simultaneously locked in furious combat with the Teutonic Order.

As can be seen from his letter to the Patriarch, Algirdas considered the Knights of the Cross as his second mortal enemy.[2] There is abundant evidence to show that he was right.[3] It is not necessary to enter into details of this conflict which lasted more than a hundred years. The results of the struggle are not disputed. The military superiority of the Teutonic Order manifested itself more decisively with every passing decade. The aggressive action of the Knights of the Cross gained momentum and produced ever deeper penetrations into enemy territory. The expeditions of the Lithuanians were less frequent than the raids of the Teutonic Order, but prove that the " kings " of Lithuania endeavoured to retaliate by similar devastation of the enemy's country. Yet Halecki is right when he observes that it was easier to subdue an entire Slav principality than to recover a single village seized by the Order.[4]

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[1] On the three expeditions of Algirdas against Moscow, cf. H. Paszkiewicz, *Jagiellonowie*, pp. 415—36 ; S. Kuczyński, Antymoskiewska inicjatywa Litwy w drugiej połowie XIV wieku, *PN* VII, 1936.

[2] On their part, the Knights of the Cross similarly regarded the Lithuanians (. . . " propter inimicos nostros capitales Litwanos . . . " *CDP* III N 87, p. 115).

[3] There is no evidence proving that Moscow was scheming with the Teutonic Order against Lithuania. Nevertheless, Lithuania had to reckon with what was happening on the border of Moscow and on that of Prussia or Livonia. The situation of Algirdas, some time after his writing to the Patriarch, can serve as an illustration. In 1371, the Lithuanians do not take the field against Moscow because they are engaged in battles against the Germans. *SRP* II, pp. 97—9, 509, 570, etc. The chronicler emphasizes Algirdas' participation in these battles. *PSRL* XI, p. 14. In February 1372, we hear of another expedition organized by the Order and starting from Livonia, *SRP* II, p. 99. There follows a lull of some months. In August and the following months, new combats flare up, and both Algirdas and Kestutis take part in them, *SRP* II, pp. 101—3, 571. In the spring of 1372, when Kestutis marches East, Algirdas stands guard over Lithuania against the Knights of the Cross. In summer, when Algirdas moves against Moscow, Kestutis remains on the German front. Many similar facts might be quoted under other dates.

[4] O. Halecki, Witold, *PVZHP* II, 1931, pp. 368—9.

Not only Samogitia but the whole of Lithuania proper was constantly and directly threatened. In 1362 the Germans took Kaunas, in 1365 they approached Vilnius, in 1367 they raided Trakai, in 1375 again they stood under its walls, in 1377, only a few months before Algirdas' death, they laid siege to Vilnius, etc. These facts speak for themselves, and the Reports on Lithuanian Roads (*Die litauischen Wegeberichte*) show that the Order's raids had penetrated the whole Lithuanian territory disproving the myth of the country's inaccessibility.[1] Lithuania could yet hold back the onslaught of the enemy, but with all her heroism and spirit of sacrifice,[2] the final outcome appeared to be a foregone conclusion.

What measures were taken by the Grand Dukes to prevent this catastrophy ? Vytautas (Witold), a son of Kestutis, is related by Dlugossius to have said that the Lithuanians were faced by the following alternatives: either follow the example of their Prussian kinsmen and allow themselves with unyielding determination to be buried under the ruins and ashes of their homes, or else to abandon their native soil and seek salvation in exile somewhere in the sparsely populated regions of the South-East.[3] Let us not forget that Algirdas harboured the plan of solving the conflict with the Knights of the Cross by transferring one of the contending parties to the steppes of south-eastern Europe. It is clear that the Grand Duke desired to see his enemies removed to those parts. But it is difficult to imagine that he could have taken only that alternative into consideration, in view of the fact that Lithuania was visibly the weaker side in this conflict. Vytautas in his letter to the Emperor (Sigismund of Luxemburg), written in 1420 and full of historical allusions, states that the Knights of the Cross were new-comers who desired to uproot the Lithuanians from their ancestral homes,[4] and assures Sigismund that he would never give up his native land nor yet abandon it.[5] If such assurances appeared necessary to Vytautas after the Union with Poland and after the great victory over the Teutonic Order won in 1410 at Grunwald—Tannenberg, how much more vividly must these possibilities have impressed themselves upon the Lithuanians in earlier times.

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[1] On the basis of these Reports (*SPR* II) one can picture the state of the roads in Lithuania at this time, the degree and character of her settlement, locate many geographical names, etc. Cf. A. Thomas, *Litauen nach den Wegeberichten im Ausgange des* 14 *Jahrhunderts*, 1885; H. Mortensen, *Litauen. Grundzüge eines Landeskunde*, 1926, pp. 59—86; V. Biržiska, Kryžiuociu keliai i Lietuvą XIV amž., *Praeitis* I, 1930, pp. 1—63; H. Mortensen, Landschaft und Besiedlung Litauens in frühgeschichtlicher Zeit, in *Baltische Lande*, by many hands, ed. by A. Brackmann-C. Eugel I, 1939, pp. 330—49.

[2] In the wars against the Knights of the Cross, Kestutis deserved specially well of his country.

[3] " Tot autem et tam frequentibus vastationibus ex Prussia et Livonia fatigati Lithuani, desperatione iniecta, dum se nullo pacto exterminationem perpetuam crederent evasuros, deserendae patriae agitabant tractatus. Consiliumque fuit, tam hominibus agressibus et coloniam exercentibus, quam pecoribus et pecudibus in unum collectis, in silvas et indagines palude et aquis tutas et nondum habitatas transmigrare, Cruciferisque Lituanicam et Samagitticam terram relinquere." *Dlugossius* III, p. 382.

[4] " Cruciferi sunt alienigeni et advene de terris Alamanie et occuparunt terram Prussie, nunc autem conantur nos veros heredes et possessores vi et pompa de terris et graniciebus nostris expellere." *CEV*, No. 861, p. 468.

[5] . . . " et tamen a terris et graniciebus nostris nequaquam discedemus ". *Ibidem.*

It is necessary to emphasize the importance of Algirdas' historical role, especially in the South and East, but it has to be remembered that this outstanding ruler did not succeed in solving any of the fundamental political problems of Lithuania. He was not able, as he proudly endeavoured, to transplant the Teutonic Order to the desert lands between the Slavs and the Tartars ; he did not recover the lands inhabited by Lithuanians and their kinsmen and taken by the Germans, notwithstanding his claims to them ; he did not unite all Rus with Lithuania, and in spite of several expeditions, he did not take Moscow and prevent the growth in strength and ambition of his eastern neighbour. One may take various views of the reign of Jogaila, but before pronouncing a verdict, one should realize the enormous difficulties which his father bequeathed to his favourite son. These difficulties stood out glaringly at the beginning of the new Grand Duke's reign.

CHAPTER X

POLISH-LITHUANIAN UNION

Jogaila's Difficult Position on His Accession. Lithuania under the Threat of the Prussian and Livonian Orders. Lithuania's and Poland's Common Interests. Attitude of Eastern Slavs towards Polish—Lithuanian Union. A Comparison between Norse and Lithuanian Expansion in Eastern Europe.

Algirdas enjoyed great authority in Lithuania, and his harmonious co-operation with Kestutis allowed the entire strength of the country to be used for its defence. At his death, his sons, men of great ambition, of mutual distrust and with different views of their country's essential needs, disrupted Lithuania's coherence and released destructive forces in the political life of the realm. Internal strife led to external conflicts as the many sons of Algirdas (and Kestutis) sought support for themselves among foreign powers and felt no scruples about offering their services to notorious enemies of Lithuania. In this period, treason became so frequent that it threatened the country with complete disintegration. Amidst such tragic circumstances we observe the emergence of young Jogaila, who, however, had neither great authority and experience nor strong forces at his disposal. Nevertheless, it was this seemingly unimpressive personality who unified the country, successfully defended its frontiers, and inflicted a shattering defeat on the Teutonic Order.

The first to resent Jogaila's accession to the Grand-Ducal throne were his half-brothers, the sons of Algirdas by his first marriage, who had long been in possession of large principalities in the South and East. Soon after Algirdas' death, Louis of Anjou, King of Poland and Hungary, retaliating for a Lithuanian raid on Polish lands in the preceding year, passed to the offensive. His enterprise was limited to the taking of Bełz. However, Algirdas' eldest son Fedor of Kobryń-Ratno, Liubartas of Volynia, and Karijotas' sons who held Podolia, deliberately made their submission to Louis.[1] There is no doubt that, in return for recognizing the

[1] The Hungarian-Polish expedition lasted about two months; it began in the first half of July, 1377 (Algirdas having died in May) and ended on September 8th. Cf. J. Dąbrowski, *Ostatnie lata Ludwika Wielkiego*, 1918, pp. 309—10; M. Wertner, Itinerar des Königs Ludwig I, in *Vjestnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arkiva*, 1903, p. 141. The siege of Bełz lasted 7 weeks, *SRP* II, p. 115. On the losses of Louis' army at Bełz, cf. L. Wyrostek, Ród Dragów-Sasów na Węgrzech i Rusi halickiej, *RPTH* XI, 1932, p. 115. In his letter to Francesco Carrara of September 1377, the King enumerates by name all the Lithuanian princes who made their submission to him. *MH*, 1935, p. 102. That they did this of their own free will can be seen from *SRP* II, p. 115. This is also confirmed by Louis himself, in his letter already quoted, when he says that only George of Bełz, son of Narimantas, resisted, and was taken prisoner while the other princes were allowed to remain in their lands.

King's overlordship, they expected to receive help from him against Jogaila.

The elder sons of Algirdas established in the East indulged in similar acts of treason. Andrew of Polotsk, in the winter of 1377—1378, abandoned his principality and entered the service of Moscow.[1] Dimitri of Bryansk followed his example in 1379—1380.[2] Vladimir of Kiev at that time collaborated with Andrew.[3] After some years of friendly co-operation, a conflict broke out between Jogaila and Kestutis, chiefly in consequence of differences in their policies regarding the Teutonic Order.[4] In 1381, Kestutis suddenly ousted his nephew and assumed sovereign power in Lithuania. But in the following year, Jogaila overthrew Kestutis and treacherously imprisoned his uncle in the castle of Krevo where the old warrior soon died, presumably not a natural death.[5] Vytautas, kept under guard at Krevo together with his father, succeeded in making his escape, sought refuge with the Knights of the Cross, and declared himself a vassal of the Order.[6]

The year 1382, though marked by situations of great danger, ended finally in Jogaila's success. The most important result which it brought with it was the subjection by him of the Lithuano-Slavonic territory which hitherto had belonged to Kestutis. Thanks to this the Grand Duke's strength grew immeasurably. Jogaila at the same time proceeded to remove the smaller princes who had shown leanings towards Vytautas, and thus in no wise restricted himself to only nominal sovereignty over the newly acquired lands. On the contrary, the internal consolidation of the State proceeded rapidly. As a result of the acts of treason committed by the sons of Algirdas Lithuania lost extensive principalities in the South and East, but Jogaila himself now controlled much larger lands than when he acceded to the throne.

The treasonable acts of Jogaila's half-brothers and cousins did not bring them the reward for which they had hoped. Louis of Anjou, engrossed in the affairs of Hungary and Poland, showed no interest extending beyond

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[1] *PSRL* XI, p. 42. Cf. L. Kolankowski, *Dzieje Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego za Jagiellonów* I, p. 15.

[2] *PSRL* VIII, p. 34.

[3] *PSRL* IV, p. 75. Yet it should not be asserted that Vladimir became dependent on Moscow in the same way as Andrew. The great distance separating Kiev from Lithuania and Moscow allowed him to remain in fact independent of both these powers.

[4] H. Paszkiewicz, *O genezie i wartości Krewa*, 1938, pp. 68—108.

[5] S. Smolka, Kiejstut i Jagiełło, *PPAU* VII, 1889, pp. 129—51; A. Prochaska, Upadek Kiejstuta, *KH*, 1909, pp. 493—506; L. Kolankowski, *op. cit.* I, pp. 20—4; J. Pfitzner, *Grossfürst Witold von Litauen als Staatsmann*, 1930, p. 64; H. Paszkiewicz, *O genezie*, pp. 118—22, and others.

[6] The deed signed by Vytautas and referring to this matter, was drawn up on January 30th, 1384. *CEV*, No. 13, pp. 3—4. Certain scholars consider the document as authentic; e.g., K. Heinl, *Fürst Witold von Litauen in seinem Verhältnis zum Deutschen Orden in Preussen*, 1925, p. 32. Others think it a fake; e.g., F. Koneczny, Vitoldiana, *AW*, 1930, pp. 498—9. I share the opinion of K. Sochaniewicz, Najdawniejsze dyplomy Witolda, *AW*, 1926, pp. 376—7, that even if this document of Vytautas, preserved in a later copy, is partly falsified, yet certain elements in it, such as geographical and chronological data, the seal, the names of the witnesses, are undoubtedly taken from an authentic document. For, without some such agreement, the help given to Vytautas by the Teutonic Order cannot be explained.

Volynia and Podolia, and never contemplated a hazardous intervention in the quarrels among Algirdas' sons. For a time Vytautas, who knew the territory of Lithuania well, acted as guide to the forces of the Teutonic Order, which were plundering his native country. Finally, however, the prince yielded to the persuasions of Jogaila who pressed for his return and, abandoning secretly the Knights of the Cross, he reappeared in Lithuania (1384).

The sons of Algirdas who entered the service of Moscow were equally unsuccessful. During the years under consideration, Moscow was involved in a bitter struggle against the Tartars and could not intervene in a conflict between the Germans and Lithuanians. This circumstance undoubtedly favoured Jogaila. However, it must not be supposed that, because of his difficult situation, the new Grand Duke ever intended to renounce his father's plans in the East. On the contrary, taking advantage of the grave danger threatening Moscow, he established, in about 1380, one of his brothers, Skirgaila, at Polotsk, and another, Kaributas, in Novgorod-Seversk.

The year 1380 was of immense importance in the history of Moscow. Dimitri Ivanovich decided to forestall the invasion of Mamai Khan and marched South to the banks of the Don. In September, 1380, the battle of Kulikovo Pole took place ending in a great victory for Moscow. Following his father's policy in relation to the Tartars,[1] Jogaila allied himself with Mamai and was to meet him on the banks of the Oka at the beginning of September. In fact, the Grand Duke did move East with " all the forces of Lithuania." A defeat of Dimitri might have led to the extension of Lithuania's influence in the Volga and Oka basins. The submission of Jogaila's rebelling brothers might have followed and, most important of all, the safety of the eastern border of the Grand Duchy be secured for a long time to come.

Jogaila was in the field when he received news of Mamai's defeat. It cannot be said with any certainty whether the son of Algirdas deliberately loitered so as to make his ally bear the entire burden of the battle, or whether Dimitri's bold initiative surprised the Tartars and prevented them from joining hands with the Lithuanians. The later course of Jogaila's actions is also not quite clear. The Russian sources emphasize the Lithuanians' rapid retreat;[2] those originating with the Teutonic Order speak of great booty taken from the Muscovites.[3]

The success of Dimitri, however, was of short duration. In 1382, Tokhtamysh Khan, taking vengeance for the Tartar defeat on Kulikovo Pole, undertook an expedition and remained the victor. Dimitri was forced to abandon his capital, and Moscow, with a number of other cities, suffered terrible devastation. Thus Moscow's attempt to throw off Tartar

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[1] M. Żdan, Stosunki litewsko-tatarskie za czasów Witolda, *AW*, 1930, p. 539; L. Kolankowski, Problem Krymu w dziejach jagiellońskich, *KH*, 1935, p. 288; S. Kuczyński, *Ziemie czernihowsko-siewierskie*, p. 198.

[2] *PSRL* VIII, p. 40.

[3] *SRP* III, p. 115.

overlordship was frustrated. In 1384, Tokhtamysh imposed a high tribute on the domain of Dimitri. All these events were undoubtedly favourable to Jogaila. For a spell, any danger from Moscow seemed averted.

A new source published by Cherepnin explains the relations between Lithuania and Moscow as they existed at that time.[1] Dimitri Ivanovich, placed in a particularly difficult situation, determined to seek reconciliation and support at the court of the Grand Duke. His efforts were seconded by Vladimir, Prince of Serpokhov, Jogaila's brother-in-law and, at the same time, the most trusted henchman of Dimitri.[2] Through his mediation, in the same year 1384, negotiations of high importance took place; Jogaila, with all Lithuania, was to receive the faith of Rus and to marry the daughter of Dimitri.[3]

However, this matrimonial and evidently also political agreement between Lithuania and Moscow contained two mutually contradictory stipulations which caused its failure. Jogaila was supposed to marry the daughter of Dimitri, without being baptized, according to precedent established by the pagan Algirdas, who married first a princess of Vitebsk and subsequently one of Tver. Lithuania was then to become Christian on condition that she was granted political advantages, above all aid against the Teutonic Order. Moscow, on the other hand, herself sought aid at the time, and was in no way interested in giving Lithuania her support against the Knights of the Cross.

For his part Jogaila — and this should be specially kept in mind—was following the footsteps of his father. Lithuania was prepared to be received into the Eastern Church but with the aim of eliminating the power of Moscow. She desired to unite under her sceptre all the followers of the faith of Rus. Algirdas had organized three expeditions against Moscow and concluded alliances against her with the Tartars. Jogaila also operated against Dimitri in concert with Mamai during the memorable events of 1380, and it was not in the Grand Duke's interest to support and protect Moscow.

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[1] L. Cherepnin, Dogovornye i dukhovnye gramoty Dmitriya Donskogo kak istochnik dla izucheniya politicheskoi istorii velikogo knyazhestva Moskovskogo, *IZ* XXIV, 1947, pp. 247—9; *idem*, *Russkie feodalnye arkhivy XIV—XV vv.* I, 1948, pp. 50—1; H. Paszkiewicz, Jagiełło w przededniu unii polsko-litewskiej w oświetleniu nowych źródeł, *TH* IV (4), 1950, pp. 187—97.

[2] Algirdas desired, by means of marriage, to cause dissension between the princes of the Moscow line. This is how we must interpret the marriage of Vladimir of Serpokhov, a son of Andrew, with the Lithuanian Grand Duke's daughter Helen, concluded in the winter of 1371—2. Vladimir was a first cousin of Dimitri Ivanovich, the ruler of Moscow. Serpokhov was situated not far from Aleksin, a Lithuanian possession.

[3] There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of this agreement. Juliana of Tver, Jogaila's mother, after 1377 frequently figures in documents, which shows that after her husband's death she played an important part in Lithuanian political affairs. The same may be said of the two brothers of Jogaila, Skirgaila and Kaributas, who are also mentioned in the agreement. The name of the prospective bride of the Grand Duke is unknown, as the full text of the marriage settlement has not been preserved. Most likely it was Sophia, the eldest daughter of Dimitri. The decisive argument, which confirms the existence of the documents in question, is the statement made by Jogaila at Krevo, in 1385, in which the Grand Duke says: "Multi imperatores, reges et principes diversi cum eodem duce magno Litwanorum cupiebant, affectabant et desiderabant parentelam proximitatis contrahere perpetuam." *AUPL*, No. 1, p. 2.

There can be no doubt that Jogaila was not the initiator nor even the chief supporter of the actual negotiations of 1384. This proves that, on the side of Lithuania, there must have been other forces and personalities who pleaded for such an understanding. What prompted Jogaila's advisers to negotiate with Dimitri was not the desire to defend Moscow against the Tartars, but Rus, i.e., the faith of Rus. Juliana, Algirdas' widow, must have favoured this policy, although as a princess of Tver she was certainly opposed to Moscow's political aspirations. Andrew, Prince of Polotsk,[1] and perhaps other sons of Algirdas, stood for an agreement. This group of Lithuanians, followers of the faith of Rus, was in favour of the 1384 negotiations, though not whole-heartedly. It may be observed that Skirgaila figures beside Jogaila in the documents under consideration. Only a few months later the same Skirgaila was to be instrumental in bringing about the agreement with Poland.

Cherepnin writes in his work: " These broad plans of a rapprochement between Moscow and Lithuania did not succeed. Polish influences at Jogaila's court were more weighty than the Russian ones, and led to the marriage of Jogaila with Jadwiga (Hedwig) and to the Krevo union between Lithuania and Poland." Historians in supposing that the Poles forestalled Dimitri in gaining Jogaila's favour arbitrarily assume that the initiative in the Polish-Lithuanian agreement came from the Poles.

Louis of Anjou, who combined the two thrones of Hungary and Poland, died in September 1382. He left the Polish throne to his elder daughter Mary, and that of Hungary to the younger Jadwiga; but his widow, Elisabeth, changed the decision of her late husband and offered her younger daughter to Poland. She notified the Poles of her decision at the end of February 1383. As for Jogaila, he was inclined to marry the princess of Moscow, since he saw no prospect of contracting a more advantageous alliance at the time. For many reasons he could not then seriously consider marriage with Jadwiga, even if he took it into general consideration. In 1383, the young princess of the house of Anjou had not yet arrived in Poland, and her tender age[2] excluded any thought of an early marriage. Queen Elisabeth categorically demanded that her daughter, after being crowned in Poland, should return to Hungary for a further three years' education. Jadwiga would still have to obtain recognition by the Polish nobility, while a considerable section of the inhabitants of Poland Major and Cuiavia were in favour of another candidate to the Polish crown.

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[1] Andrew returned to the banks of the Dvina during the Grand-Ducal reign of Kestutis (1381—2). Cf. W. Maciejewska, Dzieje ziemi połockiej w czasach Witolda, *AW* VIII, 1931—2, p. 4. Jogaila left him Polotsk, which was designated to Andrew by his father. That Andrew was a supporter of the agreement with Moscow can be seen from the following facts: during his exile he faithfully served Dimitri; when he recovered Polotsk, his sons nevertheless remained in the service of Moscow; when Jogaila concluded his agreement with the Poles, the Prince determined to betray his brother. L *ECU* III, Nos. 1226, p. 456; No. 1227, p. 458.

[2] Jadwiga was born between October 1373 and April 1374; the beginning of 1374 being the most probable date. See J. Dąbrowski, *Ostatnie lata Ludwika Wielkiego*, 1918, pp. 16—7; *idem*, Królowa Jadwiga, *PP*, 1933, p. 202.

As late as the spring of 1384, there were those in Poland who reckoned with a long interregnum, and even with the possibility of Jadwiga being denied the throne.[1]

Louis' daughter arrived in Poland in the autumn, or at the earliest in the summer of 1384,[2] and so any projects concerning her marriage could only approach their realization from the middle of that year onwards. Thus, it is likely that the matrimonial agreement between Lithuania and Moscow was concluded in the first half of 1384 (the documents dealt with by Cherepnin do not indicate any month). Had such projects been mooted in Cracow before Jadwiga's arrival in the capital, and had negotiations with Algirdas' son been begun, it is certain that Jogaila could not have advanced so far in his dealings with Moscow. Now let us consider two dates: the Hungarian princess arrived in Poland in the summer of 1384, and by January 1385 the Lithuanian embassy had already arrived in state in Cracow, with Skirgaila at its head, in order to sue for the hand of the Queen. The brevity of the interval would tend to show that the Grand Duke who, all his life, was famed for the slowness and circumspection with which he arrived at decisions, agreed to this marriage with quite uncommon haste and determination.[3] The Poles responded to the Lithuanian overture in August 1385, when their embassy—characteristically enough, composed by no means of the highest State dignitaries—was received by Jogaila at Krevo.[4]

Sources diverge as to who took the first step towards the agreement between Poland and Lithuania. National pride influences the various authors. Dlugossius says that Jogaila, before sending his embassy of official courtship (January 1385), had many times directed his envoys to Poland.[5] The Chronicle of the Grand Dukes, the Lithuanian source, also mentions several legations, but sent only from the Polish side.[6]

Information from the Teutonic Order seems to attribute the initiative to Jogaila.[7] Up to the month of August 1385, we hear nothing of Poles departing for Lithuania, but we do hear of Lithuanians leaving for Poland. A short time after his accession to power, in 1379, Jogaila dispatched his brother Skirgaila to Poland. The latter travelled across the territory of the Teutonic Order, and sources relate that one of the objects of his journey

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[1] H. Paszkiewicz, *O genezie*, pp. 201—8.
[2] W. Maciejewska, *Jadwiga królowa polska*, 1934, pp. 36—7.
[3] It is impossible to imagine that Jogaila's official steps would be undertaken without any preliminary contact and preparation. Thus, in the latter half of 1384, the most lively discusions must have taken place between the representatives of the two nations. We are confirmed in this opinion by a striking detail: we learn from an entry in the municipal records of Cracow, that on October 12th, 1384, a criminal was reprieved, on the intercession of the Archbishop of Gniezno and of the Grand Duke (whose name is not given). F. Piekosiński—J. Szujski, *Najstarsze księgi i rachunki miasta Krakowa*, 1878 pp. 59—60. O. Halecki, Ze studiów nad wielkiem bezkrólewiem, *SPAU*, 1933 (10), p. 20, has rightly remarked that in this case action must have been taken by Jogaila's envoy, sent to Cracow to represent his master at the coronation of Jadwiga on October 15th.
[4] *AUPL*, No. 1, p. 1.
[5] *Dlugossius* III, p. 450.
[6] *PSRL* XVII, p. 77.
[7] " Jagel multa munera dedit Polonis, per que corda ipsorum excecavit." *SRP* III, p. 143.

was an interview with King Louis.[1] We also know that Skirgaila spread the news that the Grand Duke was desirous of receiving baptism as a Roman Catholic. The Lithuanian Prince probably met Louis on the border of Poland and Hungary, at Kassa (Koszyce). We do not know the subject of their conversations, and we cannot say if Jogalia's matrimonial plans were touched upon. Skirgaila may have discreetly sounded his host, without any definite views for the future, since at that time Mary was already engaged to Sigismund of Luxemburg, and Jadwiga to William of Habsburg. Furthermore, Jogaila's first cousins, the sons of Karijotas, Princes of Podolia — it may be added that they were Catholics[2]—visited Cracow on many occasions. They gave the Cracow merchants free transit across Podolia, on the way to the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov.[3] The influence of these sons of Karijotas at the Grand-Ducal court was very considerable, at least from 1383 onwards.[4] It may be that Jogaila and Skirgaila were persuaded by these princes to grant a charter to the merchants of Lublin (1383) in which they encouraged them freely to carry on trade with Lithuania.[5] Boris, son of Karijotas, took part with Skirgaila in the solemn mission that went from Lithuania to Cracow in January 1385. In April of that year, his brother Constantine was present in Cracow, probably with a mandate from the Grand Duke.[6] Both returned to the capital of Poland for the royal wedding in 1386.

All these facts very clearly refute Cherepnin's thesis. In the records there is nothing to prove Polish initiative behind the events of the years 1384—6. The interests of Poland and Lithuania were partly common, but partly adverse. The differences of descent and religion, the ceaseless pillaging of Polish lands by the Lithuanians throughout the 13th and 14th centuries,[7] the struggles of Casimir the Great with Liubartas and his brothers

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[1] *SRP* II, p. 592; III, p. 111.

[2] W. Abraham, Założenie biskupstwa łacińskiego w Kamieńcu Podolskim, in *Księga pamiątkowa ku uczczeniu* 250 *rocznicy Uniwersytetu Lwowskiego*, 1911, p. 12, prints the text of the request by the two Princes of Karijotas' house, Boris and Constantine, directed to the Pope, asking that a Latin Bishopric should be founded at Kamieniec in Podolia.

[3] *KDMK* I, Nos. 47 and 60. Cf. S. Kutrzeba, Handel Polski ze wschodem, in *Przegląd Polski*, 1903; L. Charewiczowa, *Handel średniowiecznego Lwowa*, 1925.

[4] *LECU* III, No. 1240, p. 492. The sons of Karijotas and other Lithuanian princes who, in 1377, made their submission to Louis, cast off this sovereignty in 1382, when he died. What role Jogaila played in relation to that decision we do not know.

[5] *KDM* III, No. 931. Observations on the date of the document in W. Semkowicz, *Hanul*, p. 10.

[6] *KDMK* I, No. 60.

[7] Polish annals and chronicles which describe Lithuanian incursions into Mazovia, or the territories of Lublin, Łęczyca, etc., often mention that great numbers of the population were abducted. We read of forty thousand in 1277, of fifteen thousand in 1294, of ten thousand in 1323, of twenty-three thousand in 1376, etc. Even if these figures are exaggerated, the fact remains that Polish captives and prisoners of war represented at that time in Lithuania a population group of quite respectable dimensions. See W. Abraham, Polska a chrzest Litwy, in *Polska i Litwa w dziejowym stosunku*, 1914, pp. 12—5; J. Fijałek, Wnuk Kiejstuta, *KH*, 1914, pp. 192—3. This abduction of inhabitants brought about a perceptible decline of population in the eastern regions of Poland. T. Ladenberger, Zaludnienie Polski na początku panowania Kazimierza Wielkiego, *BDSG* XI, 1930, p. 56, shows that while, in the region of Wiślica, the population was at this time 20—30 to the square kilometre, it was 16—22 near Sandomierz, and only 1 in the territory of Lublin. Cf. J. Mitkowski, Uwagi o zaludnieniu Polski na początku panowania Kazimierza Wielkiego, *RDSG* X, 1948, pp. 121—9. In 1385, at Krevo, Jogaila promised to secure the return of this abducted population to the Poles.

for the possession of Podlachia, Volynia, Lwów, etc.,[1] had unquestionably poisoned mutual relations.

With the Poles, the chief motive for coming to an understanding with Lithuania was the desire of assuring peace,[2] and obtaining security against the incursions of their eastern neighbour.[3] Poland and Lithuania were threatened by the same enemies, the Teutonic Order in the North, and the Tartars in the South. But all these aims could be attained without concluding a union. The Polish princes of Mazovia often married Lithuanian wives and thus rendered safe their eastern border. Poland had gained similar advantages for a number of years by the marriage of Casimir the Great with Aldona, a daughter of Gediminas (1325). Common military undertakings against the Knights of the Cross or the Tartars could have taken place on the basis of an alliance between the two countries. Not only the Kings of Poland, but also other rulers, such as the Kings of Bohemia and Hungary, and the German Emperor, tried to prevail upon the Lithuanians to embrace Christianity, but none of them intended to bind themselves politically to Lithuania. In a word, we can discover no reasons on the Polish side why the Poles should sue for Jogaila's favour, and prevent, at all costs, the projected marriage between the Grand Duke and a princess of Moscow.

Feelings towards Lithuania among the Poles were mixed, and Casimir the Great himself, who contributed so much to the understanding between Poland and Lithuania, is a case in point. He was Gediminas' son-in-law (1325—1339); in his youth, he witnessed the joint military ventures of the two countries against the Knights of the Cross (1326—1332); he often supported the Lithuanians against the Order;[4] more than once he endeavoured to bring about the Christianization of Lithuania; he favoured matrimonial alliances between the two dynasties ;[5] nevertheless,

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[1] A detailed account of the wars between Poland and Lithuania at this time, in H. Paszkiewicz, Polityka ruska Kazimierza Wielkiego, *RHWTN* IV, 1925, *passim* ; *idem*, W sprawie shołdowania Mazowsza przez Kazimierza Wielkiego, *PH*, 1924, pp. 1—14.

[2] " Verum maior et sanior pars (Polonorum) . . . quiete regni Poloniae aliis que conditionibus, quae a Lithuano offerebantur, permota . . . " Dlugossius III, p. 453 ; cf. S. Kutrzeba, *Charakter i wartość unii polsko-litewskiej*, 1935, p. 11.

[3] Under Casimir the Great, Poland greatly increased her military strength. A number of cities threatened by the Lithuanians, such as Lwów, Vladimir in Volynia, Lublin, Łęczyca, Płock, etc., were fortified, as the Chronicle of Janko of Czarnków relates at some length (*MPH* II). Standing military forces (*stipendiarii*) were kept in readiness on the border; knights were settled on the frontiers with the obligation of erecting strongholds, etc. See Z. Kaczmarczyk, Organizacja obrony kraju w czasach Kazimierza Wielkiego, in *Studia historyczne ku czci S. Kutrzeby* II, 1938, pp. 313—38. Lithuanian incursions into Polish lands often ended in defeat for the agressors. Lithuanian successes were based chiefly on surprise, on the suddenness of the attack.

[4] The Pope reproached the King of Poland : " te cum Latwinis . . . eos contra Christianos (the Teutonic Order) iuvando . . . confederationes et amicitias fecisse." *VMPL* I, No. 628.

[5] Jogaila's interest in Poland as far as his matrimonial projects were concerned was stimulated by the fact that his sister Joan married a grandson of Casimir the Great, Casimir, the Prince of Western Pomerania. *MPV* III, No. 393, p. 371. H. Paszkiewicz, *O genezie*, pp. 336—7; Z. Kaczmarczyk *Monarchia Kazimierza Wielkiego* II, 1947, p. 126. On the Polish King's relations with his grandson see S. Zakrzewski, Czasy Władysława Łokietka i Kazimierza Wielkiego, in *Zagadnienia historyczne* II, 1936, pp. 169—76; S. Nowogródzki, Pomorze zachodnie a Polska w latach 1323—1370, *RG* IX—X, 1937, pp. 69—75.

he regarded the Lithuanians as "mortal enemies" of his realm,[1] treacherously scheming to encompass Poland's ruin.[2]

A similar feeling towards the Lithuanians prevailed among the Polish people. Dlugossius refers to it. He does not deny the advantages that accrued to Poland and to Christendom from the conversion of Lithuania, but, at the same time, he states with considerable bitterness that a just God had punished the Poles, as they themselves understood, for "the disreputable deed of the Polish lords . . . who united her (Jadwiga) to Jogaila, an uncouth man brought up in paganism."[3]

This feeling of the Polish nation was well understood by the Cracow lords, who in 1384—6 conducted the negotiations with Lithuania; which explains why they observed a certain diffidence and considerable caution in their attitude towards Jogaila. When, early in 1386, the Grand Duke was to cross the Polish frontier, receive baptism, marry Jadwiga, and be crowned King (to be known in Polish history as Władysław II Jagiełło),[4] he was aware of the attitude of the Polish people towards Lithuania and demanded guarantees of safety for himself and his brothers who were on their way to Cracow. Such a warrant was given him,[5] but the Poles demanded that Jogaila's brothers should remain in Cracow as a pledge for the observance of the agreement concluded. This, in turn, was accepted by the Grand Duke.[6]

It is a fact that the party which is in greater need of help generally takes the initiative in concluding an agreement. As to Poland and Lithuania, there existed differences in the political situation of the two countries which must have told on the course of the negotiations between them. Thanks to the union, Poland obtained the security of the last of her frontiers that still needed pacification. Lithuania benefited in a similar fashion in respect of her south-eastern border, while the danger from her other neighbours, especially from the Knights of the Cross, remained as acute as ever. From the moment of his accession, the King called his new subjects to the defence of Lithuania. In the spring of 1386 Poles were already fighting on the upper reaches of the Dnieper, and only a few years later they took part in the defence of the capital of Lithuania against the Teutonic Order.

The question now arises whether Jogaila, when receiving baptism in

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[1] . . . "ad Lituanos nostros mortales inimicos . . . " *KDM* III, No. 739.

[2] The King of Poland excused his absence from the planned meeting with the Emperor Charles IV: "propter diversa et multum ardua nostra nostrique regni negotia et specialiter infidelium Litvanorum perfidiam qui die noctuque curas pervigili conatu intendunt, qualiter terras nostras et homines regni nostri praedicti invadere possunt hostiliter et perdere." H. Paszkiewicz, *Polityka ruska*, p. 177.

[3] It is not excluded that Jogaila, negotiating with the Poles, did not immediately break off his agreement with Moscow. The Grand Duke may have tried to influence Jadwiga and bring pressure to bear on Poland by suggesting that Lithuania might yet be received into the Eastern Church. Cf. O. Halecki, *De Hedvige Andegavensi Reginae Poloniae*, 1953, p. 10.

[4] The Grand Duke of Lithuania became King of Poland, not Prince Consort, so that Poland, between 1386—99, had simultaneously two reigning rulers—Jadwiga and Władysław Jagiełło; cf. W. Semkowicz, Stanowisko publiczno-prawne Władysława Jagiełły w Polsce, *PPA*, 1889.

[5] *AUPL*, No. 2, pp. 3—4.

[6] *Ibidem*, Nos. 3—6.

the Western Church, and binding his country to Poland in order to associate the latter with the defence of Lithuania, was untrue to the political designs of his ancestors. If so, it might be asserted that he was not the initiator of the union, but that he allowed himself to be outmanoeuvred by the more experienced and shrewder Polish negotiators. In point of fact, the very contrary can be shown to be true. Jogaila's decisions of 1384—6 brought to a successful issue political conceptions and plans which had been known for a long time to the court of the supreme rulers of Lithuania.

The question of conversion presented the Grand Dukes with many complications and difficulties. To begin with, in order to weaken the pressure of the Teutonic Order, to unmask its "missionary activities" and to stop the influx of knights from the West into Prussia, where they sought opportunities of fighting against the pagans, it was necessary to receive baptism from Rome; on the other hand, in order to become popular with the Lithuanian people, to maintain them in their mood of hostility towards the Knights of the Cross, and to stimulate their will to fight, it was desirable to remain faithful to the tenets and traditions of paganism; finally, in order to bind the Eastern Slavs to Lithuania, it was necessary to be baptized into the Eastern Church. But these various possibilities were mutually exclusive, and this explains the changing and apparently inconsistent decisions of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania.

Mindaugas already had received baptism according to the Latin rite, but at the end of his life he reverted to paganism. Attempts had been made, though unsuccessfully, to convert Traidenis also.[1] Vytenis, taking advantage of a violent quarrel between the Archbishop of Riga and the inhabitants of the city of the one hand and the Livonian Order on the other, declared for the former, and proclaimed his readiness to be baptized into the Latin Church.[2] It is a well known fact that Gediminas intended to embrace Christianity and sent letters to this effect to the Pope, to the Franciscans, to the Hanseatic cities, etc.[3] In 1348—9, Kestutis, during his negotiations with Casimir the Great, advanced the project of Lithuania's conversion,[4] and confirmed this proposal in 1351, when treating with Louis of Anjou.[5] In 1357, Casimir the Great asked the Pope to intercede with the Emperor Charles IV and with Louis, King of Hungary, with a view to common action in respect of the conversion of Lithuania. In the spring of 1358, the Emperor encouraged the Lithuanian princes to be baptized.[6] In response to the imperial letter, and to the efforts of Casimir the Great, Algirdas in the summer of the same year sent one of his brothers or nephews, declaring his readiness to be baptized into the Roman Church. The Emperor

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[1] A. Seraphim, *Das Zeugenverhör des Franciscus de Moliano*, 1912, p. 29.
[2] *LECU* I, No. 570, pp. 714—5. Without such a promise, common action with the Lithuanians would have been unlikely on the part of the Archbishop of Riga.
[3] The subject is treated in greater detail in H. Paszkiewicz, *Jagiellonowie*, pp. 255—79.
[4] *VMPL* I, Nos. 691—3.
[5] A. Mierzyński, Der Frieden von Jahre 1351 zwischen dem Grossfürsten von Lithauen und den Königen Polens und Ungarns, *SAPG XVIII*, 1893.
[6] The text of Charles IV' letter to the Lithuanian princes on the subject of their receiving baptism, is given by H. Paszkiewicz, *Polityka ruska Kazimierza Wielkiego*, p. 197.

despatched a special embassy to the East, with the Archbishop of Prague at its head, but the negotiations came to naught in consequence of the ultimate political demands advanced by Algirdas, and directed against the Teutonic Order. In 1373 the Pope again appealed to Algirdas, Kestutis, and Liubartas and called upon them to receive baptism.[1] I shall not attempt to discuss all the endeavours of the Roman Church to convert Lithuania, nor all the Lithuanian counter-proposals, as these facts have been dealt with in a special work by Chodynicki.[2] There is no doubt that the problem of Lithuania's conversion to the Roman Church was as old as the Lithuanian State itself. If all these efforts ended in failure, the reason was that no one was ready to give Lithuania real help capable of saving her independence from the greed of the Teutonic Order.

In endeavouring to obtain foreign help, Jogaila was doing nothing new. Already Gediminas had truthfully declared to the Pope that his aim in waging war on the Order was not to oppose Christianity, but to defend himself against injury and humiliation.[3] A Franciscan, Brother Nicholas, then living at the court of the Grand Duke, being concerned for the future of Lithuania, advised Gediminas to seek support not from the Archbishop of Riga, who was in conflict with the Order of Livonia, but from powerful Christian kings who were capable of opposing the Order, such as those of Hungary or Bohemia.[4] This advice could hardly produce tangible results, as both these kings, in view of the geographical position of their countries, were but little interested in the conversion of Lithuania. Both Bohemia and Hungary had too little to gain from helping Lithuania to be willing to risk a large-scale war against the Knights of the Cross. Gediminas concluded an alliance with Władysław I, King of Poland (he married his daughter Aldona to the King's son, who was one day to be Casimir the Great),[5] and undertook a series of expeditions against the Knights jointly with the Poles. But after the long period of division into regional principalities, Poland was still too weak to oppose the power of the Order successfully, and succumbed in the struggle,[6] a circumstance which evidently discouraged Lithuanians from making common cause with their ally.

Kestutis, in his negotiations with Louis of Anjou (1351),[7] asked for

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[1] *VMPL* I, Nos. 934—6.

[2] K. Chodynicki, Próby zaprowadzenia chrześcijaństwa na Litwie przed r. 1386, *PH* XVIII, 1914.

[3] " . . . Nos christianos non impugnamus, ut fidem catholicam destruamus, sed ut iniuriis nostris resistamus." *L ECU* II, N 687, p. 141.

[4] " Videtur mihi, quod non sapienter fecistis ; vos elegistis archiepiscopum Rigensem in patrem; ipse se ipsum non potest defendere . . . Qualiter ergo ille vos defendet, qui se ipsum non potest iuvare et dominus apostolicus est ita remote . . . Sed si velletis per illam viam procedere, tunc debetis eligere aliquem regem potentem, sicut regem Ungariae vel Boemiae: illi possent vos defendere et tueri." *L ECU* VI, No. 3073, pp. 482—3.

[5] S. Zajączkowski, Przymierze polsko-litewskie 1325 r., *KH* XL, 1926, pp. 567—617.

[6] S. Zajączkowski, Polska a Zakon krzyżacki w ostatnich latach panowania Władysława Łokietka, *ATNL*, 1929, pp. 1—292. On the difficulties which Casimir the Great experienced from the Knights of the Cross at the beginning of his reign see H. Paszkiewicz, Ze studiów nad polityką krzyżacką Kazimierza Wielkiego, *PH* XXV, 1925, pp. 187—221.

[7] " . . . quod reges Hungarie et Polonie terram Lithwanorum . . . contra . . . Cruciferos semper defenderent ". . . *KH*, 1889, p. 208.

Hungarian and Polish help against the Order. Algirdas, in his well-known letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople, suggested that Moscow should help Lithuania against the onslaught of the Teutonic Order.[1] In a word, the conviction became rooted at the Grand-Ducal court that it was indispensible for the salvation of Lithuania to secure foreign military help. The course of the struggles against the Order made it clearer from year to year that the participation of the Slavonic subjects of Lithuania in these bloody conflicts was no longer sufficient.

What was the difference between Jogaila's policy in the years 1384—6 and the plans of his father, his uncle, and his grandfather? Simply that he carried out in reality what they had only contemplated. Two facts affected his decisions: he profited by the experiences of Gediminas' and Algirdas' reigns, and he was weaker at home and abroad than they had been. He was left with only one stronghold for resistance to the Knights of the Cross, which had hitherto withstood all the attacks of the enemy: his capital Vilnius. And here we have to record his unusual good fortune; for none of Jogaila's predecessors had open to him an opportunity comparable with that which offered itself to Jogaila in Poland after the death of Louis.

When considering the decisions of statesmen, it is not possible to pass over personal motives. Jogaila's ambition, which the Germans described as his pride and arrogance,[2] undoubtedly played a part in the events of 1384—6. A marriage with the daughter of Dimitri would not have brought the Grand Duke a royal crown. But in this case Jogaila's vanity was of no consequence, as the problem was of a purely political nature. The strength or the weakness of the Grand-Ducal power—and we have noted its weakness after the death of Algirdas—was decisive for the coherence or the disintegration of Lithuania. The crown of Poland, bestowed on Jogaila, increased his authority, not only as an individual, but as Grand Duke, and radically changed the relations between the members of the Lithuanian dynasty. The monarch with two capitals,[3] the master of a vast domain extending from the borders of Silesia and Brandenburg to the upper reaches of the Volga and the Oka, completely overshadowed his ambitious and quarrelsome kinsmen, who did not scruple to betray Lithuania and go over to her enemies. The birth of a son to Jogaila and Jadwiga would have rendered the position of the future heir to the two thrones supreme in both countries.

In his letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople (1370—1371) mentioned above, Algirdas, when alluding to his chief enemies, speaks of the Teutonic Order and of Moscow, and omits mention of Poland, although he had fought many wars against her. It appears that there were various degrees of Lithuanian hostility towards her neighbours. In relation to Poland, much smaller areas were in dispute. More than once proposals of agree-

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[1] *RIB* VI, Nos. 24, 25.

[2] *LECU* III, No. 1189, pp. 399—400; No. 1240, p. 492.

[3] On the contractual relationship between Lithuania and Poland see H. Paszkiewicz, *O genezie*, pp. 234—60, 338—43; *idem*, *W sprawie inkorporacji Litwy do Polski w 80ch latach XIV wieku*, 1938, pp. 1—12. Both works include relevant literature on the subject.

ment acceptable to both sides were produced, and served to alley antagonisms.[1]

What is more, there was often a certain community of interests between Poland and Lithuania in relation to Moscow and the Tartars. On the subject of Church organization, which undoubtedly had its political significance, the policies of Casimir the Great and Algirdas coincided in opposing Dimitri of Moscow. We allude to the efforts of the King of Poland towards the restoration of the Metropolitan see of Halicz, founded at the beginning of the 14th century, and the parallel endeavours of Lithuania toward the creation of a Metopolitan see of her own. Both countries combated that principle of Church unity for the whole of Rus which was the cornerstone of Moscow's political programme. The restoration of the Metropolitan see of Halicz, in 1371, indirectly contributed to the renewal of that of Lithuania, in 1375.[2] It appeared that common action by the two countries was possible in Constantinople. It was even more possible in relation to the Tartars.

Both Poland and Lithuania had to face the necessity of defending their territories against the incursions of these dangerous neighbours. In his negotiations with Louis of Anjou (1351), Kestutis asked for Polish and Hungarian help against the Tartars.[3] Algirdas wished to make use of the military resources of the Teutonic Order for the protection of his country's eastern flank against the danger that threatened it in that quarter (1358).[4] There was undoubted rivalry between Lithuania and the Tartars for the domination of the vast expanses of eastern Europe, yet both sides avoided a large-scale war. Neither was certain of victory, and Moscow's rising power, threatening both Lithuania and the Tartars, inclined both parties to seek an agreement.

Poland also was menaced by the Tartars. Having acquired the land of Halicz, Pokucie,[5] and the western extremities of Podolia,[6] she was espec-

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[1] E.g., in the agreement of 1352, Krzemieniec was left to George, son of Narimantas, as the common possession of Poland and Lithuania. The sons of Karijotas, although Lithuanians, yet possessed Volynia as vassals of the Crown of Poland. After 1366, Liubartas kept up close relations with Casimir the Great, without completely severing his connection with his brothers, etc.

[2] Algirdas' letter to the Patriarch (1370—71) should be compared with the analogous letter of Casimir the Great (c. 1370). *MPH* II, pp. 626—7. The Patriarch consented to the restoration of the Metropolitan see of Halicz, avowedly for fear (*RIB* VI, No. 25, pp. 141—50) lest the King of Poland should win his subjects of the faith of Rus over to the Latin Church, a possibility which Casimir distinctly suggested as a threat in the event of the Patriarch's refusal. Algirdas could not have been unaware of this fact. The Grand Duke of Lithuania, soon after he had dispatched his letter to Constantinople (1372—3), began making promises to Rome concerning his baptism (the Papal letters on the subject bear the date of 1373) in order to exercise pressure on the Patriarch. In 1375 the Metropolitan see of Lithuania was restored.

[3] " . . . regna Hungarie et Polonie terram Lithwanorum . . . contra . . . Tartaros semper defenderent." See H. Paszkiewicz, *Polityka ruska Kazimierza W.*, p. 159.

[4] " . . . ad defendendum eos (the Slavs subject to Lithuania) ab impugnacione Tartarorum." *SRP* II, p. 80.

[5] J. Dąbrowski, Z rozważań nad genezą problemu czarnomorskiego, *PVIZHP* II, 1936, pp. 75, 335—6.

[6] O. Halecki, Geografia polityczna ziem ruskich Polski i Litwy (1340—1569), *STNW*, 1917, p. 7; *idem*, *Dzieje unii jagiellońskiej* I, 1919, p. 64.

ially interested in the trade-route towards the Black Sea.[1] Karijotas' sons, in the parts of Podolia which they possessed, acknowledged at least to a certain degree the Tartar overlordship. In order to make themselves independent of the Tartars, they sought aid in both Poland and Lithuania, which explains why they were such active supporters of the Polish-Lithuanian union.

The question arises whether, before 1386, the two countries had restricted themselves to a defensive attitude in relation to the Tartars, or whether there existed also offensive plans. It seems probable that both countries must have been aware of the importance attaching to, and the advantages accruing from, the possession of the Black Sea coast, but that neither Poland nor Lithuania was strong enough to undertake so hazardous a venture at such a great distance. Kuczyński has rightly remarked that nothing short of a union of the two countries could render a joint Polish and Lithuanian Black Sea policy practicable.[2]

But while many problems might lead to bring the two countries together in the South and East, everything was overshadowed by the position in the North, and by the common danger from the Teutonic Order. The ever increasing threat of a German encroachment on Lithuanian territory, the conquest of Samogitia,[3] which created territorial contiguity between the two Orders of Prussia and Livonia, placed Lithuania in a tragic situation. But the Knights of the Cross had been a dangerous enemy for Poland also, ever since the time (1308—1309) when they made themselves masters of Gdańsk (Danzig) and Pomerania, after having perpetrated a cruel massacre of the Polish inhabitants. Casimir the Great always manifested a strong sense of unity with the Polish lands lost by his father, and especially with the maritime province of Pomerania, never, until the end of his life, ceasing to use the title of its lord and heir. Aware of the unfortunate outcome of the wars waged against the Order by his father, King Władysław I, in which he himself had taken part, he avoided an armed conflict on his northern border.[4] At the same time, convinced that a great war against the Teutonic Order was inevitable, he increased Poland's strength by reforms in every field. The new power thus built up by the tireless efforts of the King—which were to earn him the epithet "Great" — was viewed by the Order with ever growing anxiety, while it exercised an evident attraction upon Lithuania.

Besides the political and military factor, economic reasons also played a large part in the development of Polish-Lithuanian relations. The incessant raids on Lithuanian territory undertaken by the Order, from Prussia as well as from Livonia, caused a terrible devastation of the country, and rendered trade impossible. The German inhabitants of Vilnius,

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[1] P. Panaitescu, La route commerciale de Pologne à la Mer Noire au moyen âge, *RIR* III, 1933, pp. 172—93.

[2] S. Kuczyński, Sine Wody, in *Księga ku czci O. Haleckiego*, 1935, pp. 139—40.

[3] S. Zajączkowski, Żmudź w początkach unii polsko-litewskiej, *RVZHP* I, 1930, pp. 337—44.

[4] From 1332 up to 1409 there was no war between Poland and the Teutonic Order.

mostly coming from Riga, enjoyed the protection of the Grand Dukes,[1] and had considerable influence in Lithuania.[2] They declared decidedly for negotiations with Poland. Hanul, a leader of the Vilnius burghers, took part in the official embassy sent by Jogaila to Cracow in January 1385, together with the Princes Skirgaila and Boris, son of Karijotas. The studies of Semkowicz have shown that Hanul, who also figures in the Lithuanian negotiations with the Knights of the Cross, was head of Jogaila's chancellery and one of the most influential personalities at his court.[3] The German merchants of Vilnius, desirous of maintaining active relations with western Europe, regarded the way through Poland as a convenient trade-route which allowed them to by-pass the territory of the Order.[4] This explains the support they gave to Jogaila's marriage plans, and since they were Catholics, religious considerations also weighed in the matter.

The conversion of Lithuania took place in 1387. This great event must undoubtedly have deepened the differences between the two ethnic groups, the Lithuanian and the Slavonic, within one realm. Fifty years earlier, the Slavs had opposed Gediminas' conversion to Roman Christianity, and it is difficult to suppose that in 1386—1387 their attitude should have been different. Yet the reaction against the union with Poland was weak beyond expectation. The records mention only a rebellion in the spring of 1386, in the territory of Polotsk, and another at Smolensk.

Certain scholars, however, attach great importance to these disturbances, and regard them as the protest of the Eastern Slavs against the union of Lithuania with Poland.[5] Now Smolensk, which was threatened both from the West and the East, had manoeuvred between Lithuania and Moscow, in order to maintain its independence, at least in some degree. It was more closely related to Lithuania, yet it often acted in unison with Moscow. Andrew of Polotsk, soon after his father's death, took sides with Moscow, and although he afterwards returned to the banks of the Dvina, he never broke off his connection with Dimitri Ivanovich, and his sons still remained in the service of Moscow.[6] In a word, the links of Polotsk and Smolensk with Moscow existed quite independently of the Polish-Lithuanian union. It seems probable that the rulers of both these principalities wished to take

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[1] Being desirous of developing trade, Algirdas exempted his merchants from the payment of customs dues. See M. Baliński, *Historia miasta Wilna* I, p. 29. Jogaila, at the beginning of his reign, had already undertaken the defence of the merchants of Vilnius who crossed Mazovia. *CDP* IV, No. 14, p. 15.

[2] P. Karge, Zur Geschichte des Deutschtums in Wilna und Kauen (Kowno), *AM*, 1917, p. 41, seqq.

[3] W. Semkowicz, Hanul, namiestnik wileński, i jego ród, *AW*, 1930, pp. 1—20.

[4] K. Forstreuter, *Die Memel als Handelsstrasse Preussens nach Osten*, 1931 p. 87. Gediminas, when writing to the merchants of the Hansa to propose trade relations, had indicated the safe route across Mazovia (" Per ducatum . . . ducis Masoviae ad nos poterit habere securum accessum super manum nostram unusquisque ", *LECU* II, No. 690, p. 146). Jogaila, in addition to Mazovia (*CDP* IV, No. 14), had contacts also with the merchants of Lublin. *KDM* III, No. 931.

[5] A. Presnyakov, *Obrazovanie velikorusskogo gosudarstva*, 1918, p. 322.

[6] One of them, Michael, fell in battle against Ryazan, in 1385. A. Presnyakov, *op. cit.*, p. 326, has expressed the supposition that the Lithuanian prince Osti who in 1382 defended Moscow against the Tartars was a son of Andrew, Prince of Polotsk.

advantage of a convenient moment (Jogaila's sojourn with many of his brothers in Cracow) to satisfy their petty territorial ambitions, or advance their personal interests. The chroniclers insist that the object of the princes of Smolensk in taking up arms was to conquer Mstislavl,[1] and nothing more. As for Andrew, he had already, in October 1385, acknowledged the overlordship of the Livonian Order in Polotsk,[2] and this acceptance of German protection in no way corresponded with the interests of the Slavs. The idea that this was their way of protesting against Lithuania's union with Poland cannot really be taken seriously. The events on the Dvina and the upper reaches of the Dnieper were without any broader significance. The most one can say is that they were an expression of Moscow's political influence, and perhaps of Dimitri's vengeance for the way in which Algirdas' son had broken off the engagement to his daughter.

Shortly after Jogaila's accession to the throne of Poland many Lithuanian princes who had their domains in the Slavonic lands issued written declarations of allegiance, by virtue of which they promised loyalty and obedience to the new King, to Jadwiga, and to the Crown of Poland.[3] These deeds were the outcome of Polish-Lithuanian agreements and responses to Jogaila's desire to bind Lithuania and Poland closer together.[4] However, they did not express the attitude and aspirations of the broad masses of the Slavonic population within the Lithuanian State. As far as their position is concerned, we must conclude that neither the local outbreaks at Polotsk or Smolensk, nor yet the letters of homage just mentioned are sufficient evidence. The Eastern Slavs were not parties to the first treaties of union between Lithuania and Poland,[5] and were to give practical expression to their desires only many years later; more especially during the struggle between Sigismund, a son of Kestutis, and Svitrigaila (Świdrygiełło,) the youngest son of Algirdas. But these events lie beyond the chronological limit assigned to this book.

It is scarcely to be supposed that Jogaila, when determining to take so important a step as the union with Poland, could have not foreseen or understood all the consequences for his domain which would follow. When undertaking to appraise the events of 1384—7, we must not overlook the extremely difficult position of Algirdas' successor. Nor must we forget that Jogaila was by blood, by way of thinking, and by the tradition in which he grew up, not a Slav, but a Lithuanian. If we have hitherto dealt with the Lithuano-Slavonic relation mainly from the standpoint of the common interests of the two parties concerned, we must now reverse this order, and consider the differences and incompatibilities which existed between these two ethnical groups.

The domination of Lithuania over the Slavonic lands was not deeply

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[1] *PSRL* VIII, p. 51.
[2] *LECU* III, No. 1226, p. 456; No. 1227, p. 458.
[3] *AUPL*, Nos. 7—9, 16—25, 28.
[4] H. Paszkiewicz, *O genezie*, pp. 242—54.
[5] W. Hryszkiewicz, Rola ziem białoruskich w uniach polsko-litewskich, *PVIZHP* I, 1935, pp. 185—6.

rooted. Lithuanian expansion to the South and East served the interests of the dynasty and of the realm, and was not the outcome of a pressing need of the Lithuanian community. The subject Slav territories were never colonized by the Lithuanians.[1] The respect for local customs and social and economic peculiarities, shown by the descendants of Gediminas in the subordinated principalities, greatly facilitated the acquisition by Lithuania of new provinces. This purely mechanical acquisition of land, however, suffered from the inherent weakness that, in adverse circumstances, many principalities might easily detach themselves from their allegiance to Lithuania. The vastness of the Grand Duchy rendered impossible the settlement by Lithuanians of even a small part of these enormous areas. Towards the end of the 15th century, the Slavonic lands comprised about nine-tenths of the territory of the Lithuanian State.[2] In respect of population, the numerical preponderance of the Slavs over the Lithuanians was not so overwhelming.[3] The records of the 14th century do not provide any data which would enable us to express this proportion in definite figures.

Lappo believes that the Lithuanian military system, the construction of fortified cities and strongholds, their garrisoning and administration, the methods of collecting taxes, etc., were one and all based on Slavonic models.[4] As this author formulates his opinions in a somewhat arbitrary fashion, they cannot be accepted without reservation. Further examination of the internal life of Lithuania will undoubtedly clarify many of these problems. Already students have remarked that Lithuania was, especially in the military field, under the influence of the Teutonic Order.[5] Furthermore, we must consider, in addition to the results of foreign influences, what the Lithuanians produced themselves, spontaneously, and with unquestionable originality. The Slavonic lands to the North of the Pripet, which were most strongly bound to Lithuania, were not on a high level of culture, and possessed no political tradition worth mentioning.

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[1] Our sources sometimes mention the Lithuanian garrisons established in the Slavonic cities. We have relatively abundant information in this respect from the days of Traidenis, when that Grand Duke established, at Grodno or Slonim, Prussians fleeing before the onset of the Knights of the Cross, *SRP* I, pp. 132, 136, 143, 145–8, seqq.; *PSRL* II, pp. 874, 877, etc. Cf. E. Volter, Sledy drevnikh prusov i ikh yazyka v Grodnenskoi gubernii, *IORYS* XVI, 1911, pp. 151–60; H. Paszkiewicz, Prusacy a Litwini w XIII w., *PVZHP* II, 1931, pp. 190—1. It sometimes happened, especially in later times, that Lithuanian families migrated to the Slavonic lands, but these were only sporadic cases. H. Łowmiański, Uwagi w sprawie podłoża społecznego i gospodarczego unii jagiellońskiej, *Księga pamiątkowa ku uczczeniu rocznicy I Statutu litewskiego*, 1934, undoubtedly exaggerates the scope of this migratory movement, as W. Kamieniecki has pointed out in his review of that study, *PH* XXXVI, 1946, p. 127.

[2] W. Hryszkiewicz, *op. cit.* pp. 182—4. W. Wielhorski, *Polska a Litwa. Stosunki wzajemne w biegu dziejów*, 1947, p. 64; *idem*, Litwini, Białorusini i Polacy w dziejach kultury W. Księstwa Litewskiego, in *Alma Mater Vilnensis*, 1951, p. 32, has shown that at the end of the 15th century, the extent of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was about 800,000 square kilometres, of which less than 70,000, amounting to less than ten per cent of the total, were ethnically Lithuanian.

[3] J. Jakubowski, *Studia nad stosunkami narodowościowymi na Litwie przed unią lubelską*, 1912, pp. pp. 1—10; W. Wielhorski, *Litwini, Białorusini i Polacy*, *pp.* 31—4.

[4] I. Lappo, *Zapadnaya Rossiya i eya soedinenie s Polsheyu v ikh istoricheskom proshlom*, 1924, pp. 96—100.

[5] W. Kamieniecki, Wpływy zakonne na ustrój litewski, *PH*, 1925, pp. 160—86.

On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the Slavonic component as a whole, occupying so large a territory, must have left its imprint upon Lithuanian life. The superiority of Christian Slavonic lands over pagan Lithuania in the domain of culture can not be questioned.[1] This superiority appears very distinctly in respect of language. The Lithuanians used their own tongue in speech, employing Slavonic in writing. The speech of the Slavs permeated into the Grand-Ducal court and into the upper strata of the Lithuanian nation, becoming the official language of the Lithuanian State.[2] Dlugossius states that as a result of close contacts with the Slavs, the Lithuanian language borrowed many Slavonic words.[3] Evidently, the reverse also took place, though on a smaller scale.[4] Mixed marriages between Lithuanians and Slavs were an important factor in this development. The influence of Eastern Slavonic culture,[5] and especially of the Slavonic tongue, assumed such proportions that Lithuania was menaced with being completely engulfed by the Eastern Slavs. In addition to the peril threatening from without, on the part of the Teutonic Order, this Slavonic danger within presented the supreme rulers of Lithuania with another, equally important and difficult problem.

Gediminas understood this danger and endeavoured to enter into relations with the countries of western Europe. In a letter to the towns of the Hansa—Lübeck, Sund, Bremen, etc.—he urgently invited knights, merchants, and artisans to come to Lithuania, promising them exemption from duties, taxes, and other payments, and offering them extensive liberties and facilities.[6] Jogaila issued a document to the merchants of Lublin, encouraging them to establish trade relations, and already before 1386 the German townsfolk of Vilnius , with Hanul at their head, played an important part in this respect. The policy of the Grand Duke aimed at such a reinforcement of foreign elements as might be helpful in counterbalancing the influence of the Eastern Slavs, which was making itself increasingly felt.

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[1] H. Łowmiański, Z zagadnień spornych społeczeństwa litewskiego w wiekach średnich, *PH* XL, 1950, p. 106.

[2] E. Karsky, Kulturnye zavoevaniya russkogo yazyka v starinu na zapadnoi okraine ego oblasti, *IORYS*, 1925, pp. 1—22; Ch. Stang, *Die westrussische Kanzleisprache des Grossfürstentums Litauen*, 1935, and others.

[3] " Sermo his (Lithuanorum) . . . ex commercio gentium vicinarum ad proprietatem vocabulorum Slavonitarum defluxit." *Dlugossius* III, p. 474.

[4] E. Karsky, K voprosu o vliyanii litovskogo i latyshskogo yazykov na belorusskoe narechie, *Sbornik statei posvyashchennykh F. F. Fortunatovu*, 1902, pp. 490—1.

[5] Here is what Dlugossius writes on these influences : " Terram autem, quam inhabitabant, et coeli, sub quo aluntur, proprietas, gentis quoque Ruthenicae convictus et commixtio, veterem illorum et priscam commutavit in plerisque non tamen in totum sustulit indolem." III, p. 472.

[6] " . . . Insuper terram, dominium et regnum unicuique bonae voluntatis patefacimus, militibus, armigeris, mercatoribus, curensibus, ferrariis, carpentariis, sutoribus, pellificibus, pistoribus, tabernariis, artis mechanicae cuiusque his omnibus praescriptis volumus terram dividere . . . Hi, qui coloni venire voluerint, annis decem colant terram nostram absque censu. Mercatores intrent et exeant sine exactione et teloneo libere omni impedimento procul moto." *LECU* VI, No. 3069, pp. 467—9. In discussing Lithuanian efforts at maintaining in various fields contacts with the West it is noteworthy that the castle of Trakai was the work of Italian, probably Genoese, architects, who came to Lithuania from the Black Sea coast. See M. Morelowski, Zamek najeziorny trocki a źródła jego formy zachodnie i czarnomorskie, *STNW* XXXIX, 1947, pp. 47—56.

The conversion of Lithuania to the Latin Church was one of the most important and fateful of Jogaila's decisions. Unity with Rome laid the foundations of Lithuania's independence in culture and nationhood and rendered possible her close association with the West.

Some historians have regretted Lithuania's conversion to Roman Catholicism. E.g., Chubaty considers that the Grand Duke in 1386—7 committed one of the greatest historical blunders and that his baptism into the Church of Rus would have contributed greatly to the consolidation of the realm.[1] This scholar undoubtedly is right when he affirms that Algirdas' successor betrayed the faith of his mother and of a great many of his subjects. Only Chubaty and others, who argue in the same way, treat this question entirely from the standpoint of the interests of the Eastern Slavs. It should be remembered that the Teutonic Order, having already possessed itself of Samogitia, was powerful enough to conquer all Lithuania, and had the Grand Duke embraced Eastern Christianity no new force, capable of turning the balance in favour of Jogaila, would have appeared on the battlefields. There is no point, therefore, to speak of a consolidation of the Lithuanian State—as Chubaty does—since the Lithuanians themselves would have lost their independence.

It was Algirdas who endeavoured to unite under his sceptre all the followers of the faith of Rus. Jogaila, having become a Catholic, had to renounce this ambitious design, and, however much against his will, leave the field open to Moscow. Thus, the events of 1384—1387 had far-reaching consequences, and from that moment on a new political configuration of eastern Europe began to take shape. Lithuania was forced to assume a defensive attitude, and her exertions were henceforth to be limited to the defence of her eastern possessions.[2] Moscow derived great advantages from this turn of events and assumed the initiative in the matter of " gathering together the lands of Rus."

Through Lithuania's embracing Roman Christianity, the Eastern Slavs, or at least the great majority of those who formed part of the Grand Duchy, found themselves in a very difficult situation. They were now distinct from Lithuania, not only ethnically, but also in religion and creed.[3] With Moscow they had a common faith, but, on the other hand, they were ethnically entirely distinct from her ;[4] they were strangers to her political aims, as these conflicted with their own interests. The Eastern Slavs had behind them the tradition of a common life with Lithuania, and of her tolerance in relation to their faith, their customs, and their language. Thus, the new situation prepared the ground for the formation and development

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[1] M. Chubaty, Derzhavno-pravne stanovishche ukrainskikh zemel litovskoi derzhavy pid kinets XIV v., *ZNTIS*, 1924, pp. 23—4.

[2] These general remarks do not apply to the reign of Vytautas the Great.

[3] Of course, this distinction existed earlier also, but while Lithuania was pagan there was always the hope that she would finally embrace Eastern Christianity. Jogaila put an end to these expectations once and for all.

[4] Cf. Part IV of the present work.

of two new nationalities, ethnically Slavonic, Rus in creed; in modern parlance: the Ukraine[1] and White Rus (Belorus).[2]

The analysis of Lithuania's territorial expansion in the South and East sheds much light on the significance of the term "Rus", in the 13th and 14th centuries. If a nation of Rus had existed at the time, if it had been conscious of its ethnical and political unity, Lithuanian territorial growth could never have reached the dimensions which it actually did. Lithuanian domination would have met with a solid opposition on the part of a Rus nation, all the more so as the internal crises and upheavals which occurred in the Grand Duchy offered the people of Rus many opportunities of rejecting the foreign overlordship. In actual fact, we observe a contrary process. The Eastern Slavs contributed to the foundation of the Lithuanian State; they felt at one with it, and at critical times gave it their support. This tends to prove that these Slavs had no sense of national identity transcending the limits of the individual principalities and the ancient tribal traditions.

The religious meaning attaching to the term "Rus" finds strong confirmation in the Lithuanian history of the period we are considering. The Lithuanian princes who obtained power in Slavonic territories had every prospect of maintaining themselves in these new possessions as soon as they adopted Eastern Christianity. They became a "national" dynasty in the same sense as the Norse descendants of Rurik before them.

These historians who have declared themselves for the ethnic meaning of the term "Rus" endeavour to defend their thesis by adopting a highly ingenious, or rather a purely paradoxical method. They simply eliminate Lithuania from the history of the Eastern Slavs and thereby omit the essence of the problem under consideration. For these very reasons we are obliged, in the present work, to discuss at some length Lithuania's part in the European East. The conclusions which may be drawn from these considerations not only relate to the meaning of the term "Rus" before the 13th century, but refer to even earlier times, to the days of the Norsemen.

Doubts have often been expressed as to whether the Varangian bands, who were not even very numerous, could actually have conquered such large expanses of eastern Europe, maintaining them permanently and

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[1] Cf. M. Korduba, Die Entstehung der ukrainischen Nation, *Contributions à l'histoire de l'Ukraine au VIIe Congrès international des sciences historiques*, 1933, pp. 21—67. See Appendix: "Ukraine and the Ukrainian Nation."

[2] Many scholars—e.g., G. Ilinsky, K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii nazvaniya "Belaya Rus," *S* VI, 1927—8, p. 389; N. Vakar, The Name "White Russia," *ASEER* VIII, 1949, p. 201—assume that the term "Belorus" appears for the first time in the Polish Chronicle of Janko of Czarnków in the 9th decade of the 14th century. It must be said that this name was already used by the Hungarian *Chronicon Dubnicense* in connection with the expedition of King Louis in 1351. Cf. A. Lewicki, Kilka przyczynków do dziejów Kazimierza Wielkiego, *KH* III, 1889, p. 211. The problem of the formation of the Belorus nation is dealt with by: E. Karsky, *Belorussy* I, 1903; J. Stankiewicz, Czas pojawienia się narodów białoruskiego i ukraińskiego, *SN* V, 1931, pp. 444—8; M. Korduba, Kilka uwag w kwestii genezy narodowości białoruskiej, *SN* VI, 1932, pp. 203—17; W. Hryszkiewicz, Rola ziem białoruskich w uniach polsko-litewskich, *PVIZHP*, 1935, pp. 181—8; V. Picheta, Obrazovanie belorusskogo naroda, *Vol*, 1946 (5—6), pp. 6—21, and others.

organizing them adequately. The answer must be in the affirmative, since little Lithuania, too, proved her ability to impose her sovereignty over vast Slavonic lands, and this at a time when she was already engaged in a desperate struggle against the Teutonic Order. It has been also emphasized that in many fields the Slavs were superior to the Norsemen, rendering the lasting rule of the latter impossible. The observations concerning this superiority are undoubtedly correct, and yet the argument is not convincing, since the Lithuanians, though inferior to the Slavs in cultural attainments, nevertheless founded a State of imposing dimensions and durability. There is a far-reaching analogy between these two instances of astonishing expansion, the Norse and the Lithuanian, which occurred largely in the same territories.

The political divisions of the Eastern Slavs, the antagonisms which prevailed among them, their lack of initiative with regard to the formation of a major political entity, all these factors, which came to the fore with equal strength in the 13th and 14th centuries as they had done in the 9th and 10th, facilitated the assumption of leadership by foreign elements. The call to the Varangians, as related by the chronicler, and the manner in which the Rurikides appealed to the Norse warriors from " beyond the sea " until the middle of the 11th century, have their anology in similar appeals to the Lithuanians during the unceasing struggles of the princes in the next period (12th—14th cent.).

In both these expansions we can discern two phases : an earlier one, based on ruthlessness and terror, and a later phase, when both sides, the invaders and the native population, began to work and act together, and when a better organized and more orderly form of government followed. Both the Norsemen and the Lithuanians were remarkable for their military prowess, and the rapidity of their movements across great expanses was especially noteworthy.[1] Both were primarily bent on the capture of Slavonic fortified cities, which they garrisoned with their troops.

In the course of time, however, the strength of the Slavonic population, in the quantitative as well as qualitative sense, made itself felt, and began to tell on the alien ruling class. The influence of Slavonic culture, and especially of the Slavonic language, which was used in writing both by the Norsemen and the Lithuanians and which they undoubtedly also spoke, the

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[1] The Norsemen always followed the course of rivers and travelled by boat ; for this reason they were mostly inactive in winter-time. The mounted Tartars conquered eastern Europe by advancing over land avoiding as much as possible the unfavourable season of spring thaws. The Lithuanians used both means of communication. They sometimes followed the rivers, so that they must have had boats on which they were able to transport horses. During the winter they used sledges, and proceeded along frozen water courses. But they also advanced by land, mounted on horses. In Lithuanian folklore the horse plays an important part. See F. Bujak, Prusacy i Litwini a Bałtyk, *PVZHP* II, 1931, pp. 184—5 ; V. Pashuto, Khozyaistvo i tekhnika srednevekovoi Litvy, *VoI*, 1947 (8), p. 80. The sources often state that Lithuania was accessible by both, land routes and waterways. In 1253, Mindaugas granted the inhabitants of Riga " libertatem . . . per universas partes regni . . . tam in terris quam in aquis veniendi." K. Woelky, *Urkundenbuch des Bistums Culm* I, No. 31, p. 20. Gediminas also mentioned both modes of transport from Livonia to Lithuania : " . . . omnes vias tam in terra, quam in aquis . . . " *LECU* VI, No. 3074, p. 484, etc.

intermarriages which smoothed the existing differences and antagonisms, and, last but not least, the community of religion,[1] must have produced conditions adversely affecting Varangians and Lithuanians alike. The descendants of Rurik and their Norse followers ended by being absorbed in the Slavonic mass, and actually disappeared from the broader stage of history. The one exception was the line of George Dolgoruky, which, aware of the Slavonic menace, cut itself loose from Kiev in the 12th century, and endeavouring to weaken and destroy that city, gave rise to a new political entity on distant Finnish territories in the Volga region. In the 14th century Lithuania in different ways—by her union with an equally Slav, but catholic, Poland, culturally linked with western Europe—sought to escape from being absorbed by the Eastern Slavs.

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[1] We have already mentioned that Lithuanian princes, when acceding to power in the different Slavonic provinces, adopted as a rule the faith of Rus.

PART IV

CHAPTER XI

THE FINNS ON THE VOLGA

Hypotheses on Slavonic Colonization of the Rostov-Suzdal Country. Archaeological Discoveries. The Merya and Ves Tribes and Their Territories. The Fate of the Merya. Slavonic Language among the Finns.

The Duchy of Muscovy originated in the territories situated between the upper reaches of the Volga and the Oka. Among scholars, diverse opinions are held concerning the early history of this region. At one time the idea was prevalent that after the great Tartar invasion, and the devastation of Kiev and of other southern lands (1240—1), the population there abandoned its old settlements, and, seeking safer habitations, migrated *en masse* to the distant North-East. The deserted territories were in the course of time occupied by new-comers from the West, the Ukrainians.[1]

It should be emphasized that the records of the time say nothing of any movement of population from the banks of the middle Dnieper to those of the Oka and Volga. Moreover, in 1237, the Tartars plundered Ryazan in a terrible fashion, and in the following year Moscow, Vladimir on the Klyazma, Suzdal, and many other cities shared the same fate. The population of the southern regions, so sorely tried in 1240 and 1241, could not, therefore, seek safety in the North-East, as that region had been no less drastically devastated by the armies of Batu Khan.

There is no doubt that Kiev was never restored to its former grandeur after 1240, but it is open to question whether this is to be attributed solely to the Tartars. In the 12th century Kiev was already in decline, and it is open to discussion whether the invasion of Batu Khan was more ruinous than the well-known pillaging expedition against Kiev in 1169 by the Prince of Vladimir on the Klyazma.[2]

In 1240 the Tartars dealt ruthlessly with Kiev. Yet it does not follow that the whole region of Kiev and other adjoining territories were completely

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[1] M. Pogodin advanced this hypothesis about the middle of the 19th century. On this theory see N. Chubaty, The Beginnings of Russian History, *UQ* III, 1946—7, p. 265; M. Karger, Kiev i mongolskoe zavoevanie, *SAr* XI, 1949, p. 56. With certain changes and additions, Pogodin's theory maintained itself for a very long time. Somewhat modified opinions of this kind can be found even in recent works; e.g., A. Eck, *Le moyen âge russe*, 1933, p. 29; W. Allen, *The Ukraine. A History*, 1940, p. 24; P. Lyashchenko, *Istoriya narodnogo khozyaistva SSSR* I, 1947, p. 178. These conceptions were countered by many scholars, with V. Antonovich, M. Hrushevsky, and A. Presnyakov at their head.

[2] G. de Reynold, *Le monde russe*, 1950, p. 94.

and catastrophically deprived of their population.[1] As an illustration, we need only quote two facts. Our sources dwell at length on the terrible devastation by the Tartars of the land of Suzdal and Vladimir in 1238; but in 1239 the Grand Duke, Yaroslav, son of Vsevolod, undertakes a victorious expedition against the Lithuanians, in defence of Smolensk. And here is the second fact: the Chronicle of Halicz-Volynia tells of the massacre by the Tartars of the entire Polish population of Sandomierz; nevertheless, it is certain that Sandomierz fairly soon recovered the position it had enjoyed before the invasion.

Conjectures relating to the northward migration of the Kievans are based on the fact that in the region of the upper Volga and the Oka some names of rivers and localities occur which are to be met with also in the territory of Kiev and in its vicinity.[2] Now, the proprietors of vast estates in the North-East, primarily princes and members of the clergy, did come from Kiev and the neighbouring districts; they could therefore very well have transferred to their new homes certain names with which they were especially familiar. But this does not necessarily mean that the entire population of these southern lands migrated as a whole.

As we have already shown on other occasions, the same, or very similar, geographical names occur not only in eastern Europe, but also in Poland or in Bohemia.[3] This proves that the Slavonic language was common to all these countries. But to allege migration, on the basis of a few geographical names assembled at random, is to advance a most inconclusive thesis.

The weakness of this theory is so apparent that conjectures relating to a resettlement in the North-East of the population of Kiev and its territory have now been almost entirely abandoned. Yet scholars continue to maintain that the basins of the upper Volga and Oka were subject, from the dawn of history, to colonization by the Novgorodians from the North-West, by the Krivichians from the West, and by the Vyatichians from the South; in short, the territory of the later Muscovite State is supposed long since to have been populated by Slavs. These assertions are based chiefly on archaeology.

Archaeological studies in the basins of the upper Volga and Oka are rendered difficult by the fact that in addition to Slav colonization, which many scholars treat as an obvious and incontrovertible fact, we have to reckon with a native Finnish element, and also with settlements of the Norsemen. The latter wished to retain in their possession all the places that were of importance on lines of communication.

In their investigations of this territory, archaeologists have based their conclusions chiefly on the *kurgans*, or tombs in the forms of barrows, of

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[1] A. Baranovich, Naselenie predstepnoi Ukrainy v XVI veke, *IZ* XXXII, 1950, p. 230.

[2] For example, the cities of Pereyaslavl, Vyshgorod, Zvenigorod, and the rivers Irpen, Lybed, Pochaina, Trubezh, etc.

[3] Such examples in relation to rivers have been listed by A. Sobolevsky, Nazvaniya russkikh rek i ozer, *IORYS* XXVII, 1922, p. 258—79. Noteworthy observations are also contained in J. Rozwadowski, Studia nad nazwami wód słowiańskich, *PO* I, 1948.

which none are later than the 12th or 13th century,[1] so that they belong to the period we are considering. But the criteria by which Slavonic barrows are distinguished from non-Slavonic are of very doubtful value. The barrows of the Rostov and Suzdal country show that cremation of the dead was frequent in this region.[2] This custom has been arbitrarily declared specifically Slavonic,[3] though it was also Finnish[4] as well as Norse.[5] Archaeologists now adhere more and more to the opinion that it is impossible to ascertain the ethnic character of a population merely from the fact whether it burned or buried its dead.[6]

The regions of the upper course of the Volga and Oka are supposed to have been settled by various Slavonic tribes.[7] However, it is impossible, on the basis of the characteristic features of the barrows, particularly their shape, to distinguish with any degree of precision between the particular Slavonic tribes, and to establish the territories which they occupied.[8] A type of barrow considered as belonging to one tribe often occurs in the territory of another, and the provenance of the many objects found in graves gives rise to much controversy. The swords, lances, helmets, knives, etc., found in the territory under consideration may serve as an example. Certain archaeologists regard these objects, and especially the swords, as Scandinavian, while others look upon them as Slavonic copies of west-European weapons made independently of the Norsemen.

In the Life of St. Olaf we read of a certain Varangian who, being in Rus, bought a young slave of unknown origin because the latter was skilled at making the arms used by the Varangians.[9] Such incidents might well have occurred in many places in eastern Europe. Whether the products of artisans such as this young slave were completely true to Norse models, or not; whether, during the Varangians' long stay on the Volga or the Dnieper, the local Slavonic or Finnish population influenced them,

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[1] T. Nikolskaya, Khronologicheskaya klassifikatsiya verkhnevolzhskikh kurganov, *KSDPI* XIII, 1949, pp. 31—41.

[2] A. Spitsyn, Razselenie drevnerusskikh plemen po arkheologicheskim dannym, *ZMNP*, 1899, p. 317.

[3] This was one of the arguments against the thesis, once advanced by Uvarov, that the numerous barrows of the region of Vladimir on the Klyazma and Suzdal belonged to the Finnish tribe of the Merya; cf. A. Uvarov, Meryane i ikh byt, *Trudy I Arkheologicheskogo Sezda* II, 1871, pp. 646—9.

[4] P. Tretyakov, K istorii plemen verkhnego Povolzhya v pervom tysyacheletii n.e., *MIA* V, 1941, p. 97.

[5] P. Tretyakov, Kostromskie kurgany, *IGAIMK* X (6—7), 1931, p. 3; D. Avdusin, Varyazhskii vopros po arkheologicheskim dannym, *KSDPI* XXX, 1949, pp. 4—5.

[6] H. Shetelig—H. Falk, *Scandinavian Archaeology* (transl. by E. Gordon), 1937, p. 277; H. Shetelig, The Viking Graves in Great Britain and Ireland, *AA* XVI, 1945, pp. 2—3.

[7] Elongated barrows are considered as typical of the Krivichians, and the tall ones, called *sopki*, of the Novgorodian Slavs.

[8] Great divergences of opinion occur as to the characteristic features distinguishing Polochian barrows from Krivichian, Krivichian from Dregovichian, Severian from Polyanian, etc. In all these matters we are reduced only to conjectures. P. Tretyakov, Rasselenie drevnerusskikh plemen po arkheologicheskim dannym, *SAr* IV, 1937, pp. 34—48, considers that it is impossible to delimit tribal territories on the basis of the contents preserved in the tombs.

[9] A. Pyankov, Odno zabytoe inostrannoe izvestie o rabstve v Kievskoi Rusi, *IM*, 1940 (3), p. 136.

or whether, on the contrary, the native population submitted to Norse influences—all these are questions which cannot be answered with any degree of accuracy. Consequently, there will always be great difficulty in establishing the ethnic character of the inhabitants of these territories on the basis of the hoards found in barrows.

Archaeological material shows that, up to the 11th century, there existed on the upper reaches of the Volga a pagan cult of bears. The worshippers of this cult are, without foundation, considered as Slavs.[1] Agricultural implements occur in some tombs, and these are declared to be Slavonic, although the Finns also tilled the land. In short, the works of many authors contain such arbitrary interpretations of archaeological discoveries that they still further confuse the issue.

Some archaeologists, assuming large-scale Slavonic colonization along the upper reaches of the Volga and its tributaries, try to show that the native Finnish element was very weak, and, moreover, deny the existence of Norse settlements in this region. In doing so they contradict themselves. "(The Slavonic) remains of the past, when they are discovered in barrows of a Scandinavian type, do not testify to the existence of Swedish colonization nor yet to that of trade with Sweden, but simply to Swedish cultural influences," writes Artsikhovsky.[2] Avdusin argues in the same fashion. Speaking of the presence in east-European barrows of articles of Scandinavian origin, this scholar declares that, "when deciding where the different objects were made, how they came to the banks of the Dnieper, or of the Volga, and especially to what ethnical group the buried persons belonged, the supporters of the Norse theory have been guilty of a series of distortions of the facts." According to this author, "the discovery of objects showing a foreign, not a local type, testifies to cultural links, but not necessarily to colonization or even trade."[3]

On the other hand, when objects of Slavonic origin are encountered in the Rostov-Suzdal barrows, even if their Slavonic origin is subject to doubt, a great deal is written concerning the settlement by Slavs of the upper Volga and Oka basins. But according to the theories of Artsikhovsky, Avdusin, etc., there may have been here only traces of Slavonic cultural influences, and nothing more. And we may perhaps add that trade relations should never be excluded when similar findings are under examination.

Archaeologists, who consider the colonization of Finnish lands by the Slavs as an indisputable fact, simultaneously admit that the time and the character of this colonization are as yet utterly unexplored.[4] In fact, opinions concerning the time of these events differ considerably. It is assumed that the Slavs appeared in the upper Volga region in the 7th and

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[1] N. Voronin, Medvezhii kult v verkhnem Povolzhe v XI v., *MIA* VI, 1941, pp. 149—86; *idem*, Raskopki v Yaroslavle, *MIA* XI, 1949,

[2] A. Artsikhovsky, Arkheologicheskie dannye o vozniknovenii feodalizma v Suzdalskoi i Smolenskoi zemlyakh, *PIDO*, 1934 (11—12), p. 48.

[3] D. Avdusin, *Varyazhskii vopros*, p. 7.

[4] P. Sukhov, Slavyanskoe gorodishche IX—X st. v yuzhnom Beloozere, *MIA* VI, 1941, p. 89.

8th centuries A.D.,[1] or else in the 8th and 9th,[2] or yet in the 9th and 10th.[3] Similar divergence of opinion exists as to when these territories underwent complete or nearly complete slavization. Grekov ascribes that process to approximately the 7th century,[4] while most scholars transfer it to later periods. Some assert that the assimilation of the Finns took place about the 10th century;[5] others think it was between the 10th and 12th century,[6] and that by the 11th or 12th century there remained only small Finnish enclaves.[7] There is general agreement that before the great invasion of the Tartars, at the latest 1237—8, the Slavs were in control of the entire upper Volga basin, down to the mouth of the Oka, and of the Oka valley.[8]

Other details concerning the Slavonic colonization of the Volga region are equally controversial. Certain scholars (Stankevich, Tretyakov) consider that the Novgorodians were the first to embark on that enterprise, even before the Krivichians, while others express contrary opinions, and attribute priority to the Krivichians (Avdusin). Some assign the chief part in the work of settling the territory in question to the Novgorodians (Lyubavsky), others to the Krivichians (Spitsyn). Some deny that the Vyatichians ever became settlers (Spitsyn), while others on the contrary, who invoke chiefly linguistic arguments (Sobolevsky), attribute the first place to the Vyatichians.

Any scholar asserting that the Finnish population of the Rostov-Suzdal country underwent slavization must assume that some large-scale immigration of Slavs into this new territory occurred. Nevertheless, archaeologists admit that there is nothing to justify a belief in such a Slavonic mass migration, and that all that can be supposed to have taken place was a slow infiltration of Slavonic elements into the Finnish country.[9] But such a development would undoubtedly have been too weak to bring about the loss by the Finns of their ethnic characteristics; it is much more likely that the few Slavs would have been absorbed by the Finns.

In the works of many archaeologists, we often meet with the opinion that the barrows of the period under consideration show a mixture of Finnish and Slavonic culture,[10] which can only be explained by the prolonged

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[1] G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, 1946, p. 326.

[2] A. Spitsyn, Vladimirskie kurgany, *IIAK* XV, 1905, p. 163 seqq.; M. Lyubavsky, *Obrazovanie osnovnoi gosudarstvennoi territorii velikorusskoi narodnosti*, 1929, p. 5; Y. Stankevich, K voprosu ob etnicheskom sostave naseleniya Yaroslavskogo Povolzhya v IX—X st., *MIA* VI, 1941, p. 82; P. Tretyakov, Vostochnoslavyanskie plemena nakanune obrazovaniya Kievskogo gosudarstva, *IAN* II, 1945, p. 166; *idem*, *Plemiona wschodnio-słowiańskie*, 1949, pp. 172—4.

[3] N. Voronin, Vosstanie smerdov v XI veke, *IsZ*, 1940 (2), p. 55; *idem*, Kultura Vladimiro-Suzdalskoi zemli XI—XIII vv., *IsZ*, 1944 (4), p. 35; P. Sukhov, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

[4] B. Grekov, *Krestyane na Rusi s drevneishikh vremen do XVII veka*, 1946, pp. 514—5.

[5] V. Galkin, *Suzdalskaya Rus*, 1939, p. 31.

[6] O. Bader, Drevnee Povetluzhe v svyazi s voprosom etnogeneza mari i rannei istorii Povolzhya, *SE*, 1951 (2), p. 37.

[7] The opinion has also been advanced that Slavonic colonization of the 11th and 12th centuries was a secondary development, the beginnings of which should be sought in a much earlier period. See Y. Stankevich, *K voprosu*, p. 56.

[8] M. Lyubavsky, *Obrazovanie*, p. 8.

[9] M. Artamonov, Nekotorye voprosy drevnei istorii SSSR, *VAN*, 1939 (7), p. 32.

[10] G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, p. 326; O. Bader, *Drevnee Povetluzhe*, p. 37.

coexistence of the two ethnical elements.[1] It has also been stressed that the *kurgans* of the Finnish tribe of Merya resemble the Slavonic, and this circumstance is supposed to be explained by the rapid assimilation of the Finns by the Slavs.[2]

We will not go into the problem whether the culture of the Finnish Merya was, in fact, so nearly related to the Slavonic as Tretyakov, Voronin, and others have supposed. Serious doubts may arise on this point. But it does follow from the observations of these scholars that in practice a similarity of culture renders more difficult the task of distinguishing the Finnish from the Slavonic barrows, and increases the possibility of mistaking Finnish tumuli for Slavonic graves, so that it leaves unsolved the whole problem of Slav settlement in the regions on the upper course of the Volga and the Oka.

The deficiencies of archaeology have been pointed out many a time.[3] "In spite of its important successes in recent times—says Grekov—archaeology is often powerless in respect of the problems with which we are faced, in consequence of the nature of its material, and of its methods . . . The combination of archaeological data and linguistics, with due regard to folklore, undoubtedly enlarges the scope of historical knowledge. But, in the final outcome, all this is not sufficient to transform controversial opinions into unquestionable evidence."[4]

In spite of these remarks, Grekov himself does not hesitate, on the strength of archaeological arguments, to assume without reservation the settlement by Slavs of the region of Rostov-Suzdal. In another place, the same author writes: "Archaeology . . . is at our service . . . We need not worry if the archaeological chronology is somewhat primitive, and if its conclusions do not always seem quite accurate."[5] If we may be allowed to express a directly contrary opinion, in this case we have every reason to "worry."

In order to establish the ethnical character of the population in the Rostov-Suzdal region, we cannot limit ourselves to the hypothetical arguments of archaeologists, but must have recourse to the written records, all the more in that they contain the most valuable material relating to our problem.

Let us, therefore, approach the subject of Norse and Slavonic colonization on the Volga and its tributaries primarily under the guidance of the written sources. Naturally, here the Chronicle of "Nestor" occupies pride of place.

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[1] Y. Gote, Chto dala arkheologicheskaya nauka dlya ponimaniya drevneishego perioda russkoi istorii, *Sbornik v chest P.S. Uvarovoi*, 1916 (unavailable to me).

[2] P. Tretyakov, *K istoriii plemen verkhnego Povolzhya*, p. 97; N. Voronin, *Kultura Vladimiro-Suzdalskoi zemli*, p. 35.

[3] S. Bakhrushin, "Derzhava Ryurikovichei", *VDI* II, 1938, p. 89; P. Lyashchenko, *Istoriya narodnogo khozyaistva* I, pp. 37—8, and others.

[4] B. Grekov, *Feodalnye otnosheniya*, p. 4; *idem*, *Kievskaya Rus*, pp. 9—10.

[5] *Idem*, *Borba Rusi*, p. 34.

Contrary to the opinion of many archaeologists, who either deny the existence of Norse settlements in the basin of the Volga, or reduce them to negligible proportions, the records lead us to form an entirely different view. According to "Nestor": "Rurik . . . assigned cities to his followers, Polotsk to one, Rostov to another, and to another Beloozero. In these cities there are thus Varangian colonists (*nakhodnitsi varyazi*), but the first settlers (*pervii naselnitsi*) were, in Novgorod, Slavs; in Polotsk, Krivichians; at Beloozero, Ves; in Rostov, Merians; and in Murom, Muromians."[1] Arabic writers of an even earlier period, whom we have already quoted—Ibn-Fadhlan, Mas'udi, Ibn-Hauqal, and others—are in complete agreement with "Nestor." They relate that the Rus lived on the Volga, and that they descended that river to the Caspian Sea for trade or loot. In the Norse sagas we are told of Smolensk (Smoleskja), Rostov (Rastofa), Suzdal (Sursdal or Surdalar), and Murom (Móramar).

There is an important source, relating to the subject, which so far has been completely overlooked by scholars: the letter of the Hungarian Franciscan, Brother Johanca, written in 1320 to the General of his Order, which contains numerous references to ethnic conditions in the far East of Europe. Johanca, with three other friars, of whom two were Hungarian, while one was English, carried on missionary activities among the riparian populations of the Volga, under Tartar domination.[2] In his letter, he affirms that it might be possible to win these peoples over to the Catholic Church if English, Hungarian, as well as German missionaries were sent to them.[3] The Hungarian Dominican Julianus, who visited the banks of the middle Volga and Kama nearly 100 years before Johanca, relates that in Hungarian territory, beyond the Volga, he had met a Tartar envoy who knew many languages, "Teutonic" among them.[4] These facts show clearly that even as late as the 13th and 14th centuries the population on the Volga—or to be more exact, a part of that population—was still Norse, as it used a language related to English and German.

How close in those days were the ties of language between peoples who were akin, in spite of the distance that separated their settlements,

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[1] Cross, p. 145.

[2] ". . . ego frater Johanca cum duobus fratribus hungaris et uno anglico ascendissemus usque in Baschardiam, nacionem magnam, Tartaris subjectam." The letter is written "in castris Tartarorum iuxta Bascardiam." L. Bendefy, Fontes authentici itinera (1235—1238) fr. Juliani illustrantes, *A ECO* III, 1937, pp. 47—50. The Russian translation, with commentaries, is by S. Anninsky, Izvestiya vengerskikh missionerov XIII—XIV vv. o tatarakh i Vostochnoi Evrope, *IA* III, 1940, pp. 90—92. According to Bendefy, Bascardia (or Magna Ungaria) was the name of the country inhabited by Hungarians on the banks of the Kama, and especially of its tributary the Belaya (Ethyl). *Dokumenty i materialy po istorii mordovskoi ASSR* I, 1940, p. 182, and M. Adamovich, Puteshestviya Plano Karpini i Rubrukvisa v Mongoliyu v XIII veke, *IsZ*, 1940 (11), p. 101, also identify the Bastardi, mentioned by Plano Carpini, with the Hungarians from beyond the Volga.

[3] ". . . convenit vestri paternitati et prudencie providere, quo cicius valueritis, pro provinciis Tartarorum et exercitibus variis, de diversis regnis et multis, fratres ydoneos providere ad hoc inspiratos et ibidem destinare, de Anglicis, Hungaris et Teutonicis precipue, qui levius linguam scient . . ."

[4] "In hac Ungarorum terra dictus frater invenit thartaros et nuntium ducis Tartarorum, qui sciebat Ungaricum, Ruthenicum, Cumanicum, Theotonicum, Sarracenicum et Tartaricum."

may be seen from the following fact: the Hungarian Dominican, the Brother Julianus already mentioned before, reached the pagan Hungarians established beyond the Volga. To his astonishment, he discovered that he could easily make himself understood by this population,[1] although the two Hungarian groups, that of the Danube and that of the Volga, had been separated for centuries.

Only when we have ascertained from written records the existence of Norse settlements in the North-East, can we properly appraise the archaeological and linguistic evidence concerning that region. Certain names of localities there indicate Norse origin.[2] The great quantity of Arabic coins, more than 40,000 in number, discovered in Sweden and on the island of Gotland but also found in abundance on the banks of the Volga and its tributaries, shows that that river was a main trade-route connecting Scandinavia with the rich countries of the South-East and that on its banks Norse agglomerations were widely scattered.[3] Certain scholars try, without justification, to detract from the importance of this trade-route.[4] Avdusin asks: "Why should Varangians have left all this money in conquered lands, where they could take by force anything they desired, and bring back the money to their native country?"[5] This question can by no means invalidate the thesis we have advanced. The Arab currency found on the banks of the Volga and its tributaries indicates that there existed in these lands Norse settlements and trade agencies which normally played the role of intermediaries between Scandinavia and the countries of the distant South-East.

The graves of warriors concentrated in great quantities on the site of the ancient Smolensk, where today there lies the village of Gnezdovo,[6] also have a bearing on the Norse problem. Over thirty-eight hundred *kurgans* have been counted in this area. In former times they were still more numerous, but many have disappeared without trace. Up to recent years 500 *kurgans* had been opened.[7] Such military cemeteries exist in three other localities: near Lake Ladoga on the territory of the Finnish tribe of the Ves, near Yaroslavl on the Volga, where the Finnish Merya had their settlements, and in the country of the Slavonic Severians (Chernihov on the Desna.)[8]

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[1] " . . . quia omnino habent Ungaricum idioma et intelligebant eum et ipse eos."

[2] M. Vasmer, Wikingerspuren in Russland, *SPAW* XXI, 1931, pp. 659—69; K. Weinhold —G. Siefert, *Altnordisches Leben*, 1938, p. 280.

[3] T. Arne, La Suède et l'Orient, *A EO* VIII, 1914, pp. 62—89; F. Braun, *Das historische Russland*, p. 150; T. Arne, Les rapports de la Russie avec la Suède et l'Orient au temps des Vikings, *MS*, 1925, pp. 244—54; G. Laehr, Die Anfänge des russischen Reiches, *HS*, 1930, pp. 14—5; E. Kvälen, *The Early Norwegian Settlements on the Volga*, 1937 (unavailable to me); H. Shetelig —H. Falk, *Scandinavian Archaeology*, 1937, p. 274; U. Noack, *Nordische Frühgeschichte und Wikingerzeit*, 1941, pp. 169—73; P. Lyashchenko, *Istoriya narodnogo khozyaistva SSSR* I, 1947, pp. 97—8, and others.

[4] E.g., A. Artsikhovsky, Arkheologicheskie dannye o vozniknovenii feodalizma v Suzdalskoi i Smolenskoi zemlyakh, *PIDO*, 1934 (11—12), p. 56—7.

[5] D. Avdusin, *Varyazhskii vopros*, p. 12.

[6] Ancient Smolensk was situated some 7 miles to the West of present-day Smolensk.

[7] A. Artsikhovsky, Russkaya druzhina po arkheologicheskim dannym, *IM*, 1939 (1), p. 193.

[8] B. Rybakov, Drevnosti Chernigova, *MIA*, 1949.

There are many different opinions as to the ethnic allegiance of the dead whose graves have been found at Gnezdovo. The inventory of the graves is the principal basis from which inferences can be drawn. Certain archaeologists think that these are graves of Slavonic (Krivichian) warriors with an undefined proportion of Norsemen among them ;[1] others believe them to be Varangians, with the addition of a local Slavonic population, chiefly of women.[2]

Artsikhovsky says, alluding to the concentrations of warriors' graves in several regions of eastern Europe, and especially at Gnezdovo, that these Rus warriors created the State of the Rurikides.[3] The observation is undoubtedly justified, but the author is mistaken if he imagines that the Rus of those days were Slavonic. The controversy among archaeologists regarding the ethnic origin of the warriors buried in those graves is decided by the written records,[4] which indicate with rare unanimity that the term "Rus" in those days meant Norsemen, and that the conquest of the Slavs and Finns was accomplished by the descendants of Rurik, with the help of Varangian bands. As may be established from the coins found in them, the barrows of Gnezdovo are mainly of the 10th century,[5] and this is precisely the time of the greatest Norse expansion in eastern Europe. The numerous similarities between the barrows of Gnezdovo and those of the neighbourhood of Yaroslavl have been pointed out long ago, so that the observations relating to the former refer equally to the region of the upper Volga.

While writers of the period under consideration testify that Norse settlements existed on the Volga, and thus remove the doubts and reservations of certain archaeologists, we lack similar evidence from written records to prove that the territory of the later Muscovite State was colonized by Slavs. It is generally assumed that three tribes took part in this work of settlement—the Novgorodians, Krivichians, and Vyatichians—so it is to these that we must now turn our attention.

Vast territories in the North and East depended on Novgorod in varying, indefinable degrees, and thus formed additions to the land of Novgorod.[6]

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[1] A. Artsikhovsky, *Russkaya druzhina*, pp. 193—5 ; *idem*, Russkoe oruzhie X—XIII vekov, *DSIF* IV, 1946, pp. 3—17 ; D. Avdusin, Varyazhskii vopros po arkheologicheskim dannym, *KSDPI* XXX, 1949, pp. 3—14, and others.

[2] T. Arne, *La Suède et l'Orient*, p. 61 ; *idem*, Les rapports de la Russie avec la Suède et l'Orient au temps des Vikings, *MS*, 1925, pp. 250—1 ; E. Kletnova, Velikii Gnezdovskii mogilnik, in *Niederlw Sbornik*, 1925 (unavailable to me) ; F. Braun, *Das historische Russland*, pp. 152—5 ; Cross, p. 125 ; E. Rydzevskaya, K varyazhskomu voprosu, *IAN*, 1934, p. 614; R. Jakimowicz, Okres wczesnohistoryczny, in *Prehistoria ziem polskich*, 1939—48, pp. 407—8 ; S. Cross, The Scandinavian Infiltration into Early Russia, *Sp* XXI, 1946, p. 505, and others.

[3] A. Artsikhovsky, *Russkaya druzhina*, pp. 193—4.

[4] It may be noted that "Nestor" relates that the Rus lived at the head waters of the rivers Dnieper, Dvina, and Volga (Cross, p. 138), which coincides with the situation of Gnezdovo.

[5] D. Avdusin, Gnezdovskaya ekspeditsiya, *KSDPI* XLIV, 1952, pp. 93—103.

[6] The Novgorodian territory proper is generally determined on the basis of archaeological data, such as tall barrows (*sopki*) and cemeteries (*zhalniki*) ; cf. P. Tretyakov, Rasselenie drevnerusskikh plemen po arkheologicheskim dannym, *SAr* IV, 1937, p. 41. *Sopki* are to be found around Lake Ilmen and along the rivers Volkhov, Lovat, Shelon, Tvertsa, Msta, etc. See N.

From the 11th to the 13th century, and certainly also earlier, the Novgorodians visited the banks of the rivers Onega, the Northern Dvina, the Pinega, Mezen, Pechera, Vychegda, etc.,[1] penetrating to these distant regions in order to obtain, by barter or force, desirable commodities and especially furs from the local population.[2] Obviously, the colonization by Slavs of these immense expanses was out of the question, as their resources were insufficient for such a gigantic undertaking. Even the land of Novgorod proper was fairly thinly populated; important agglomerations existed only in a few cities, the largest of which, Novgorod, is said to have numbered, in the 13th century, from ten to twenty thousand inhabitants.[3]

The supposition that the Novgorodians peopled the lands of the Merya and the Ves is a conjecture which takes no account of the possibilities and conditions of the time. In order to remove the Finns, who inhabited these territories, or to slavicize them, as is generally assumed, the Novgorodians would have needed immense resources. To the North of Novogrod, on the sea coast, between the mouth of the Narova and that of the Neva, there dwelt the Finnish tribe of the Vod. Since the dim past this tribe had close contacts with the Slavs of Novgorod, and early became part of their State. Settled at a relatively short distance from Novgorod, the Vod occupied a territory much smaller than that of the Merya and were certainly less capable of offering resistance; and yet the Novgorodians were not in a position to slavicize the Vod. The tribe continues to figure in the sources during many centuries, in spite of the loss of its independence.[4] Similar observations apply to the Finnish Karelians, who lived between Lakes Ladoga and Onega, and farther North. Here, Novgorodian penetration was deep and of long standing. This population also preserved its ethnical character.[5] It is useful to keep these examples in mind in order to form an opinion on the destinies of the Merya, by way of analogy.[6]

Chernyagin, Dlinnye kurgany i sopki, *MIA* VI, 1941, pp. 93—134; P. Tretyakov, Vostochnoslavyanskie plemena nakanune obrazovaniya Kievskogo gosudarstva, *IAN* II (3), 1945, p. 160; A. Mongait-G. Fedorov, Voprosy istorii Velikogo Novgoroda, *VoI*, 1950 (9), p. 106. *Zhalniki* are cemeteries dating from the 12th to the 16th century, and consisting of individual graves, dug in the soil, and marked by stones placed on the top in the form of a circle or a rectangle. No *zhalniki* occur on the upper Volga; cf. P. Repnikov, Zhalniki Novgorodskoi zemli, *IGAIMK* IX, 1931, pp. 1—8.

1 S. Platonov, *Proshloe russkogo severa*, 1924, pp. 1—27; O. Bader, Drevnee Povetluzhe v svyazi s voprosami etnogeneza mari i rannei istorii Povolzhya, *SE*, 1951 (2), p. 39.

2 G. Kochin, *Pamyatniki istorii Velikogo Novgoroda i Pskova*, 1935, pp. 7—8; B. Rybakov, Delenie Novgorodskoi zemli na sotni v XIII veke, *IZ* II, 1938, p. 135; R. Kerner, *The Urge to the Sea*, 1942, Chapter III.

3 M. Tikhomirov, *Drevnerusskie goroda*, 1946.

4 These sources are listed in S. Gadzyatsky, Votskaya i izhorskaya zemli Novgorodskogo gosudarstva, *IZ* VI, 1940, pp. 100—48.

5 V. Geiman, Materialy po istorii Karelii XII—XVI vv., *IsZ*, 1940 (6); S. Gadzyatsky, *Karely i Kareliya v Novgorodskoe vremya*, 1941; cf. V. Ravdonikas, Pamyatniki epokhi vozniknoveniya feodalizma v Karelii i yugo-vostochnom Priladozhe, *IGAIMK*, 1934.

6 A. Spitsyn, Vladimirskie kurgany, *IIAK* XV, 1905, pp. 171—2, writes: "There is no ground for believing that Great Novgorodian colonization (in the basin of the upper Volga) ever assumed any great proportions, even if we think that it did take place." P. Tretyakov, *Plemiona wschodnio-słowiańskie*, 1949, p. 172, states that the Novgorodian *sopki* occur on the rivers Mologa and Skehsna only in very small numbers. D. Avdusin, *Varyazhskii vopros*, p. 13, says that there are no *sopki* in the Beloozero region.

The other tribe, which is supposed to have played a great part in the Slavonic colonization of the East, is that of the Krivichians. It is generally assumed that, as early as the 10th century, they occupied large territories in the basin of the upper Volga.[1] But this opinion is contradicted by the historical records. The Krivichians must have been neighbours of the Balts, since in the languages of these peoples *Kreevo* designates Eastern Slavs in general. The locality of Krevo was undoubtedly named after the Krivichians. In the years 1127—8, the chronicler enumerates as Krivichian cities: Drutsk, Borisov, Zaslav (Izyaslavl), and others.[2] In the early 14th century, the Knights of the Cross state that Novogrodek is situated on Krivichian territory.[3] Now, no one can contend in earnest that the territory of this tribe[4] extended from Novogrodek to Yaroslavl on the Volga, and very nearly to Moscow.[5]

The hypothesis concerning the colonization of the region between the upper Volga and the Oka by the Vyatichians seems equally improbable, and those who support it assert themselves that the Vyatichians moved southwards, along the Don.

"Nestor" enumerates the cities which Rurik received after the death of his brothers. Here is the passage which we have already quoted: "Rurik . . . assigned cities to his followers, Polotsk to one, Rostov to another, and to another Beloozero. In these cities there are thus Varangian colonists (*nakhodnitsi varyazi*), but the first settlers (*pervii naselnitsi*) were, in Novogorod, Slavs; in Polotsk, Krivichians; at Beloozero, Ves; in Rostov, Merians; and in Murom, Muromians."[6] This text shows unequivocally that the Kievan chronicler made a distinction between native populations and those which were new to a territory. It is impossible to

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[1] A. Spitsyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 171—2, expressed the opinion that they lived in the region of Yaroslavl, Rostov, Pereyaslavl, Yurev, and Suzdal. N. Voronin, *Kultura Vladimiro-Suzdalskoi zemli*, p. 35, says that in the first millenium after Christ, the Krivichians lived on the banks of the upper Volga and its tributaries as far as Yaroslavl. A. Artsikhovsky, *Russkoe oruzhie*, p. 5, mentions Yaroslavlian Krivichians in the 10th century. In another paper (Osnovnye voprosy arkheologii Moskvy, *MIA* VII, 1947, p. 19) the same author expresses the opinion that Krivichian settlements ended about 25 miles to the North of Moscow. M. Tikhomirov, Osnovanie Moskvy i Yurii Dolgorukii, *IAN* V (2), 1948, pp. 142—3, asserts that the principality of Suzdal in the first half of the 12th century was in an overwhelming proportion peopled by Krivichians.

[2] *PSRL* I, pp. 130—1; cf. P. Tretyakov, *Severnye vostochno-slavyanskie plemena*, p. 125.

[3] In 1314, the Teutonic Order undertook an expedition against Novogrodek which was a Lithuanian possession: "frater Henricus . . . venit ad terram Criwicie et civitatem illam, quae parva Nogardia dicitur, cepit." *SRP* I, p. 180. "Eodem anno (1314) fratres habebant expedicionem in fines Ruthenorum Criwicz." *MGH* XXI, *Script.* XIX, p. 706.

[4] For more detailed remarks on the subject of Krivichian territory, see Appendix: "The Krivichians."

[5] Rostislav of Smolensk in his document issued to the Bishopric of Smolensk (1150) mentions the tributes paid by Suzdal to this Prince (M. Vladimirsky-Budanov, *Khrestomatiya po istorii russkogo prava*, 4th ed., I, 1889, p. 244). This would indicate that Smolensk undertook aggresive expeditions eastwards. It cannot be ascertained from this source when the tributes were imposed and how long they continued. Rostislav's document does not mention anything concerning the colonization of the Suzdal region by the population of Smolensk, although some scholars make suppositions to this effect. See Y. Gote, *Zametki o rannei kolonizatsii Rostovo-Suzdalskoi zemli*, 1928. I know this work only from A. Artsikhovsky, Y. V. Gote kak arkheolog, *DSIF* I, 1945, pp. 23—4.

[6] Cross, p. 145.

imagine that the author, who was himself a Slav, and did not fail to mention the migration of the Radimichians and Vyatichians to new lands, could have passed over in silence so important an event as the occupation by the Novgorodians, Krivichians, and Vyatichians of the country of the Merya and Ves.

In order to reconcile the assumption of such a Slavonic colonization with " Nestor's " silence, it is generally conjectured that the passages at the beginning of the Chronicle, concerning the Novgorodians, Krivichians, Merya, Ves, etc., do not represent the state of affairs in the chronicler's own time, but rather conditions as they existed in the 9th century. If we accept this point of view, we must also accept the collapse of all those suppositions according to which the Slavs already had colonized the lands on the Volga in the 9th century, or even earlier; in this case we should have to date the colonization from the 10th to the 12th century if we wish to maintain the assumption that the region of the upper Volga was Slavonic before the great invasion of the Tartars.

When " Nestor ", in the introductory part of his Chronicle, mentions the different peoples, such as the Avars, Dulebians, Ulichians, Tivertsians, etc., he very often remarks, in relation to some of them, that they no longer exist in his day. But there is no allusion of this kind to either the Merya or the Ves. The author of the *Povest* speaks of the latter in the present tense, while he uses the past in dealing with tribes which have disappeared.[1]

When dealing with Slavonic colonization on the Volga, certain scholars assert that the new-comers occupied the most fertile land situated on the banks of rivers, and hence convenient for cultivation as well as for communications.[2] How then did the Finns behave in relation to the Slavs ?

There are two diverse theories concerning the character of Slavonic colonization. Some consider that it was peaceful, and met with no resistance on the part of the Finns.[3] Such an assumption is manifestly contradicted by everything we know of other Finnish tribes, who defended their soil and their independence stubbornly and fiercely. By analogy, it is difficult to suppose that the Merya or Ves could have behaved differently. Historians often stress the likeness between the Merya and Mordva who were akin to them. Now, the Mordva were well known for their savagery

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[1] " At Beloozero are situated (*sedyat*) the Ves, and on the lake of Rostov, the Merya, and on Lake Kleshchino the Merya also." Both the above tribes, as well as others, "belong to the race of Japheth, which inhabits the lands of the North (*zhivut v stranakh polunoshchnykh*). Cross p. 140. And here is some information as to peoples no longer extant in " Nestor's " day: " The Avars, who attacked Heraclius the Emperor and nearly captured him, also lived at this period (*v si zhe vremyana bysha*) . . . They all perished (*i pomrosha vsi*), and not one Avar survived (*i ne ostasya ni edin obrin*)." Cross, pp. 140—1.

" The Dulebians dwelt (*zhivyakhu*) along the Bug, where the Volynians now are found, but the Ulichians and the Tivertsians lived (*sedyakhu*) by the Dniester, and extended as far as the Danube (*prisedakhu k Dunaevi*). There was a multitude of them, for they inhabited (*sedyakhu*) the banks of the Dniester almost down to the sea . . . " Cross, p. 141.

[2] P. Tretyakov, Vostochnoslavyanskie plemena nakanune obrazovaniya Kievskogo gosudarstva, *IAN* II (3), 1945, p. 166; A. Nasonov, " *Russkaya zemlya* " *i obrazovanie territorii drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, 1951, p. 174.

[3] S. Platonov, *Uchebnik russkoi istorii*, 1915, pp. 73—5; V. Galkin, *Suzdalskaya Rus*, 1939, p. 28.

and cruelty,[1] so that there is no ground for assuming gentleness and placidity among the Merya. Zelenin called the idea of an idyllic and peaceful life of Finns and Slavs in common, simply a legend,[2] and Sobolevsky denounced the total lack of foundation in a conjecture of this kind.[3]

Both these scholars, and not they alone, declare that the Finnish lands were conquered by the Slavs. At first sight the idea seems more likely than the former, but for several reasons it is also untenable. When describing the political situation in the North-East, in the course of the 9th and 10th centuries, " Nestor " treats the Merya and Ves as distinct from the Slavs and as their equals,[4] and so the supposed conquest must have taken place from the 10th to the 12th century. It is impossible to suppose such clashes between Novgorodians, Krivichians, and Vyatichians on the one side, Merya and Ves on the other, ending in the defeat of the latter, whilst not finding the slightest repercussion in the records of the time. Nor are joint, aggressive expeditions of Novgorodians, Krivichians, and Vyatichians in any way probable, since each one of these tribes led a completely distinct and independent life. It is futile to speak of a conquest of Finnish lands whilst neither the Novgorodians nor Krivichians were capable of defending their own independence against the Norsemen. In short, from whatever angle we approach the problem of Slavonic settlements of Finnish lands, we must come to the conclusion that the entire hypothesis is untenable from the point of view of elementary historical criticism.

All these conjectures relating to an alleged occupation by Slavonic settlers of territories belonging to the Merya and Ves have arisen as a result of a false interpretation of the term " Rus ". Let us compare two texts from our sources. In the first, which is "Nestor's" Chronicle, the Merya and the Ves appear among the tribes settled in the North, who pay tribute to Rus and consequently are not Rus themselves. The list drawn up by the chronicler contains the names of many tribes settled on territories stretching from the Baltic coast (Chud and Yam) to the middle Volga (Cheremis, Mordva, and Muroma) and farther North, beyond the Volga (the Perm and the Pechera).[5] The geographical data indicate that in the pre-Kievan period these vast lands must have depended on the Norsemen.

The second source, The Discourse on the Ruin of the land of Rus

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[1] Julianus, a Hungarian missionary who passed through the land of the Mordva in the first half of the 13th century, writes about them as follows: " qui (Morduani) sunt pagani, et adeo homines crudeles, qui pro nichilo reputatur homo ille, qui multos homines non occidit, et cum aliquis in via procedit, omnium hominum capita, quos occidit, coram ipso portantur, et quanto plura coram uno quoque portantur capita, tanto melior reputatur; de capitibus vero hominum cifos faciunt, et libentius inde bibunt. Uxorem ducere non permittitur, qui hominem non occidit." L. Bendefy, Fontes authentici itinera (1235—1238) fr. Juliani illustrantes, *AECO* III, 1937, p. 25. Other sources represent the Mordva on similar lines. Cf. A. Smirnov, Ocherki drevnei i srednevekovoi istorii narodov srednego Povolzhya i Prikamya, *MIA* XXVIII, 1952, pp. 152—6.

[2] D. Zelenin, Russische (ostslavische) Volkskunde, *Grundriss der slavischen Philologie und Kulturgeschichte*, herausgegeben von R. Trautmann-M. Vasmer, III, 1927, pp. 5—6.

[3] A. Sobolevsky, K voprosu o finskom vliyanii na velikorusskoe plemya, *ZS* III, 1893, pp. 117—21.

[4] Cross, pp. 144—9.

[5] Cross, p. 140.

(*Slovo o pogibeli russkyya zemli*), considers the territory of the Merya and Ves as Rus soil and enumerates the neighbours of the land of Rus and, thereby, enables us to trace its frontiers. The following peoples are said to surround the land of Rus: the Hungarians, Czechs, Poles, Yatvingians, Lithuanians, Germans (of the Baltic) and also those northern and eastern neighbours of Rus who have special significance for our investigations: the Karelians, the "Ustyug" (i.e., the inhabitants of the regions watered by the rivers Yug, Sukhona, and the Northern Dvina), the "Vyada" (of the basin of the Vyatka, a tributary of the Kama),[1] the Cheremis, the Volga Bulgars, the Burtas, and the Mordva.[2] The "Discourse on the Ruin of the land of Rus" states definitely that "land of Rus" means the territories inhabited by followers of the faith of Rus.[3] From this source, therefore, it can be inferred that the Merya and the Ves were converted to Christianity in the period extending from the 10th to the 13th century. Historians starting from the false premise that by the term "Rus" Eastern Slavs exclusively are to be understood, and observing that the territory of these two tribes in the course of time became merged with Rus, drew the conclusion that the population there must have become Slavonic.

An eminent historian of the Grand Duchy of Moscow, Lyubavsky, maintains that, from the 10th to the 13th century, there remained in the territories of the Merya and Ves only the insignificant remnants of the Finnish population, small enclaves in the Slavonic sea.[4] But whoever reads the book of this author will at once notice that Lyubavsky's views on the Slavonic character of the territory of the later Muscovite State are clearly contradicted by the rich historical material which he himself assembled in his work.[5] In spite of his erroneous conclusions, Lyubavsky's work is of considerable importance to our subject.

In his book he concentrates mainly on the geographical names on the upper Volga with its tributaries, from the 12th to the 16th century, and on the gradual growth of population in this region during that period.

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[1] On the tribe of the "Vyada" see M. Tikhomirov, Gde i kogda bylo napisano "Slovo o pogibeli russkoi zemli," *TODRL* VIII, 1951, p. 238; N. Gudzy, *Khrestomatiya po istorii drevnerusskoi literatury*, 5th ed., 1952, p. 154; B. Rybakov, Problema obrazovaniya drevnerusskoi narodnosti v svete trudov I. V. Stalina, *Vol*, 1952 (9), p. 46.

[2] M. Gorlin, Le dit de la ruine de la terre russe, *RES* XIII, 1947, pp. 5—33.

[3] See Chapter I of the present work. We should add that according to the account of the first journey of the Hungarian missionary Julianus to the middle Volga and beyond, also dating from the first half of the 13th century, the expanse of the land of Rus was the same as in the source mentioned above. Julianus did not intend to remain any longer among the Hungarians beyond the Volga, "si regna paganorum (it follows from the text that what is meant are primarily the Bulgarians and the Mordvians) et terra Ruthenorum, que sunt media inter Ungaros christianos et illos (i.e., the Hungarians beyond the Volga) audirent, quod . . . " L. Bendefy, *op. cit.*, p. 25. Thus, the land of Rus extended from the Bulgarians and Mordvians to the Hungarians of the Danube basin.

[4] M. Lyubavsky, *Obrazovanie osnovnoi gosudarstvennoi territorii velikorusskoi narodnosti*, 1929, pp. 8—9. Many scholars share Lyubavsky's opinion: Grekov, Voronin, Tretyakov, Galkin, etc.

[5] M. Pokrovsky, Vozniknovenie moskovskogo gosudarstva i "velikorusskaya narodnost", *Istoricheskaya nauka i borba klassov* I, 1933, pp. 268—71, etc.

" Nestor " does not discuss the descent of the Merya and Ves, though it is certain that he does not regard them as Slavs. The languages of the two tribes no longer exist, nor have any documents written in them been preserved. A study of the geographical names, therefore, does help, at least to some degree, to establish the ethnic character of the population of these lands,[1] and to find an answer to the question with which we are concerned, namely, whether the Grand Duchy of Moscow came into being on Slavonic or on Finnish territory.

Studies in toponymics meet with many difficulties, and, moreover, in dealing with Finnish appellations we have to allow for differences between the various Finnish dialects. In the land of Rostov and Suzdal many localities took the names of their founders or proprietors. This abundant material, frequently quoted in Lyubavsky's work, has not hitherto been analysed linguistically in sufficient measure for the purpose of ascertaining whether these landowners, chiefly between the 14th and 16th centuries, were Finns or Slavs. The origin of certain geographical names is still a subject of discussion among linguists. We can quote as an example the river Moskva on which the city of the same name (Moscow) was founded. According to some scholars, this is a Finnish, according to others, a Slavonic name.[2] In short, a linguistic analysis often leads to purely hypothetical results. Nevertheless, in many cases, a geographical name can be definitely classified as Finnish or non-Finnish.

Vernadsky thinks that in consequence of Finnish linguistic influences on Slavonic, Finnish names may have been introduced by Slavs.[3] But if so much stress is laid on the superiority of Slavonic culture and on the slavization of the Finns, then the argument should be reversed, and the conclusion drawn that Finns inhabited many places with Slavonic names. Obviously, the whole problem can never be completely resolved. But we must state that Finnish names prove the existence of Finns in an area, while it does not follow that Slavonic appellations point to the occupation by Slavs of the Merya and Ves territories.

It has been remarked already that the Slavonic names which appear in

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[1] N. Poppe, O sobiranii geograficheskikh nazvanii, *K* II, 1925, p. 285; V. Semenov-Tyan-Shansky, O transkriptsii i sinonimii geograficheskikh nazvanii, *IVGO*, 1940, p. 815; S. Veselovsky, Toponimika na sluzhbe u istorii, *IZ* XVII, 1945, p. 24.

[2] A. Sobolevsky, Melkie zametki po morfologii, *RFV* LXIV, 1910, pp. 159—60; *idem*, Russko-skifskie etyudy, *IORYS* XXVII, 1924, p. 281; G. Ilinsky, Reka Moskva, *IRAN*, 1922, pp. 601—4; *idem*, Nochmals der Name von Moskau, *ZSP* IV, 1927, pp. 104—7; N. Shishkin, K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii nazvaniya "Moskva," *IZ* XXIV, 1947, pp. 3—13; P. Chernykh, K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii imeni " Moskva ," *IANOLY* IX (5), 1950, pp. 393—8, etc., deduce the word "Moskva" from the Old Slavonic base *mosk*; hence *mosku*—boggy, muddy, quaking soil. G. Berg, O proiskhozhdenii nazvaniya Moskvy, *GV* II (3—4), 1925, pp. 5—10, pointed out that the terrain through which the river Moskva flows was not boggy or marshy; that it was wooded see O. Bader, Materialy k arkheologicheskoi karte Moskvy i ee okrestnostei, *MIA* VII, 1947, p. 90. Many scholars have, on the contrary, declared for the Finnish origin of the name Moskva, among them V. Klyuchevsky, F. Buslaev, S. Kuznetsov, A. Orlov, M. Pokrovsky, G. Berg, etc. The supporters of the Finnish origin of the name attach special importance to the termination *va*, which means in Finnish water. R. Trautman, *Die slavischen Völker und Sprachen*, 1947, p. 130, states that river-names ending in *va*, *ma*, *sha*, *ga* are of Finnish origin.

[3] G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, p. 235.

the North-East could owe their origin to members of the ruling dynasty, or individuals of Slavonic descent—both clerics and laymen—who in the 12th century followed the Rurikides into the new territories. Such Slavonic new-comers arrived also in later times and were endowed with vast estates by the princes.[1] The Slavonic names, therefore, by no means prove that a mass migration of Slavonic people took place.[2]

It is generally assumed that the names of rivers, lakes, etc., are older than those of localities. For the purpose of this examination, moreover, it is necessary to take into account not only the great rivers and lakes but also the small ones. The names of the more important rivers in the territory of the Grand Duchy of Moscow are the subject of unceasing enquiry,[3] while all the small rivers and lakes are omitted from books and atlases;[4] and they happen to be indisputably Finnish.[5]

Lyubavsky, after listing much source-material reflecting conditions as they existed from the 14th to the 16th century, remarks that " with few exceptions all rivers, brooks and lakes . . . in the territory under consideration, bear not Russian, but foreign names . . . The preservation of a foreign nomenclature . . . indicates that a foreign population was preserved here." It should be remarked that in the author's view, " Russian " is synonymous with " Slavonic ", while he designates as " foreign " what is not Slavonic. This scholar, after having quoted a great number of localities with non-Slavonic names, concludes as follows: " On the basis of documents dating from the 14th to the 16th century, we can indicate in this territory a fairly large number of separate settlements as well as whole populated areas . . . which have names independent of those of rivers or lakes and which are . . . not Russian (i.e., not Slavonic) . . . But what deserves our special attention is that entire districts . . . have their own foreign names . . . These independent, foreign names undoubtedly derive from a foreign (non-Slavonic) local community."[6] Other scholars also confirm the abundance of Finnish names in the area under consideration.[7] Thus, the results of research concerning the geographical nomenclature of this region are in complete agreement with our thesis that Finns existed

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[1] S. Veselovsky, *Toponimika*, pp. 35—7.

[2] M. Lyubavsky, *Obrazovanie*, pp. 5—8, based his thesis of the settlement of Finnish lands by Slavs on the similarity of geographical names occurring—infrequently only—in the territories of the Merya and Ves, and among the Novgorodians, Krivichians, and Vyatichians. It is noteworthy that Pogodin, who applied the same method, " proved " that those Slavs came from the region of Kiev, not from that of Lake Ilmen or Smolensk. This example shows how misleading similarities of geographical names can be.

[3] This gap in the relevant studies has been pointed out by N. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

[4] I. Zdanovsky, *Katalog rek i ozer Moskovskoi gubernii*, 1926, asserts that in the district of Moscow alone there are more than 1300 rivers " without a name." Evidently these small rivers have their names, but these would have to be investigated on the spot. Such a study would provide important material. I have no detailed knowledge of Zdanovsky's catalogue which has never been issued for circulation, and rely on S. Veselovsky, *Toponimika na sluzhbe u istorii*, 1945. This is stated by N. Poppe, in the study already quoted. A similar opinion was expressed at an earlier date by A. Sobolevsky, *K voprosu o finskom vliyanii*, pp. 120—1.

[5] M. Lyubavsky, *Obrazovanie*, pp. 11—12.

[6] M. Vasmer, Beiträge zur historischen Völkerkunde Osteuropas, II—III, *SPAW*, 1934—5. Similarly—R. Trautman, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

in the territory of the Grand Duchy of Moscow not only in the distant past but also in later times.

However, the question now arises whether the Merya, whose lands constituted the bulk of the Grand Duchy, were a tribe strong enough to survive under the pressure of the Slavs. The size of the territory occupied by them is of decisive importance here.

Faithful to his habit, " Nestor " defines the territory of the Merya by referring to waters, in this case to the two lakes of Rostov and of Kleshchino (Pereyaslavl).[1] But a number of well-known geographical names allow us to extend greatly the limits of this territory. To the West of Moscow, around Zvenigorod, we encounter, in documents of the 16th century, a number of villages, such as : Merya, Staraya Merya, Merya Molodaya, etc. East of Moscow, on the river Vokhonka, a tributary of the Klyazma, there is a village called Merya, and not far off there flows the river Merskaya, a tributary of the Moskva. The term " Merya," as is generally admitted, appears in the name of two rivers, one of which flows into the Klyazma, the other into the Volga, but the head waters of which very nearly meet; both go by the same name of Nerl. The ancient appellation of the lake of Rostov, Nero, is also connected with the term " Merya." On the left bank of the Volga, to the North of Kashin, there existed in the 17th century the *Meretskii stan*.[2] The *Merskii stan*, to the West of Kostroma, is mentioned in 15th-and 16th-century records. The city of Galich, in the 13th century and later, was referred to with the epithet *Merskii*. Near Kineshma, a river Mera flows into the Volga, etc.[3]

All this shows that the Merya occupied a very large territory which stretched southward almost to the Oka, westward to the frontiers of the territories of Smolensk and Novgorod, and which in the North bordered on the Ves.[4] In the East, the Merya country extended beyond the line Galich-Kineshma. Both the expanse of the territory and the ancient traditions of the tribe[5] indicate that the Merya must have been a strong and stubborn people. This was, therefore, no weak and insignificant adversary, easy to overcome, to drive out of the country or to assimilate.

Historians advance various conjectures concerning the strange fate of the Merya. According to some authors, the tribe is supposed to have

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[1] Cross, p. 140.

[2] The word " *stan* " originally signified a station where a prince or his representatives, when travelling, would stop and change horses. Later it became a place where official persons would remain some time in order to collect taxes and payments from the population. Finally, *stan* came to mean a large territory or administrative unit; cf. S. Veselovsky, *Selo i derevnya v severo-vostochnoi Rusi XIV—XVI vv.*, 1936, p. 17.

[3] M. Lyubavsky, *op. cit.*, p. 10. See also N. Barsov, *Ocherki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii*, 1885, pp. 51—4; V. Semenov, *Rossiya. Polnoe opisanie nashego otechestva* I, 1899; II, 1902, *passim*.

[4] As " Nestor " testifies, the Ves occupied the region of Beloozero, Cross, p. 140. In the South they extended to the river Sheksna, where the settlements of Cherepoves, Lukoves, Arbuzhoves, Soves Staraya were situated, and to the Mologa on which lay Ves Egonskaya. For further details cf. M. Lyubavsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 9—10.

[5] The Merya already appear in sources of the 6th century. Jordanis mentions the Merens and the Mordens. Cf. *Dokumenty i materialy po istorii mordovskoi ASSR* I, 1940, p. 21; G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, pp. 103, 120.

" disappeared," have " disintegrated ", or been " lost ". On this point, two hypotheses are prevalent: either the Merya remained on their old territory and underwent complete slavization (Grekov, Mavrodin, Stankevich, etc.) or they were driven out by the Slavs and sought other lands.[1]

In nearly all the studies devoted to the subject, the same theme reappears: the Merya very rapidly disappear from the pages of our sources, and cease to exist in the 10th century or soon after.[2] " Nestor's " mention of Oleg's expedition against the Greeks, under A.D. 907, is considered to contain the last allusion to them.[3] And yet this is not so. " Nestor " speaks of the Merya several times in the introduction to his work which was written at the beginning of the 12th century. As we have pointed out, the chronicler makes a distinction between the tribes who have disappeared, the Dulebians, Ulichians, Tivertsians, etc., and those which exist in his time. Now, the Merya belong to the latter group.

Further evidence can be quoted in support of this observation. Adam of Bremen (d. 1074) mentions the Merya among the Finnish tribes.[4] The Life of St. Leontius relates that this holy Bishop of Rostov, who died a martyr's death in the eighth decade of the 11th century,[5] evangelized the population of the territory we are considering and " knew the Russian and Merian languages well " (*ruskii zhe i merskii yazyk dobre umeyashe*).[6] This text is preserved in a manuscript of the 15th century. That the work was not written at the time of the martyr's death but much later can be seen from the expression " *russkii yazyk* " as the designation of Slavonic. In the 11th century, such a term could not have been used.

There is no need to discuss all the details given in the Life of St. Leontius in order to draw the conclusion that in the opinion of later generations it was considered necessary to know the language of the Merya if one wished to be understood by the population of the land of Rostov-Suzdal. This, in turn, shows that much later than the 10th or the 11th century Finns con-

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[1] In connection with the last supposition, some scholars—such as Bader, Spitsyn, Vasmer, Vernadsky, Zelenin, etc.—identify the Merya with the Cheremis, although " Nestor " and other sources clearly distinguish between Merya and Cheremis. Cf. A. Smirnov, Ocherki drevnei i srednevekovoi istorii narodov srednego Povolzhya i Prikamya, *MIA* XXVIII, 1952, p. 174.

[2] E.g., V. Galkin, *Suzdalskaya Rus*, 1939, p. 26; P. Sukhov, *Slavyanskoe gorodishche*, p. 89, and others.

[3] Cross, p. 149; cf. P. Tretyakov, Rasselenie drevne-russkich plemen po arkheologicheskim dannym, *SAr* IV, 1937, p. 44; G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, p. 159.

[4] " Postea longis terrarum spatiis regnant Sueones usque ad terram feminarum. Supra illis Wizzi (i.e., Ves; Ibn-Fadhlan and Ibn-Hauqual refer to this tribe as the Visu, Yakut—the Disur, al Biruni—the Isu; cf. R. Hennig; *Terrae incognitae* II, 1937, pp. 221—2), Mirri (Merya), Lami (Yam), Scuti (Chud) . . . habitare ferentur." Mag. Adami Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum usque ad annum 1072, *MGH* IX, Script, VII, p. 373 (B. Schmeidler, 2nd ed., 1917). B. Schmeidler—S. Steinberg, Adam von Bremen, Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte, in *Die Geschichtsschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit* XLIV, 1926, p. 217; cf. T. Lewicki, Wiadomości o bursztynie w dziełach średniowiecznych pisarzy arabskich, *SA* III, 1951—2, pp. 164—6; A. Smirnov, *Ocherki*, p. 225.

[5] V. Klyuchevsky, *Drevnerusskie zhitiya svyatych kak istoricheskii istochnik*, 1871, pp. 3—22; E. Golubinsky, Istoriya kanonizatsii svyatykh v Russkoi tserkvi, *COID*, 1903, p. 60.

[6] A. Titov, Zhitie sv. Leontiya, episkopa Rostovskogo, *COID*, 1893, p. 2; N. Voronin, Vosstanie smerdov v XI veke, *IzZ*, 1940 (2), p. 55; Y. Stankevich, K voprosu ob etnicheskom sostave naseleniya Yaroslavskogo Povolzhya v IX—X st., *MIA* VI, 1941, p. 56.

tinued to exist in this region. We are further confirmed in this opinion by the fact that the Hungarian missionary Julianus, who was in north-eastern Europe at the time of the great invasion of Batu Khan (1237—38), mentions, among the nations conquered by the Tartars at that time, the *Merowia*, a name which undoubtedly signifies the Merya in the Latin text.[1] In short, the idea that the Merya, in some inexplicable manner, suddenly disappeared at the dawn of history, is the same kind of fiction as the supposed colonization by the Slavs of the basins of the upper Volga and Oka.

Galkin writes : " If we assume for one moment that the Great Russians (Velikorussy) emerged from an ethnical blend in which the Finns represented four-fifths, and the Slavs one-fifth —as does Pokrovsky—we must, logically, pose the question, why a Finnish nation did not come into being on the territory (under discussion) . . . "[2] The right answer to Galkin's reasoning, which is of fundamental importance, can be given by inverting the question : Is the author quite certain that a Finnish nation did not arise between the upper reaches of the Volga and the Oka ? I have no doubt whatsoever that such a nation did emerge, and that the Great Rus are that very nation.

Language is one of the fundamental features which determine nationality. The Finns—and in particular the Merya—in the course of centuries and in consequence of political, cultural, and religious circumstances, finally adopted the speech of the Slavs and lost the use of their native tongue. This fact is by no means unprecedented in history. Vernadsky makes some interesting observations on this subject: "Linguistic relationship and similarity of culture do not of course necessarily presuppose racial kinship. Tribes belonging to the same 'linguistic area' or the same 'cultural sphere' might be different in race or belong to different anthropological types. History offers abundant examples of one people accepting both the language and the culture of another. Thus, at the time of the expansion of the Roman Empire, the Celts and Iberians in Gaul and Spain respectively adopted the language of their conquerors—the Latin tongue, out of which modern French and Spanish evolved. No less striking is the case of the Persian language, which after the conquest of Iran by the Arabs underwent a complete change. Not only were Arabic words accepted wholesale, but the very structure of the Persian tongue was profoundly influenced by the Arabic in spite of the fact that Persian is an Indo-European language, and Arabic a Semitic one."[3]

The historian is faced with great difficulties if he wishes to describe in detail the slow but systematic supplanting among the Merya of the Finnish language by Slavonic, because the sources of information are exceedingly scanty. The Finno-Ugrian tribes, as well as other peoples of eastern Europe, used their native language in speech, but not in writing. Some of

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[1] See Appendix : " The Hungarian Missionary Julianus in Eastern Europe during the Great Tartar Invasion."
[2] Galkin, *Suzdalskaya Rus*, 1939, p. 30.
[3] G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, p. 3.

them began to write in their own languages only in the course of the 20th century.[1]

Galkin, quoted above, compares the fate of the Finns on the banks of the Volga and Oka, with that of the Slavs. According to this author, the former became rapidly assimilated, and lost their native speech, while the latter preserved their national identity.[2] Such a comparison must for various reasons arouse objections. In the first place, the Finno-Ugrian tribes did not abandon their languages. Sources of the 16th century—and Herberstein is the most important in this connection—testify that the Karelians, Ves, Samoeds, Cheremissians, Mordvians, etc., at that time spoke their own languages.[3] The majority of them are still spoken today, even if only in small communities.[4] Thus, the Merya would have been the only tribe to disappear at the dawn of history,[5] a supposition which, as we have seen, is simply not consistent with the facts.

Furthermore, Galkin does not take into account other, equally relevant, facts. The domination of the Tartars never affected all the East Slavonic tribes and was limited in time, while the conquest of the Merya undertaken in the 9th century and concluded in the 12th was of a permanent character.

There are, besides, further differences between the position of the Finns and that of the Slavs. We must never forget that before the Norse Varangians finally established themselves at Kiev in the middle of the 10th century, the rite of S. S. Cyril and Methodius had already taken root among the Polyanians. It remains the memorable achievement of the two great missionaries that they made the speech of the Slavs a literary language, adapted in the first place, but by no means exclusively, to the needs of the liturgy. Thus, the spread of Christianity in eastern Europe brought with it the simultaneous spread of the Slavonic language, and this fact assured the Slavs an enormous superiority over their conquerors, whether Varangian or Lithuanian.

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[1] A. Shmidt, Arkheologicheskoe izuchenie drevnostei severa SSSR, *FS* XV, 1928, p. 135; A. Smirnov, Banya XIV v. v Velikikh Bolgarakh, *KSDPI* VI, 1940, p. 82.

[2] V. Galkin, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[3] E. Zamyslovsky, *Gerbershtein i ego istoriko-geograficheskie izvestiya o Rossii*, 1884, pp. 413—5, 422, 426; A. Malein, *S. Gerbershtein, Zapiski o moskovskikh delakh*, 1908, *passim*; V. Klyuchevsky, *Skazaniya inostrantsev o moskovskom gosudarstve*, 1918, pp. 199—212; Y. Gote, *Angliiskie puteshestvenniki v Moskovskom gosudarstve v XVI v.*, 1938, pp. 113—5.

[4] D. Zolotarev, Karta rasseleniya finnougorskikh narodnostei SSSR, in *Finno-ugorskii sbornik*, 1928, pp. 330—3; A. Andreev, Obzor russkikh istoricheskikh rabot po izucheniyu finno-ugorskikh narodnostei SSSR, *ibid.*, pp. 257—329; V. Kiparsky, Die Ostseefinnen im Baltikum, in *Baltische Lande*, ed. by A. Brackmann—C. Eugel, I, 1939, pp. 42—7; R. Burnham, *Who are the Finns* (n.d.), pp. 11—33, and others.

[5] It is customary to number among the lost tribes, the Ves, the Muroma, and the Meshchera in addition to the Merya. We will show, in due course, that the Ves existed in the 16th century. The Muroma, who had their centre in the city of the same name situated on the Oka, are often identified with the Mordva, although "Nestor" denies that identity (Cross, p. 140), and his view finds support in archaeological investigations; cf. A. Alikhova, Mordva i Muroma, *KSDPI* XXX, 1949, pp. 26—30. The Meshchera, as follows from the geographical names listed by Lyubavsky, *Obrazovanie*, p. 10, bordered on the Merya and Muroma. Lyubavsky asserts that in the 14th and 15th cents. the Meshchera still preserved their identity. Princes of the Meshchera continued to exist, although from the latter half the 14th century they were politically dependent on the Grand Duchy of Moscow.

That non-Slavonic peoples used Slavonic in writing can be seen in the case of Moldavians and Wallachians (present-day Rumanians), of Lithuanians, and of the Finns, especially the Merya. At first sight, the sources relating to Lithuania seem to indicate that the Lithuanians were Slavs. The same impression caused scholars to propound the hypothesis of the Merya having become slavicized. But Lithuania's Christian neighbours, the Order of Livonia and that of Prussia, the Poles, etc., have written much about her. The Merya lacked such neighbours, and that explains the erroneous views held by scholars about the early history of the Finns on the banks of the Volga and Oka. The Rurikides introduced the Slavonic speech into the territory of the Merya as the language of the ducal chancery and of the Church. Beginning with the middle of the 14th century, the monasteries especially became large landowners[1] and carried on widespread activities as missionaries and colonizers. In the middle of the 16th century, nearly one-third of the soil of the Grand Duchy of Muscovy belonged to monasteries,[2] and this contributed greatly to the replacement of the Finnish tongue by Slavonic among the population. We can judge what happened to the language of the Merya by analogy with those of other tribes. When archaeologists discover allegedly Slavonic city sites of the 9th or 10th centuries in the region of Beloozero, they speak of that territory as being a Slavonic land.[3] However, Herberstein, in the 16th century, writes that the population of Beloozero has its own language, although it speaks Slavonic almost to a man.[4] This is irrefutable evidence that the Ves tribe still existed in this late period. The English traveller S. Burrough (1555—1556) decribes the tribes inhabiting the far North. Some of them affirmed that they believed in the God of Rus. This writer relates that the Samoeds on the Pechera river speak Slavonic well enough to make themselves understood.[5] The Greeks (Chalcondyles) know that the Ugro-Finnish tribe of the Permians (living on the river Kama) spoke Slavonic.[6] The Polish writer Miechowita, in his *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis* (1517), records that the population of Moscow spoke Slavonic like the Vogulians (an Ugrian tribe surviving to this day near the Urals). Miechowita ascribes this to the spread of the faith of Rus among the Vogulians.[7] All these sources clearly indicate that the culturally backward Ugro-Finnish tribes gradually adopted the Slavonic language together with the faith of Rus. It is obvious, therefore, that this did not happen as a result of Slav colonization of

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[1] S. Veselovsky, *Feodalnoe zemlevladenie v severo-vostochnoi Rusi* I, 1947, pp. 329—30. For detailed information on monastic estates, cf. M. Lyubavsky, *Obrazovanie*, pp. 17—30.

[2] The Englishman Adams, writing at the end of the 16th century, says : . . . " tertiam fundorum partem totius imperii tenent monachi." A. Eck, Le grand domaine dans la Russie du moyen-âge, *RHSEE* XXI, 1944, p. 89.

[3] E.g., P. Sukhov, Slavyanskoe gorodishche IX—X st. v yuzhnom Beloozere, *MIA* VI, 1941, pp. 89—92.

[4] E. Zamyslovsky, *Gerbershtein*, p. 415.

[5] Y. Gote, *Angliiskie puteshestvenniki*, pp. 113—5.

[6] K. Dieterich, *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder-und Völkerkunde* (5—15*Jhd.*) II, 1912, p. 106.

[7] . . . " in Moskovia unam linguam et unum sermonem fore, scilicet Rutenicum seu Slavonicum in omnibus satrapiis et principatibus, sicque etiam Ohulci et qui in Viatka degunt Ruteni sunt et Rutenicum loquuntur, unamque sectam et religionem instar Graecorum tenent." S. Anninsky, *Matvei Mekhovskii. Traktat o dvukh Sarmatiyakh*, 1936, p. 192.

these tribal territories. A similar process must have taken place among the Merya.

The State founded by the Rurikides in the Volga region did not adopt as its own the name of the vanquished population.[1] The sources allude to it sometimes by using provincial names, connected with cities, and call it: the land of Rostov, of Suzdal, etc. The Novgorodians and Pskovians, in consequence of their relative geographical position, call it "the Nether Country" (*Niz, Nizovskaya zemlya*); the Kievans: "the Land beyond the Forests" (*Zalesskaya zemlya*) on account of the enormous forest areas inhabited by the Vyatichians, which separated the basins of the upper Volga and Oka from the southern lands. As Christianity spread, this territory like others after conversion was in the course of time included in the designation "Rus." This fact does not conflict with our thesis that the Grand Duchy of Moscow arose on purely Finnish territory.

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[1] The Varangians in Kiev, too, did not adopt the name "Polyanian" as that of their State.

CHAPTER XII

THE GRAND DUCHY OF VLADIMIR

The Norsemen on the Volga. The Rurikides on Finnish Lands. Yuri Dolgoruky and His Sons. The 12th Century in the History of Rostov-Suzdal Country. Vladimir on the Klyazma and Kiev.

After having in the preceding chapter established the ethnic character of the population of the Rostov-Suzdal country, we can now undertake to recount the ancient history of this land.

In the introduction to his work, "Nestor" enumerates many tribes of Ugro-Finnish descent, who paid tribute to the Rus.[1] We are struck, on the one hand, by the large number of tribes subjected to the Varangians and, on the other, by the total absence of details relating to this dependence. This is in remarkable contrast to the same author's narration of events connected with the conquest of Slavonic lands by the Norse princes. In the latter case, "Nestor" speaks at length of the numerous expeditions undertaken by the Rurikides, of the resistance offered by the various Slavonic tribes, of newly erected or ancient strongholds, of dates of battles, etc.

After the death of his brothers, Rurik is said to have established his warriors at Beloozero, at Rostov and Murom, and to have kept these territories in his possession.[2] But here "Nestor" mentions only a few conquered tribes, while in his introduction to the *Povest* there figure many more. And what he has to say on Varangian-Finnish relations in the period immediately following Rurik is also exceedingly scanty and incomplete. Nor does this fragmentary character of the Kiev chronicler's narration improve when he comes to deal with later times.

There can be no doubt that the Norse Rus, having imposed their domination on the Finns, proceeded to levy tribute on them; there is no reason to doubt "Nestor's" account since conditions were very similar in the 11th century. Every time a prince obtained control of the Merya territory, he began his administration by levying tribute.[3] These impositions were often accompanied by violence and always by grievous harm to the population. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, "Nestor," and other sources contain much valuable information which shows how the Rus levied tribute on the conquered Slavonic tribes, and there is nothing to indicate that they proceeded differently in relation to the Finns. The Kiev

[1] These are: Chud, Merya, Ves, Muroma, Cheremis, Mordva, Perm, and Yam. Cross, p. 140.
[2] Cross, p. 145.
[3] 1096. "He (Oleg, son of Svyatoslav) went on to Rostov, and the inhabitants surrendered to him. He thus won the whole district of Murom and Rostov, appointed regents in each city, and began to exact tribute." Cross, p. 277.

chronicler tells how Yan, collecting tribute in the name of Prince Svyatoslav, demanded from the population of Beloozero that two pagan priests who had headed a revolt, which broke out at this time, be handed over to him. "Yan returned to the town and the people of Beloozero and announced to them that if they did not surrender those magicians to him, he would remain among them for a year."[1] The threat produced immediate results. This apparently insignificant detail proves that the population considered a prolonged residence among them of the Prince's tax-collector as a great calamity.

Little can be said on the relations and contacts of the Rurikides with Finnish lands in the 10th century. According to "Nestor", the Merya took part in Oleg's expedition against the Greeks in 907, but it is more than doubtful whether such an expedition did in fact ever take place. In connection with the treaty allegedly concluded with the Greeks at this time, the chronicler mentions Rostov among other Rus cities. This reference to Rostov, which is doubtless an interpolation by a copyist of the Rostov-Suzdal school, cannot be accepted. As we know from many sources, Rus, in the narrow sense, was limited to Kiev, Chernihov, and Pereyaslavl, and, in the broader sense, to the lands inhabited by followers of the faith of Rus. The native population of the upper Volga and of the Oka was at that time completely pagan. It can be regarded as a legend that Vladimir the Great, according to a later tradition, converted simultaneously the territory of Rostov-Suzdal and the lands of the Dnieper.[2]

"Nestor" mentions an expedition of Vladimir against the Bulgars. If it were certain that the Bulgars in question were those of the Volga, there would be some ground for supposing that connections existed between Kiev and the Finns on the banks of the Oka and Volga, through whose lands that expedition would have had to pass. But there are many reasons for assuming that this campaign was directed against the Bulgars who were settled on the Danube. The city of Vladimir was founded on the river Klyazma, a tributary of the Oka, and played a considerable part in the north-eastern region during the pre-Muscovite period. But we do not know who the founder was. It could have been Vladimir the Great, or his great-grandson Vladimir Monomakh (d. 1125), or some other prince, such as Yaroslav the Wise, if the latter chose to name a city after his father.

When Vladimir the Great divided his lands among his sons, Rostov was at first comprised in the share of Yaroslav, and, when the latter moved to Novgorod, it was taken over by Boris, while Murom fell to Gleb. However, we know nothing definite about the rule of Boris and Gleb in these new territories.[3] The general terms in which our sources speak of the success of the two princes in spreading Christianity on the Volga and Oka

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[1] Cross, p. 241.

[2] N. Voronin, Kultura Vladimiro-Suzdalskoi zemli XI—XIII vv., *IsZ*, 1944 (4), p. 39.

[3] Many authors doubt if these sons of Vladimir ever actually ruled over Rostov and Murom; cf. A. Shakhmatov, *Razyskaniya o sostave drevneishikh letopisnykh svodov*, 1908, pp. 88—91; A. Parkhomenko, Iz drevneishei istorii vostochnogo slavyanstva, *IORYS* XXV, 1922, pp. 480—2; N. Voronin, Vladimiro-Suzdalskaya zemlya XI—XIII vv., *PIDO*, 1935, pp. 208—9.

must be treated with considerable scepticism, as these lands were still pagan in the 11th century. We have no evidence to show that Boris ever reached the north-eastern country. In any case, at the time of his father's death he was at Kiev. The only noteworthy detail from these times is Gleb's projected return to Kiev in 1015 after he had received news of events in the capital. The record of his journey, by way of the Volga and the Dnieper, shows that he really had been in Finnish territory.[1]

Only in the reigns of Yaroslav the Wise and his sons do the connections between the lands on the Volga and Kiev become more tangible. Under A.D. 1071, "Nestor" mentions Yaroslavl on the Volga as a well-known city, not as one only recently founded.[2] As Yaroslav the Wise had died fifteen years earlier (1054), he must have been the founder of this city to which he gave his name. The foundation of Yaroslavl at such an important spot[3] proves that he must have possessed the territory of the Merya.[4]

Thus, Yaroslav could divide Finnish lands among his sons,[5] and it is a fact that they held them, Svyatoslav having Murom, and Vsevolod Rostov, Suzdal, and Beloozero.[6] It seems improbable that the sons of Yaroslav should have been the first to conquer the Muroma, the Merya, and the Ves. Had such struggles flared up after 1054, they would have been mentioned in contemporary sources, especially since this would have been within "Nestor's" lifetime.

The geographical terminology applied to this region by the Kievan chronicler, when describing events of the 11th century, is noteworthy. It is derived from the names of cities and relates to the political divisions of the country. We have already remarked, when referring to other territories, that this phase in geographical terminology succeeds the tribal appellations of earlier times. "Nestor" speaks of Beloozero, Rostov, Suzdal, and Murom, not of the particular Finnish tribes; this shows, indirectly, that these lands had already been under Varangian domination for some time, and were not completely new and unknown territories for Vladimir the Great or Yaroslav. Lack of information prevents us from reconstructing the links between the Norse settlements on the Volga and the Rurikides of

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[1] Cross, pp. 216—7.

[2] *Ibidem*, p. 240.

[3] The river Kotorosl was the waterway linking Rostov with the Volga. Yaroslavl is situated at the mouth of the Kotorosl which flows into the Volga. Here was probably in former times the "Bear's Corner" (*Medvezhii ugol*) mentioned in the legend relating the foundation of Yaroslavl; cf. N. Voronin, Raskopki u Yaroslavle, *MIA* XI, 1949.

[4] We are confirmed in this conviction by another detail noted by "Nestor". In 1024, Yaroslav quelled disorders which had broken out in Suzdal in consequence of a bad harvest and of famine. Cross, pp. 223—4.

[5] When describing the division of his lands among his sons by Yaroslav, the *Povest* relates that Svyatoslav received Chernihov and Vsevolod received Pereyaslavl. Cross, p. 232. The First Chronicle of Novgorod contains the information that Svyatoslav received Chernihov and "the eastern country as far as Murom", and Vsevolod, Pereyaslavl, Rostov, Suzdal, Beloozero, and the Volga region (*Povolzhe*); cf. D. Likhachev, *Povest Vremennykh Let* II, 1950, p. 389. Perhaps there is no fundamental difference between the two accounts if we assume that the Finnish lands had not yet acquired the character of hereditary principalities, but were only a sort of loose appendage, first to the duchy of Chernihov, and then to that of Pereyaslavl.

[6] Cross, pp. 276—7.

Kiev. The geographical situation of the various peoples mentioned by "Nestor" as inhabiting the distant North-East, indicates that the subjection of the Ugro-Finnish tribes by the Varangians must have taken place in the Novgorod period of the Rus, i.e., before the middle of the 10th century. Kiev inherited from Novgorod the difficult task of maintaining a somewhat indefinable overlordship in those Finnish lands.[1]

Kievan interest in the North-East, with its great trade-route of the Volga, was primarily economic.[2] Contacts with this distant territory were of necessity somewhat loose. The Rurikides' rule cannot have gone very deep at that time, although little by little it began to penetrate the life of the country.[3] It is probable that the princes at first tolerated the ancient beliefs of the population, left the pagan priests in their privileged position,[4] and learnt the Finnish language;[5] in short, they did their best to acquire a knowledge of the customs and the life of a territory that was difficult to conquer and especially difficult to keep under control.

The sovereignty of Rurik's descendants over Finnish territory was based on the force of arms, and their troops played an important part in maintaining obedience during the princes' presence as well as in their absence.[6] These troops were stationed in strongholds[7] and often scattered throughout the villages of the neighbourhood.[8] Certain warriors were endowed with land.[9] It is difficult to ascertain to what nationality the men serving in these armed forces belonged. Ethnically they must have been very mixed, and have included Norsemen and Slavs, chiefly from Novgorod,[10] and among the rank and file probably also Finns.[11]

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1 Kievan rule in the Finnish territories was exercised primarily through Novgorod, a detail explicitly confirmed by "Nestor."

2 A. Spitsyn, Torgovye puti Kievskoi Rusi, in *Sbornik statei posvyashchennykh S. F. Platonovu*, 1911, p. 252.

3 N. Voronin, *Vladimiro Suzdalskaya zemlya*, pp. 208—9; *idem*, *Kultura Vladimiro-Suzdalskoi zemli*, p. 35.

4 When, in 1071, the tax-collector of Prince Svyatoslav, Yan, arrested two pagan priests in the territory of Beloozero, they declared, undoubtedly according to established custom, "that Yan could do them no harm . . . They then asserted their right to stand before Svyatoslav, and that Yan had no jurisdiction over them . . ." Cross, p. 241.

5 The Testament of Vladimir Monomakh states that Vsevolod, a son of Yaroslav the Wise, who had inherited the Merya and Ves lands from his father, knew five languages, Cross, p. 305. There are various conjectures as to what languages these may have been; cf. D. Likhachev, *Povest* II, 1950, p. 438. There can be no doubt that one of them was Finnish. We come to this conclusion by way of analogy: Bishop Leontius, a contemporary of Vsevolod, learnt the language of the Merya in order to preach the Gospel in the territory of Rostov.

6 In the absence of Vladimir Monomakh from Rostov and Suzdal, Oleg invaded the Merya territory and seized his warriors. Mstislav, the son of the wronged prince, "arrived at Suzdal . . . and sent envoys to Oleg . . . saying . . . 'Send to my father and return to him the vassals whom you seized'." Cross, p. 277.

7 "Nestor" often mentions the garrisons of Merian and Muromian cities when describing the struggles between the sons of Yaroslav the Wise.

8 After the taking of Suzdal, Mstislav "scattered his retainers among the villages." *Ibidem*, p. 277.

9 "Oleg, after pacifying the city (Suzdal), seized some warriors and banished others, confiscating their property." *Ibidem*, p. 277.

10 Mstislav's army, for instance, was composed of men from Novgorod, Rostov, and Beloozero.

11 This supposition finds confirmation in the fact that the inhabitants of the fortified cities, when these were besieged, surrendered with little resistance (Cross, pp. 272, 276—8), a circumstance which shows that their loyalty to this or that prince was as yet feeble and vacillating.

"Nestor" speaks of two revolts in the Merya and Ves territories in the course of the 11th century (1024 and 1071).[1] They were bloody uprisings of the poor, directed against the well-to-do in years of bad crops and famine.[2] At the same time, these riots also bore the character of pagan reaction.[3]

Vladimir Monomakh (d. 1125) exercised sovereignty over the Merya and the Ves after his father Vsevolod. He was undoubtedly an outstanding political figure,[4] although he has been over-idealized in later times.[5] This prince attached great importance to the possession of the north-eastern lands; he often visited Rostov and was at great pains to improve the country economically and culturally. But Monomakh's links with the South, with Pereyaslavl and Kiev, were still very strong. Only his son Yuri (George) Dolgoruky (d. 1157), and more especially the two sons of the latter—Andrei (Andrew) Bogolyubsky (d. 1174) and Vsevolod III (d. 1212)—were, in the full sense of the word, rulers of the north-eastern lands. They resided among the Merya tribe, devoted their efforts to their new country and included it in their ambitious plans for the future. The turn of the 12th century was an important date in the history of the Finnish lands on the Volga.[6]

Why did the successors of Dolgoruky play such a completely different role from that of all the other Rurikides? Why did they become the founders of a mighty State? The answer to these questions is provided by the conditions and possibilities offered to these princes by the new territories. It was for the sake of these possibilities that they sacrificed Kiev.

"There it is quieter." These are the words with which Andrei Bogolyubsky is said to have described the political situation in the North-East.[7] We do not know if Andrei really used that expression, or if a later writer (Nikon Chronicle) ascribed his own opinion to the prince; the fact remains that it was in keeping with conditions as they were at the time. Political conditions in the South were eminently unstable, because of the vicinity of the steppes and the internal struggles among members of the dynasty. As the years passed, things grew worse and worse.[8] Kiev

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[1] Cross, pp. 223—4 and 240—2.

[2] "Nestor" calls the latter "*staraya chad*"; cf. N. Voronin, Vosstanie smerdov v XI v., *IsZ*, 1940 (2), p. 55; A. Varganov, Iz rannei istorii Suzdalya (IX—XIII v.), *KSDPI* XII, 1946, p. 133.

[3] N. Voronin, *Vladimiro-Suzdalskaya zemlya*, pp. 210—1; *idem*, *Vosstanie*, p. 57. There are several studies on this subject which have not been available to me: A. Artsikhovsky—S. Kiselev, K istorii vosstaniya smerdov 1071 g. *PIMK*, 1933; V. Mavrodin, K voprosu o vosstanii smerdov, *PIDO*, 1934; M. Martynov, *Vosstanie smerdov na Volge i Sheksne vo vtoroi polovine XI veka*, 1948.

[4] A. Orlov, *Vladimir Monomakh*, 1946.

[5] M. Shakhmatov, Vladimir Monomakh kak ideya, *ZRIOP* I, 1927, p. 38.

[6] M. Winkler, Die Anfänge des Suzdaler Staates, *AKG* XVII, 1926 (unavailable to me).

[7] M. Hrushevsky, *Istoriya Ukraini-Rusi* II, 1905, p. 191.

[8] From 1125 to 1240, during the 115 years that elapsed between the death of Vladimir Monomakh and the memorable sack of Kiev by the Tartars, there were, in the Dnieper capital, 47 changes on the throne, some princes losing and then regaining power, so that on the average the reign of each ruler lasted about two and a half years.

suffered perilous invasions of enemies far more frequently than did "quiet" Rostov.

In former times, such scholars as S. Solovev, Klyuchevsky, and Platonov regarded the region of Rostov and Suzdal as a primitive, virgin territory in which any developments worth mentioning began only in the 12th century.[1] This point of view is often opposed in the more recent studies which assert that the Volga trade-route contributed to the country's economic and cultural development long before Dolgoruky and his sons had taken up the reins of government.

The absence on the banks of the Volga of large cities and trade centres on the scale of Great Novgorod, Kiev, Polotsk, Smolensk, etc., is striking. The two oldest towns of the region, Rostov and Suzdal, were not situated on the Volga, and did not owe their rise to that river. The population of the Rostov territory was originally concentrated on the Klyazma and on the right-bank tributaries of the Volga. There, the cleared spaces were more numerous, and the fertile soil was well suited to agriculture.[2] From this it would seem to follow that agriculture and not trade was the chief occupation of the Merya, as it was of other Finnish tribes. Now, archaeological finds, and especially coins discovered on the banks of the Volga and its tributaries, indicate that this river was an important artery of international trade, in which the Norse Varangians had an important share. Arabic sources have a great deal to say about the Rus settled on the Volga and engaged in navigating that stream, but they do not mention the Merya. Of course, we must not treat this question all too rigidly, and imagine that the two races—Finns and Norsemen—lived in complete isolation from each other. The scarcity of sources makes it impossible to determine to what extent mutual relations between the two existed. The influence of the Norsemen could not have been very great, as it was Dolgoruky and his descendants who gained fame through their pioneering activities. On the other hand, the influence of the Finns on their conquerors was much less pronounced than that of the Dnieper Slavs upon Vladimir, Yaroslav, and their successors. As the Rurikides declined, this Slavonic influence grew in proportion. It seems likely that Dolgoruky and his sons retired to the distant banks of the Volga fully realizing that they were in danger of becoming completely slavicized; here, the Norse element was much stronger, since it persevered so much longer in its ancient pagan creed, and preserved the speech of its forefathers.[3] The reigns of Andrei Bogolyubsky and of Vsevolod III had a decided anti-Kievan and, consequently, anti-Slavonic character.

The pedigree of Andrei Bogolyubsky, one of the central figures in the

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[1] To some extent recent writers accept this view; cf. P. Lyashchenko, *Istoriya narodnogo khozyaistva SSSR* I, 1947, p. 43; M. Tikhomirov, Nachalo vozvysheniya Moskvy, *IAN* I, 1944, p. 102; S. Yushkov, *Obschestvenno politicheskii stroi i pravo Kievskogo gosudarstva*, 1949, pp. 398—9. The last-named author opposes the opinion of A. Nasonov (Knyaz i gorod v Rostovsko-Suzdalskoi zemle v XII i v pervoi polovine XIII veka, in *Veka* I, 1924) who questions the Rurikides' achievements in settling the country.

[2] M. Lyubavsky, *Obrazovanie*, p. 8; M. Tikhomirov, *Drevnerusskie goroda*, 1946, pp. 37, 57.

[3] See Chapter XI.

developments we are considering, deserves special attention. His mother was a Polovtsian, a daughter of the Khan Aepa; his grandmother Gyda was a daughter of the Anglo-Saxon King Harald II;[1] his great-grandmother was a Greek princess, and his great-great-grandmother was Ingigerd, a daughter of Olaf, King of Sweden. Thus, Andrei had plenty of Norse blood, not only in the male, but also in the female line, and inherited the tradition of strong princely power from both his Norse and his Greek ancestors. From his mother, Bogolyubsky took his appearance, which was that of a Polovtsian, with broad nose and high cheekbones,[2] as well as his second name Kitai.[3]

It is also no mere accident that a leading part in establishing the rule of the Rurikides in the Merya territory was played by a Varangian, bearing the Christian name of George. His father Shimon entered the service of Yaroslav the Wise, and this prince, according to the Kievan *Paterikon*, having received him, " respected him and gave him to his son Vsevolod as a senior (official), and he (Shimon) received from Vsevolod a high office." Vladimir Monomakh, who paid only fleeting visits to the North-East, in fact entrusted the government of the Rostov-Suzdal land to George Shimonovich and appointed him guardian of his son Yuri Dolgoruky, who was under age. When Dolgoruky grew up, George became one of his chief dignitaries.[4]

In the 12th century, the princes of Suzdal and Vladimir did not wish to break their family bonds linking them to the South and renounce their part in their patrimony. In order to maintain their influence, they desired to keep the throne of Kiev in their possession, as was the case with Yuri Dolgoruky, or to be able to dispose of it freely, as in the case of his sons. The ventures of these princes on the banks of the Dnieper are generally regarded as proof of their all-Rus patriotism.[5] This point of view, however, is unacceptable. The Rurikides from the North-East had very little feeling for the old capital. Their policy was much too calculated and consistent, much too productive of results, to allow any room for sentiment; and what

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[1] Norse influences at the Kievan court were still very strong in the 11th century. Gyda, mentioned above, represented Rus connections with the Anglo-Saxons. M. Alekseev, Anglo-saksonskaya parallel k Poucheniyu Vladimira Monomakha, *TODRL* II, 1935, pp. 41—80, deals with the details of these links. The son of Vladimir and Gyda, Mstislav, was given a second, Norse, name—Harald. He was the uncle of Andrei Bogolyubsky. Mstislav married Ingue, a daughter of the King of Sweden.

[2] In connection with the opening of the tomb of Andrei, much careful study was devoted to the prince's skeleton, which has been preserved; see D. Rokhlin—V. Maikova Stroganova, Rentgeno—antropologicheskoe issledovanie skeleta Andreya Bogolyubskogo, *PIDO*, 1935 (9—10), p. 158; V. Ginzburg, Andrei Bogolyubskii, *KSDPI* XI, 1945, pp. 86—8; M. Gerasimov, Andrei Bogolyubskii, *ibid.*, pp. 89—91.

[3] D. Likhachev, *Povest Vremennykh Let* II, 1950, p. 432.

[4] D. Abramovich, *Kievo-Pecherskii Paterik*, 1931, pp. 1—5; D. Likhachev, *op. cit.* II, p. 371.

[5] In support of this view, the observation is generally advanced that the Rostov—Suzdal chroniclers of the pre-Tartar period showed a keen interest in the whole of Rus, and included in their works records which came from the South. Now, if we consider that these chroniclers were clerics, faithful to religious tradition, and regarding the middle Dnieper region as the cradle and the most important centre of the faith of Rus, and that in addition they were often natives of the South, we see that the interest of these chroniclers in the whole of Rus finds its full explanation in religious motives.

is more important, that policy was contrary to the interests of Kiev. At the cost of the cultural positon and material wealth of " the mother of Russian cities ", Andrei and Vsevolod endeavoured to found a new power on the banks of the Klyazma and Volga. The weakening of Kiev and the reduction of its prestige meant ridding themselves of a possible rival in their ambitious struggle for supremacy in eastern Europe.

Yuri Dolgoruky occupied the throne of Kiev three times, in 1149, 1150, and 1154; this shows that it was no easy matter for him to maintain himself upon it. In 1150, he abandoned the city, " seized by a fear of the Kievans." The Prince's death, in 1157, was the signal for a general rising, which ended in the massacre of his dignitaries and warriors. " They killed the Suzdalians in the towns and villages, and looted their belongings ", states the chronicler. These events show that Yuri could not have occupied and maintained Kiev without the help of the armed forces which he brought from the North. They also throw some light on the feelings harboured by the population of the Kievan territory towards the foreign invaders.

The matter also has another aspect, and an example can be quoted to show the attitude of the people of Suzdal and Vladimir to Rus, i.e., to the region of the middle Dnieper. After the death of Andrei Bogolyubsky, his nephews (the sons of Rostislav) gained control of the North-East. These princes, who came from the South, filled the most important posts in their new domains with men devoted to them, with Rus men, as the chronicler says in a tone of reproach. The origin of these dignitaries and the methods applied by them in their administration, brought about the general disaffection of the local population, and the rapid downfall of the sons of Rostislav.[1]

The reign of Andrei Bogolyubsky was of special importance, since it was then that the relations between Kiev and Rostov-Suzdal entered a new phase. In 1169, on the initiative and under the leadership of Andrei, a coalition against Kiev was established by a number of princes. In the course of a victorious expedition, great cruelties were perpetrated on the banks of the Dnieper. The chronicler enumerates in detail the churches and monasteries which were looted, then he adds : " No mercy was shown to anybody, nor any effort at rescue made from any quarter while the churches were burning, and Christians were either slaughtered or shackled. Wives were led into captivity and violently separated from their husbands. Children wept bitterly seeing their mothers (thus treated). A great amount of wealth was carried off, and the churches were stripped of their pictures, the holy crosses, and their vestments and bells . . . And there was in Kiev among the whole population sobbing and depresssion and inconsolable sadness and unceasing tears."[2] The chronicler stresses the fact that Kiev had never before suffered such plundering. In truth, the scions of the

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[1] *PSRL* I, p. 374 ; II, p. 375.

[2] *PSRL* I, p. 354; II, p. 545. How acute at that time the antagonisms were between the North-East and the South can be seen from the following detail : In the opinion of the chronicler of Suzdal-Vladimir, the victorious army of Andrei Bogolyubsky which had carried out this sack returned to its country in triumph, "with high honours and glory." But the situation was

Rurik dynasty had before then laid siege to the city and taken it, but only in order to occupy its throne, and to strengthen their position on the Dnieper. This thime, however, something entirely different was at stake. The object of the expedition of 1169 was to plunder Kiev, to degrade it completely and give it to the first prince available, on condition that he was without power and significance.[1]

Since the death of Yaroslav the Wise, Kiev had been visibly on the decline. Yet in the eyes of the people it still had the halo of its old tradition, it was still the capital by right, although the State to which it belonged had disintegrated. What is more, Kiev disposed of great power, and exercised a strong attraction, of which nothing had hitherto deprived it; it was the centre of the faith of Rus, and the seat of a Metropolitan.[2] As the dynasty multiplied and declined, the ascendancy of the Church did not diminish but rather increased in significance. It was at this religious authority of Kiev that Bogolyubsky decided to deal a blow. Without such intention, the devastation wrought by him in 1169 in the city could not be explained. But Andrei's aim was to possess a Metropolitan see of his own at Vladimir on the Klyazma. Such a project was not new. Long before Andrei, plans had been made to found a second Metropolitan see in eastern Europe, independent of Kiev. It was planned for Pereyaslavl, situated in the South. " Nestor " mentions only once, under the year 1089, the existence of a Metropolitan see at Pereyaslavl and its Metropolitan, Ephraim. Considering that the author of the *Povest* was a cleric, and lived towards the end of the 11th century, his information is undoubtedly reliable. It follows from his laconic reference that the Metropolitan see of Pereyaslavl had not been founded long before 1089, since it was Ephraim himself who built and consecrated the Metropolitan church.[3] Ephraim was foremost in developing Pereyaslavl, in erecting churches and numerous other buildings.[4] The Metropolitan see of Pereyaslavl ceased to exist before the beginning of the 12th century, or at least before the time when " Nestor " wrote his work, because he speaks of it as something that belongs to the past. It must have been abolished very soon, as the chronicler, writing of A.D. 1091, only gives Ephraim the title of Bishop of Pereyaslavl.[5] Its

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reversed. In 1173, a new expedition against Kiev, headed by Bogolyubsky, ended in failure. This time it is a Kievan chronicler who notes with evident satisfaction : " Thus returned the whole might of Andrei, Prince of Suzdal. He had assembled all the lands, and an innumerable multitude of warriors. They came full of pride, but returned home humiliated." *PSRL* II, p. 578.

1 M. Hrushevsky, Istoriya Kievskoi zemli ot smerti Yaroslava do kontsa XIV st., *UIK*, 1891, pp. 220—1.

2 M. Priselkov, Russko-vizantiiskie otnosheniya IX—XII vv., *VDI*, 1939 (3), p. 108.

3 " In this year (1089), the Church of St. Michael at Pereyaslavl was consecrated by Ephraim, the Metropolitan of that church, which he had constructed upon a magnificent scale. For there had previously been a Metropolitan church at Pereyaslavl to which he constructed a large addition, adorning it with all sorts of decorations and churchly vessels." Cross, p. 260.

4 A. Karger, Pamyatniki Pereyaslavskogo zodchestva XI—XII vv. v svete arkheologicheskikh issledovanii, *SAr* XV, 1951, pp. 45—63.

5 Cross, p. 262. The Nikon Chronicle, in the 16th century, referring to A.D. 1095 and 1096, speaks of Ephraim as Metropolitan of Kiev. It is difficult to say how far this is correct; in any case, it shows that at that time the Metropolitan see of Pereyaslavl no longer existed.

rise and fall, therefore, occurred in the lifetime of Vsevolod, son of Yaroslav the Wise.[1]

In view of the short distance between Pereyaslavl and Kiev, one may well ask how these two Metropolitan sees could coexist even for a short time.[2] As Vsevolod Yaroslavich was married to a Greek princess, and Ephraim was a Greek, the foundation of the new Metropolitan see could not have been the result of anti-Greek feeling. The explanation of this event will have to be sought in the controversy which took place at that time between the Greeks and non-Greeks, within the Rus clergy on the subject of introducing the Greek language into the liturgy in place of Old Slavonic. "Attempts of this kind—writes Priselkov—were only partly successful under certain princes, such as the half-Greek Vladimir Monomakh, but they produced no lasting results."[3]

Monomakh's father, Vsevolod, was one of these "half-Greeks", not by descent but by political orientation.[4] He inherited the extensive Finnish lands in the North-East from his father, Yaroslav the Wise. It is to be supposed that the Metropolitan see with its Greek liturgy was destined primarily for the non-Slavs: the nomads of the steppe, the Finns on the banks of the Klyazma and Volga,[5] and perhaps those Slavs who had persevered in paganism, and had long since intermingled with the Norsemen, such as the inhabitants of the land of Smolensk. This view is confirmed by the following facts: "Nestor," when mentioning the fire of Suzdal in 1096, says: "Only the structure of the Crypt Monastery survived together with the Church of St. Demetrius, which Ephraim had donated together with certain villages."[6] And in the foundation charter of the Bishopric of

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[1] Many historians suppose that the Metropolitan see of Pereyaslavl already existed in the 10th century, earlier than that of Kiev (or simultaneously with the latter.) They hold that the see was transferred to Kiev about 1037. W. Abraham, *Powstanie organizacji kościoła łacińskiego na Rusi* I, 1904, pp. 31—2, opposes this conjecture. The hypothesis of M. Priselkov, Russko-vizantiiskie otnosheniya IX—XII vv., *VDI*, 1939 (3), p. 104, according to which the Metropolitan see of Rus, about the year 1059, was divided into the three Archbishoprics of Kiev, Chernihov, and Pereyaslavl, finds no confirmation in our sources.

[2] Under the same year 1089, at which date he speaks of Ephraim, Metropolitan of Pereyaslavl, "Nestor" mentions two Metropolitans of Kiev, as at that time a personal change on the Metropolitan throne took place. It is worth pointing out that at this time Ephraim does not figure in the entourage of the Metropolitan of Kiev. Cross, p. 260.

[3] M. Priselkov, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

[4] According to the supposition of Vasilevsky, the two letters of the Byzantine Emperor Michael VII of the years 1071—8 refer to him. The prince's daughter was to have married the Emperor's brother. V. Vasilevsky, Dva pisma vizantiiskogo imperatora Mikhaila VII Duki k Vsevolodu Yaroslavichyu. *Trudy V. G. Vasilevskogo* II, 1912, pp. 3—55.

[5] Rostov was the first Bishopric in the North-East. See D. Likhachev, *Povest Vremennykh Let* II, pp. 406, 415. Its beginnings are difficult to establish, as late sources—and we lack earlier ones —show a tendency to put that event as far back as the 10th century. But, in the second half of the 11th century, paganism is still rampant in this territory, and the bishops, who hold office in theory more than in reality, die martyrs' deaths. It is only after the descendants of Vsevolod have firmly established themselves in the Merya territory, in the 12th century, that we can speak of the development of Christianity, and the consolidation of a Church organization in these parts. The supposition cannot be simply set aside that if Vsevolod's power over the Finnish lands had been more deeply rooted and more effective, a Metropolitan see would have been founded, not at Pereyaslavl, but at Rostov.

[6] Cross, p. 277. The annalistic compilations which originated at Vladimir on the Klyazma in the second half of the 12th century have absorbed the texts of the two chronicles of Pereya-

Smolensk (1150) it is recorded that this territory had hitherto been under the ecclesiastical authority of Pereyaslavl.[1] These two facts go far towards showing the extent of the Metropolitan see of Pereyaslavl, and the aims and tasks which it was to serve.

From the early disappearance of this Metropolitan see we may conclude that the view prevailed in Constantinople that the structural unity of the Church of Rus should be preserved as it had existed during the preceding hundred years. The Patriarchs were to maintain that point of view for a long time to come. On the other hand, Dolgoruky and his descendants were not discouraged by Vsevolod's setback and continued with great consistency to favour a new plan which would have served their interests better than the creation of a Metropolitan see at Pereyaslavl.

The important number of churches built on Finnish territories in the reign of Yuri has led some scholars to the conviction that already this Prince was considering the founding of a Metropolitan see in the North-East.[2] This idea came nearer to its realization in the reign of Bogolyubsky, when Andrei presented a request at Constantinople for the founding of a Metropolitan see at Vladimir. It may be that the unfortunate experiences in Church policy of Vsevolod, who was unable to maintain two Metropolitan sees simultaneously, prevailed upon Bogolyubsky. He agreed to the continuance of Church unity in Rus on the condition that the Metropolitan see should be transferred to Vladimir on the Klyazma.[3] This was the cause of Andrei's hostility towards Kiev, since it hindered his ecclesiastical plans. Whatever else may be said on the subject, the fact remains that the idea of erecting a Metropolitan see for Rus at Vladimir on the Klyazma was an anti-Slavonic project.

We are confirmed in this conviction by a somewhat earlier event. In 1147, a non-Greek, Kliment, was raised to the Metropolitan throne against the will of the Patriarch of Constantinople, but with the support of Izyaslav, than Kievan Prince, and of some of the Bishops. Historians consider that Kliment was a Slav. Dolgoruky, who succeeded Izyaslav on the throne of Kiev, removed this Slav, and established a Greek in his place. This was in keeping with the policy pursued by the Princes of Suzdal and Vladimir in relation to Constantinople. The nomination of Greeks as Bishops of Rostov had the same significance. Both Dolgoruky and Bogolyubsky, in view of their ambitious ecclesiastical plans, were careful to maintain

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slavl, the episcopal and the ducal; cf. M. Priselkov, *Istoriya russkogo letopisaniya*, pp. 65—79. This was not only a consequence of the fact that the lineage of Dolgoruky came from Pereyaslavl, but also of the traditions linking the lands of Rostov and Suzdal with the Metropolitan see of Pereyaslavl.

[1] M. Vladimirsky—Budanov, *Khrestomatiya po istorii russkogo prava* I, 1889, pp. 241—9.

[2] N. Voronin, *Vladimiro Suzdalskaya zemlya*, p. 217.

[3] Quite a number of moves of these princes show a tendency to transfer the ecclesiastical centre to the North-East. The many churches erected in the new territories were modelled on analogous structures at Kiev. After the sack of Kiev in 1169, many liturgical books and literary works, with pictures which were objects of special devotion, precious vestments, etc., were carried off; in the geographical terminology of the region of Vladimir Kievan names have survived. For details see N. Voronin, *Kultura Vladimiro Suzdalskoi zemli*, pp. 37—40; M. Priselkov, *Istoriya russkogo letopisaniya*, p. 70.

friendly relations with Byzantium. They tried to gain the favour of the Patriarchs by carrying on a lively missionary activity in Finnish territories, by erecting numerous churches there, etc.

Bogolyubsky endeavoured to found a Metropolitan see at Vladimir.[1] His envoy, sent to Constantinople, came back without favourable reply.[2] From the Patriarch's answer to Andrei, about 1160, it follows that the Prince's request had met with refusal.[3] His candidate to this high dignity, Fedor, was not consecrated. It is difficult to say what were the decisive motives at Constantinople. In any case, the attitude of the Patriarch towards Andrei was not over friendly,[4] since even more modest proposals of his, such as the establishment of a new Bishopric at Vladimir,[5] or the emancipation of the diocese of Rostov from the tutelage of the Metropolitan of Kiev,[6] never obtained the approval of the supreme Church authorities.[7]

Dolgoruky's other son, Vsevolod III (1176—1212), who succeeded Andrei Bogolyubsky, profited by his predecessor's experience and did not propose ambitious ecclesiastical projects. He showed great circumspection and much realism; his chief concern was for the strengthening of his own realm, and if he showed any activity in the South, it was only to maintain Kiev in its subordinate position, and to preserve his own influence. In the second half of the 13th century the Rurikides established on the Volga appear to have made fresh efforts to remove the Metropolitan see from Kiev to the North-East.[8] These efforts were at first of no avail. They were, however, finally crowned with success at the turn of the 13th century, in a political situation which differed vastly from that which had existed under Dolgoruky, Bogolyubsky, and Vsevolod III.

The part played by the princes of Rostov and Suzdal in the 12th century corresponds to that of Vladimir the Great and Yaroslav on the Dnieper. Historians have hitherto overlooked this similarity, yet the likeness between

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[1] This problem has been studied in considerable detail by E. Golubinsky, *Istoriya russkoi tserkvi* I (1), 1901, pp. 330—1, 439—42.

[2] A. Jelacić, Les descriptions de voyages russes du moyen-âge à Constantinople, *SBN* V, 1939, p. 475.

[3] *RIB* VI (1), 1908, No. 3, pp. 63—76; *PSRL* IX, pp. 223—4; L. Goetz, *Staat und Kirche in Altrussland*, 1908, pp. 175—95; W. Phillipp, Ansätze zum geschichtlichen und politischen Denken im Kiever Russland, *JGO* III, 1940, pp. 71—3, 80—1.

[4] This appears from the fact that Bogolyubsky's exiled brothers and kinsmen were received with high honours in Constantinople; cf. V. Moshin, Russkie na Afone i russko-vizantiiskie otnosheniya v XI—XII vv., *BS* XI (1), 1950, p. 54.

[5] M. Priselkov, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

[6] This conjecture was put forward by E. Golubinsky in his work already quoted; cf. M. Dyakonov, K istorii drevnerusskikh tserkovno-gosudarstvennykh otnoshenii, *IO* III, 1891, pp. 74—5.

[7] N. Voronin, *Kultura Vladimiro-Suzdalskoi zemli*, p. 40, supposes that the Papal envoys who visited eastern Europe in 1169 were in fact sent to Andrei Bogolyubsky. If that were proved true we should have to suppose that Andrei was in touch with the Apostolic See, and thus was able to bring pressure to bear upon the Patriarch of Constantinople. In the 13th and 14th centuries, the Grand Dukes of Lithuania proceeded in a like manner, and availed themselves of the antagonisms between the two Churches for furthering their political and ecclesiastical designs.

[8] H. Paszkiewicz, *Jagiellonowie a Moskwa* I, 1933, p. 202.

the reigns of these rulers is undeniable. All of them came into foreign lands and established their domination there. All of them had their task rendered easier and the ground prepared for them by the Norse Varangians. All wished to obtain the support of the Church, and to possess a separate Metropolitan see directly dependent on Constantinople. As in former times princes had transferred their seat from Novgorod to Kiev, so now they moved from the banks of the Dnieper to the North-East. But just as Vladimir and Yaroslav had not severed their links with Novgorod, so Dolgoruky and his sons remained in touch with their southern lands, with the intention of making them serve the tasks and needs of their new ambitious policy.

Svyatoslav, the father of Vladimir the Great, had at first felt himself but loosely bound to Kiev, and had sought a place for his capital in a different region. Dolgoruky and his descendants were also but loosely connected with the old cities of the Merya tribe, such as Rostov and Suzdal, but they hesitated for a long time before they chose a new centre for their domain. In the 11th century Rostov, a primacy founded on the old traditions,[1] continued to take pride of place. In the reign of Yuri Dolgoruky, Suzdal became its equal.[2] The prince resided there more frequently than he did at Rostov; he started from Suzdal upon his military expeditions and returned thither after their termination. It testifies to the importance of Suzdal that for a long time the Merya territory and the princes who reigned over it were known in Kievan and Novgorodian records, as well as in those of western Europe, under the name of Suzdal. In the days of Andrei Bogolyubsky the capital was finally established at Vladimir on the Klyazma, and this became an accepted fact under Vsevolod III. Vladimir on the Klyazma, as compared with Rostov or Suzdal, was a place without a history, and without tradition;[3] an entirely new foundation which owed its elevation to the princes.[4] In the neighbourhood of Vladimir, Bogolyubsky built a stronghold which was to assure his personal security and facilitate

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[1] It was at Rostov, not at Suzdal, that Rurik, according to "Nestor", established his warriors in order to maintain his power over the Merya; Rostov, and not Suzdal, is mentioned by the chronicler among the chief cities of Rus figuring in the alleged treaty with the Greeks of 907. The first Bishopric in Finnish lands was founded at Rostov, not at Suzdal. It may be seen from the Testament of Vladimir Monomakh that this prince, when he went northwards, went to Rostov, not to Suzdal. When Oleg, in 1096, took Suzdal and Rostov, it was said that he became master of "the whole land of Rostov". This notion of "the whole land of Rostov", in the broad sense, persists throughout the 12th and 13th centuries, in spite of changing political conditions. According to some archaeologists, Rostov was situated at first on the river Sara and was transferred, already before the 12th century, to the banks of the lake where it is found in later times. See A. Nasonov, "*Russkaya zemlya*" *i obrazovanie territorii drevne-russkogo gosudarstva*, 1951, pp. 175, 180—1.

[2] Concerning the most ancient past of Suzdal, cf. A. Dubynin, Arkheologicheskie issledovaniya goroda Suzdalya, *KSDPI* XI, 1945, pp. 91—9; A. Varganov, Iz rannei istorii Suzdalya (IX—XIII vv.), *KSDPI* XII, 1946, pp. 127—34.

[3] Evidently the city of Vladimir did not spring up in an uninhabited district. Before the founding of the stronghold, a settlement was already there, as witness the existence of barrows and the finding of coins. It would appear that the choice of Vladimir as an especially important place, held by the princes in person, was decided upon for military rather than commercial reasons.

[4] V. Mavrodin, *Obrazovanie edinogo russkogo gosudarstva*, 1951, p. 31.

his domination over the whole country.[1] Between the castle of Bogolyubov and 10th century Vyshgorod at Kiev, there was an evident analogy of purpose.

Such analogies are frequent. "Nestor" several times mentions castles founded by Vladimir the Great; he enumerates the many rivers on whose banks they were built, and names the different localities where they stood. This building activity was continued after Vladimir by his son Yaroslav. Kiev owed a great deal to these two princes, but their energies were in no way limited to the Kiev region, or to the basin of the middle Dnieper, but extended to more distant lands, wherever political interests were at stake. These new strongholds, and some old ones, which were enlarged, gave a durable character to the rule of the Rurik dynasty over Slavonic and non-Slavonic populations to whom they were strangers. Dolgoruky and his sons were in the North-East what Vladimir the Great and Yaroslav had been in the South. With the exception of the ancient Merian cities, such as Rostov and Suzdal, and a few others founded by Yuri's ancestors, such as Yaroslavl and Vladimir on the Klyazma, nearly all the remaining towns of any importance in the pre-Moscow period owed their origin to the princes of the 12th and 13th centuries.

While the Finns had paid little attention to rivers, the Rurikides showed a marked preference for them, especially the Volga. This was in keeping with ancient Norse tradition. Yaroslav the Wise was the first to proceed in this way when he built a fortified town at the mouth of the Kotorosl, and gave it his own name. The reign of Dolgoruky saw the foundation of Ksnyatin (Kosnyatin or Konstantin) in 1134, and probably also that of Kostroma and Uglich. Ksnyatin, situated at the mouth of the Nerl, defended the land of Rostov-Suzdal from possible attacks from Great Novgorod, along the river Medveditsa. The defensive character of Tver was even more pronounced. Situated at the confluence of the river Tvertsa with the Volga, the city's area bordered directly on Novgorodian possessions, such as Torzhok or Novyi Torg, Bezhetskii Verkh, and Volok on the Lama.[2]

Another river which had for a long while attracted the attention of the Rurikides was the Klyazma, a left-bank tributary of the Oka. Here the capital of the realm, Vladimir, sprang up, as well as a series of other strong-

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[1] Bogolyubov was at a distance of six miles from Vladimir, and situated on the steep banks of the river Klyazma, where the Nerl flows into it. Information concerning this city and its role, its buildings and fortifications, can be found in several papers by N. Voronin: K voprosu ob arkheologicheskom izuchenii poseleniya epokhi feodalizma, *PIDO*, 1934 (5), p. 96; Vladimiro Suzdalskaya zemlya v X—XIII vv., *PIDO*, 1935 (5—6), pp. 219—20; K istorii selskogo poseleniya feodalnoi Rusi, *IGAIMK*, 1935, p. 59; O dvortse Andreya v Bogolyubove, *KSDPI*, 1939 (2); Nekotorye istoricheskie vyvody iz arkheologicheskikh issledovanii vo Vladimire i Bogolyubove, *IM*, 1940 (2), pp. 164—8; Kultura Vladimiro Suzdalskoi zemli XI—XIII vv., *IsZ*, 1944 (4), p. 38; Osnovnye voprosy rekonstruktsii Bogolyubovskogo dvortsa, *KSDPI* XI, 1945, pp. 78—86. After Andrei Bogolyubsky's death, Bogolyubov lost its importance. It would seem that in the reign of Dolgoruky a role similar to that of Bogolyubov was played by Kideksha, near Suzdal.

[2] A. Vershinsky, Vozniknovenie feodalnoi Tveri, *PIDO*, 1935 (9—10), p. 114, explains that in the first half of the 12th century there existed a Novgorodian castle or settlement in the fork formed by the rivers Volga, Tvertsa, and Tmaka. Tver owed its rise and its fortifications to Vsevolod III.

holds—Bogolyubov, Starodub, Yaropolch, and Gorokhovets. The oldest city of the region was Vladimir; Yaropolch (today called Vyazniki) was founded by Monomakh's son Yaropolk, who reigned over the Merya territory shortly before Yuri Dolgoruky. Bogolyubov owed its foundation to Andrei Bogolyubsky; Starodub and Gorokhovets also had their origin in the 12th century, but their exact dates are unknown.[1] The foundation of Nizhni Novgorod, where the Oka flows into the Volga, in 1221, as well as that of Gorodets on the Volga, was connected with the eastward expansion of the Vladimir State.

The princes erected strongholds also at important river junctions inside the country. Among these were the foundations of Dolgoruky—Pereyaslavl (1152), Yurev (1152), Dmitrov (1154), and Moscow (Moskva), which appears in the records for the first time in 1147, situated on the river Moskva, a left-bank tributary of the Oka.[2] Pereyaslavl, which lies on the shore of the lake of the same name, formerly called Kleshchino, at the mouth of the Trubezh, dominated the territory drained by the two Nerl rivers, one of which is a tributary of the Volga and the other of the Klyazma.[3] Yurev, bearing the name of Dolgoruky himself, was situated at the outfall of the river Gza into the Koloksha.[4] Dmitrov and Moscow were part of the defences of the Klyazma region, the former on the side of the Volga, the latter on that of the Oka.

Nearly all the towns founded in the 12th century were on the South of the Volga,[5] which shows that the principality of Rostov-Suzdal-Vladimir, in its earliest phase, was concentrated on that side of the stream. The majority of the cities founded in the 12th and 13th centuries have names which sound Slavonic, which proves that they owed their existence and their rise to prosperity to the Rurikides coming from the Slavonic South.[6] That many towns bore the names of the princes themselves confirms this opinion.[7] This close link with the princes shows that these towns served their interests, which were military in the first place. Studies of the build-

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[1] N. Voronin, *Vladimiro Suzdalskaya zemlya*, p. 214, advances the hypothesis that these towns may have been already founded by Monomakh at the turn of the 11th century.

[2] A number of studies have been devoted to the archaeological aspect of Moscow. We limit ourselves to the latest publications: A. Artsikhovsky, Osnovnye voprosy arkheologii Moskvy, *MIA* VII, 1947, pp. 7—22; O. Bader, Materialy k arkheologicheskoi karte Moskvy i ee okrestnostei, *ibid.*, pp. 88—167; E. Goryunova, Itogi rabot arkheologicheskogo nadzora na stroitelstve II ocheredi moskovskogo metropolitena, *ibid.*, pp. 44—54; M. Rabinovich, Raskopki 1946—1947 gg. v Moskve na uste Yauzy, *MIA* XII, 1949, pp. 5—43; *idem*, Velikii posad Moskvy, *VAN* 1950 (9), pp. 113—20; *idem*, Arkheologicheskie issledovaniya moskovskogo posada, *Vol*, 1951 (5), pp. 65—71; *idem*, Raskopki v Moskve v 1950 godu, *KSDPI* XLIV, 1952, pp. 116—24, etc.

[3] The results of archaeological studies in the territory of Pereyaslavl are recorded in N. Voronin, Raskopki w Pereyaslavle Zalesskom *MIA* XI, 1949.

[4] The Koloksha is a tributary of the Klyazma. The Gza is a tributary of the Koloksha.

[5] Galich was an exception, the princes having taken possession of it probably on account of the abundance of salt in its territory, where important centres of the salt industry sprang up in later times, such as Galich, Sol Galitskaya, and Chukhloma.

[6] M. Tikhomirov, *Drevnerusskie goroda*, 1946, pp. 51—2, points out that the oldest towns in the Rostov-Suzdal territory had non-Slavonic names, while Slavonic names were attached mostly to those that were founded in the 12th and 13th centuries. Some cities, which had already existed in Finnish times, were renamed by the princes and newly fortified by them.

[7] E.g., Vladimir, Yaroslavl, Yaropolch, Ksnyatin (Konstantin), Dmitrov, Yurev, etc.

ings extant, and of excavated earthworks, lead to the conclusion that most towns of the period were strongholds,[1] serving on occasion to repulse invaders, but intended chiefly to maintain the princes' rule over the local Finnish population.

In order to strengthen their hold over their new possessions, the princes endeavoured to attract non-Finnish settlers to the banks of the Klyazma and Volga. Similar means had been applied long before by Vladimir the Great and Yaroslav the Wise on the banks of the Dnieper. Taking advantage of the inter-tribal antagonisms existing among the Slavs, these princes, as "Nestor" testifies, were in the habit of settling, in the newly built cities of the Dnieper basin, Krivichians, Novgorodians, Vyatichians, Poles, and also non-Slavs such as members of the Finnish Chud tribe. The command of the most important strongholds was entrusted to Varangians, and the princes' entourage was non-Slavonic. Thietmar remarks, in connection with the events of A.D. 1018, that Kiev was an agglomeration of people of various descent. The same was true of Vladimir on the Klyazma in the 12th century, and it was to this that the city owed its elevation to the rank of capital.[2]

A chronicler relates that people from many countries joined Bogolyubsky: Greeks from Constantinople, Rus, Latins (i.e., followers of the Roman Church), Bulgars from the Volga, Jews, etc.[3] Polovtsians and warriors from the Caucasus served in his bodyguard.[4] This was very natural as regards the Polovtsians for Andrei, on his mother's side, was Polovtsian. As for the Caucasus, active relations with that region were maintained by the princes of Vladimir; Caucasian merchants often visited the banks of the Klyazma;[5] Caucasian builders took part in erecting churches in Vladimir and Yurev.[6] One of Bogolyubsky's wives was a Caucasian of Ossetian origin,[7] and his son Yuri appears to have married Princess Tamara of Georgia.[8] It is possible that Andrei sent his army to the Caucasus in 1174.[9] The part played by Varangians under the Rurikides' rule on the Volga and Klyazma can be seen from the example of George Shimonovich, already quoted.

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[1] N. Voronin, *Vladimiro-Suzdalskaya zemlya*, pp. 216—7; *idem*, *Kultura Vladimiro Suzdalskoi zemli*, pp. 36—7; *idem*, Oboronitelnye sooruzheniya Vladimira XII v., *MIA* XI, 1949; M. Tikhomirov, Osnovanie Moskvy i Yurii Dolgorukii, *IAN* V (2), 1948, pp. 143—8, etc.

[2] S. Yushkov, *Obshchestvenno politicheskii stroi i pravo Kievskogo gosudarstva*, 1949, p. 399.

[3] *PSRL* II, under the year 1175. Tatishchev asserts—we do not know on what authority—that Dolgoruky, when building his cities, hired inhabitants of the Volga country: Bulgars, Mordvians, and Hungarians. This is supported by M. Pokrovsky, Vozniknovenie moskovskogo gosudarstva i "velikorusskaya narodnost", *IM*, 1930, p. 15, and N. Voronin followed him in *Vladimiro Suzdalskaya zemlya*, pp. 216—7; *idem*, K istorii selskogo poseleniya feodalnoi Rusi, *IGAIMK*, 1935, p. 53.

[4] N. Voronin, *Kultura Vladimiro Suzdalskoi zemli*, p. 40.

[5] G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, 1948, p. 119.

[6] A. Yakubovsky, *Kultura i iskusstvo Vostoka v pamyatnikakh Ermitazha*, 1937, pp. 43—4.

[7] S. Shambinago, Povesti o nachale Moskvy, *TODRL* III, 1936, p. 67. This author suggests that Andrei Bogolyubsky's wife was a Bulgar from the Volga region.

[8] Ch. Béridzé, Byzance et le Caucase, *SBN* V, 1939, pp. 18—9; C. Toumanoff, On the Relationship between the Founder of the Empire of Trebizond and the Georgian Queen Thamar, *Sp* XV, 1940, pp. 300—1.

[9] G. Vernadsky, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

The influence of west European art on the painting and architecture of Rostov-Suzdal in the 12th century shows clearly that "Latins" must have penetrated to the distant North-East at this time.[1] Andrei's envoy, sent to Constantinople in order to negotiate for the foundation of a Metropolitan see at Vladimir, was Yakov (James), son of Stanisław,[2] who, although he probably professed the faith of Rus, must have been of Polish descent as Stanisław is a purely Polish name. But most striking of all is the fact that the chronicler mentions the Rus, whether from Kiev or from Pereyaslavl, among the foreign immigrants, whom he treats on the same footing and in the same category as the Jews, Bulgars, and Latins. This confirms our opinion that there never was a mass influx of Slavs from the South, for otherwise the author of the entry would have had something more substantial to say about them.

Newly erected fortified towns and a population newly brought into the country were the two mainstays of princely power in the territory of the Merya. The attitude of Dolgoruky and his descendants towards the native Finnish population was, without doubt, of fundamental importance for the entire future of this land.[3] Unfortunately, we are not in a position to say much on the subject for the reason that our sources are both scanty and laconic. Chroniclers sometimes mention "the Rostov people" (*Rostovtsi*), alluding not only to the city, which bore that name, but also to the entire region, comprising Suzdal, Vladimir, etc.; this expression gives no clue to the ethnic character of the population thus referred to. The writers of that age did not interest themselves unduly in the social and economic conditions of the country; the clerics who made entries in the chronicles could not, for religious reasons, show a great interest in the pagan Merians who had, for centuries, inhabited the territory under discussion.

In contrast to their position in the Slavonic lands, the members of the Rurik dynasty disposing of vast territories in the North-East were able to establish their power and authority there. The princes retained a great part of the land for themselves, and distributed other parts among their warriors with whose help they had carried out the conquest. The Church, too, received a great deal of land, and, together with the army and the administration, was a most important instrument of State policy.[4] Among the Finnish population, social differences were already clearly discernible

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[1] M. Alpatov, K voprosu o zapadnom vliyanii v drevne-russkom iskusstve, *S* III, 1924—5, pp. 96—8; S. Cross, Mediaeval Russian Contacts with the West, *Sp* X, 1935, p. 144; N. Voronin, *Kultura*, p. 38; *idem*, Bogolyubovskii sarkofag, *KSDPI* XIV, 1947, pp. 78—83, and others. A recent discovery in the city of Moscow testifies to the existence of trade relations between the Grand Duchy of Vladimir with western Europe. A leaden seal has been found there, bearing a stamp with an almost completely obliterated Latin inscription. But on both sides of the seal the coat of arms of the Archbishop of Cologne is visible. M. Rabinovich, Arkheologicheskie issledovaniya moskovskogo posada, *VoI*, 1951 (5), p. 67, ascribes this object to the 11th century; in my opinion, the 12th century is the earliest date that can be considered. Undoubtedly, this find is still in need of much more detailed investigation.

[2] *RIB* VI, p. 63; A. Jelacić, *Les descriptions*, p. 475.

[3] See D. Zelenin, Prinimali li finny uchastie v obrazovanii velikorusskoi narodnosti, *SLO* I, 1929 (unavailable to me).

[4] S. Yushkov, *Obshchestvenno politicheskii stroi*, p. 399.

at this time. Great importance was attached to the upper landowning class, which did not owe their estates and their position to the Rurikides. In the Life of Avrami of Rostov, which describes events of the 11th century, numerous "Rostov princes" are mentioned.[1] This source indicates how later generations viewed the distant past of their country.

In the early 13th century we hear of ruling chiefs of the Mordva tribe, and we even know their names, such as Purgas or Puresh.[2] By way of analogy we may assume that similar conditions existed before the reign of Dolgoruky and his sons among the Merya, who were related to the Mordva.

It is difficult to obtain a clear idea of the internal conditions in the land of Rostov-Suzdal. The chroniclers include in the general term of *boyars* both the Merian aristocracy and the new landowners generously endowed by Monomakh, Dolgoruky, and his successors.[3] A strong antagonism developed between these two groups. The ancient nobility of Rostov and Suzdal looked upon their competitors and rivals with disdain.[4] They were centres of resistance to the princes' rule, they did not contribute to the erection of churches founded by the Rurikides,[5] and they persevered in stubbornly defending their position, though without chance of success. The princes of the 12th century introduced on the banks of the Klyazma and the Volga great internal changes which consolidated their power.

Andrei Bogolyubsky was the outstanding representative of this consistent and ruthless policy. A man of considerable talent as an organizer, of great ambition, with a strong sense of personal dignity, and imbued with hereditary Norse lust for power, he readily embraced the ideal of absolutism developed in Byzantium; tall and strong, severe and impulsive, Andrei united in his person the characteristics of a great state-builder and reformer with those of a cruel despot.

Andrei built Bogolyubov "for himself", as the chronicler stresses, not only on grounds of personal safety, but in order to enhance his prestige, and to isolate himself. Wishing to be the "autocrat of the entire land of Suzdal,"[6] he expelled his brothers and kinsmen; he treated even the men most devoted to him with disdain, and they, knowing the Prince's uncontrollable temper, could never feel assured of their position, nor even of their lives. A conspiracy was hatched among his nearest entourage, and in

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[1] N. Voronin, *Vladimiro suzdalskaya zemlya*, p. 208.

[2] A. Geraklitov, *Materialy po istorii Mordvy*, 1931, p. 9; V. Golmsten—E. Goryunova, O mordovskom "feodalizme", *KSDPI* VIII, 1940, pp. 42—8; A. Smirnov, Ocherk drevnei istorii Mordvy, *TGIM* XI, 1940; *idem*, Ocherki drevnei i srednevekovoi istorii narodov srednego Povolzhya i Prikamya, *MIA* XXVIII, 1952, pp. 152—6. Friar Julianus, the Hungarian missionary of the first half of the 13th century, mentions two princes of the Mordva tribe; cf. L. Bendefy, Fontes authentici itinera (1235—38) fr. Juliani illustrantes, *A ECO* III, 1937, p. 41.

[3] It may be that the designation "*boyars*" also comprises some Norsemen, long established on the banks of the Volga.

[4] N. Voronin, *Kultura Vladimiro Suzdalskoi zemli*, p. 36; *idem*, Sotsialnaya topografiya Vladimira XII—XIII vv. i "chertezh" 1715 goda, *SAr* VIII, 1946, pp. 159—60.

[5] N. Voronin, K istorii selskogo poseleniya feodalnoi Rusi, *IGAIMK*, 1935, pp. 51—2.

[6] "Nestor" uses very similar expressions when speaking of the Kievan princes of the 10th and 11th centuries.

1174[1] Andrei was slain at Bogolyubov, and his body thrown to the dogs. "And there was a great sedition in the land, and a great misfortune, and many heads fell impossible to count," relates the chronicler.[2]

The ensuing riots assumed great proportions as the entire Finnish population, and not only its upper strata, took part in them. Modern historians are at pains to veil Merian participation in the revolt by employing vague terms, such as "the lower classes", "the people", "a popular movement," etc. The rising turned with elementary force against the detested ducal administration; Andrei's officials were murdered, their possessions looted, the churches plundered, etc. Events generally assumed a violent and sanguinary character, in accordance with the natural impulses of primitive men.[3]

Among the conspirators who murdered Andrei, our sources mention the sons of the *boyar* Kuchka. Scholars have devoted much attention to Kuchka, firstly because details concerning him are characteristic of the fate of *boyars* at this time, and secondly because it was on Kuchka's land that the city of Moscow was founded, which was for some time known also under the name Kuchkovo, derived from that of the landowner. Kuchka belonged to the ancient nobility of the land of Rostov-Suzdal. According to later sources, he came into conflict with Yuri Dolgoruky and suffered capital punishment. Then a castle was built on the ruins of the once powerful *boyar's* residence. According to another version, Yuri wished to place Kuchka, who had hitherto been free, in a position of dependence, and thence the conflict arose.[4] It may be assumed that the Kuchka family played an important part in the country, since Kuchka's sons and daughter enjoyed the favour of Bogolyubsky.

In the reign of Vsevolod III, the domination of the Merya territory by the Rurikides was definitely established. Vsevolod maintained his brother's policy in relation to his Finnish subjects, yet without resorting to the violence and the excessive oppression which had led to Andrei's catastrophe. At the turn of the 12th century, the estrangement from Kiev became even more pronounced than it had been before. As for the new cities built by Vsevolod, the new fortifications, the new churches, the development of the crafts in the towns, the lively trade relations with other countries, the gradual subjection of the Oka region, with Murom and Ryazan, the increasing influence over Novgorod, the eastward expansion, finding expression in expeditions against the Mordva and the Bulgars—all this testifies

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[1] N. Stepanov, Kalendarno-khronologicheskie faktory Ipatevskoi letopisi do XIII v., *IORYS* XX, 1915, pp. 40—4; *idem*, Edinitsy scheta vremeni (do XIII v.) po Lavrentevskoi i I Novgorodskoi letopisyam, *COID*, 1909 (4), p. 40.

[2] *PSRL* III, p. 16. A list of sources concerning the death of Andrei is given by S. Shambinago, Povest io nachale Moskvy, *TODRL* III, 1936, pp. 59—98.

[3] B. Romanov, *Lyudi i nravy drevnei Rusi*, 1947, pp. 114—5.

[4] The story of Kuchka forms part of the "Tales on the Beginnings of Moscow" dating from the 16th or 17th century; cf. S. Shambinago, Povesti o nachale Moskvy, *TODRL* III, 1936, pp. 59—98; M. Tikhomirov, Skazaniya o nachale Moskvy, *IZ* XXXII, 1950, pp. 233—41. In connection with Kuchka's death, and the later acts of violence committed by rulers of Moscow, the saying is current to this very day: "Moscow stands on blood." Cf. V. Ikonnikov, *Opyt russkoi istoriografii* II (2), 1908, p. 1057.

to the growing strength of the Grand Duchy of Vladimir. From the records, Vsevolod emerges as an outstanding ruler, probably the most powerful of all the princes at the time. This finds expression in the Grand-Ducal title, permanently assumed by him.[1]

Chroniclers of the 11th and 12th centuries, when recording the death of various Rurikides, praise some of them as "good" for their lack of interest in earthly things, for their preference for poverty, their voluntary distribution of estates, etc. Dolgoruky and his sons did not belong to this category of rulers. They hoarded great riches, as witness the chroniclers' descriptions of Bogolyubsky's wealth on the occasion of his death, or the quantity of gold and silver given to his daughter by Vsevolod III on her marriage. But the most striking proof of the great wealth of the princes is to be found in the churches they erected. The number of these, their dimensions, their artistic value, their rich ornamentation are truly astonishing. The architecture, the sculpture, the painting in the Rostov-Suzdal-Vladimir country[2] can be regarded from the standpoint of religion, of culture, or of economics, and last but not least, of policy. These imposing sanctuaries, in the eyes of the masses, enhanced the authority of their founders; they appealed to the imagination and sensibility of the people; they dazzled and attracted the primitive native population.

Beside Slavonic Rus, which was split up in the 12th century, another, Finnish Rus, was coming into being with great prospects for the future. In both cases the dynasty of Rurik was the organizing factor, though primarily alien to Slavs and Finns alike. The princes of Suzdal-Vladimir in the 12th century drew on the rich experience of their ancestors gained on the banks of the Dnieper. Thence the numerous similarities and analogies between the realms of Vladimir the Great and Yaroslav on the one hand, and of Dolgoruky and his sons on the other. Had the members of the ruling dynasty been Slavs, and had they consolidated their domination in the North-East among a Slavonic population, their task would have been much easier and would not have assumed the character of a conquest. The history of the Rostov-Suzdal country in the period under consideration would have presented an altogether different aspect.

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[1] L. Goetz, Der Titel "Grossfürst" in den ältesten russischen Chroniken, *ZOG* I, 1911, pp. 59—60; A. Vasiliev, Was Old Russia a Vassal State of Byzantium? *Sp* VII, 1932, pp. 356—7; G. Ostrogorsky, Die byzantiniche Staatenhierarchie, *SK* VIII, 1936, p. 60; M. Priselkov, Russko-vizantiiskie otnosheniya IX—XII vv., *VDI*, 1939 (3), p. 109.

[2] Without attempting to examine these monuments of art which date from the 12th and 13th centuries, we will only mention some of the most important works on the subject: A. Alpatov —N. Brunov, *Geschichte der altrussischen Kunst*, 1932; D. Ainalov, *Geschichte der russischen Monumentalkunst der vormoskovitischen Zeit*, 1932; N. Voronin, Rostovskii Kreml, *IGAIMK* X, 1933; D. Buxton, *Russian Mediaeval Architecture*, 1934; N. Voronin, Glavneishie etapy russkogo zodchestva X—XV st., *IAN*, 1944; A. Varganov, K arkhitekturnoi istorii Suzdalskogo sobora (XI—XVII vv.), *KSDPI* XI, 1945; N. Voronin, *Pamyatniki Vladimiro-Suzdalskogo zodchestva XI—XIII vv.*, 1945; *idem*, Tverskoe zodchestvo XIII—XIV vv., *IAN*, 1945; *idem*, Osnovnye voprosy rekonstruktsii Bogolyubovskogo dvortsa, *KSPDI* XI, 1945; *idem*, Bogolyubovskii sarkofag, *KSDPI* XIV, 1947, and many others. General remarks on the art of Suzdal and Vladimir may also be found in studies devoted to Russian cities, such as: N. Voronin, *Drevnerusskie goroda*, 1945; M. Tikhomirov, *Drevnerusskie goroda*, 1946.

The death of Vsevolod III in 1212 was an event of great consequence. The deceased Grand Duke, known under the nickname of the "Great Nest" because all the numerous princes of the north-eastern lands descended from him,[1] left several sons, and this led inevitably to divisions, jealousies, and quarrels. His eldest son, Constantine, received Rostov, which remained in the hands of his descendants, although broken up into several principalities, such as Rostov, Yaroslavl, Uglich, and Beloozero. Yaroslav inherited from his father Pereyaslavl, and within his share there arose two separate principalities, those of Tver and Moscow. Svyatoslav received Yurev, and Ivan, Starodub. The Grand Duchy, with its capital at Vladimir, and an extensive domain was bequeathed by Vsevolod to his second son Yuri.

The greatest political ambitions were harboured from the first by the two eldest sons of Vsevolod, Constantine and Yuri. The latter twice over, in 1212 and in 1213, marched against Constantine's Rostov, but subsequently came to an understanding with his brother and maintained his preponderant position. Immediately after having scored this success, Yuri founded a new Bishopric, comprising Vladimir and Suzdal (1214), in order to become independent of the Bishop of Rostov, who was under Constantine's influence. Before long new disputes arose between the brothers. Constantine's victory on the river Lipitsa, near Yurev, assured him his right of seniority (1217). Having taken the city of Vladimir, Constantine reduced his brother's possessions to Suzdal, but only for a short time, since he died in 1219. Yuri then regained the Grand-Ducal throne, though not without further friction and internal disturbance.

The period of 1212 to 1237 is not marked by any growth in the strength or size of the Grand Duchy of Vladimir. The outstanding personality of the time was undoubtedly Yuri Vsevolodovich. The general lines of his policy, his relations with Great Novgorod, his offensive expeditions against the Mordva and the Bulgars, his efforts to maintain his influence in the South, resemble the plans and undertakings of his great father, yet he lacked the bold resolution, the power, and authority of Vsevolod. As to the three chief cities in the country, Suzdal receded into the background while Vladimir displayed its character as capital more strongly than before, but Rostov also played an important political part.

The frequent changes, or attempted changes, of rule in Vladimir necessarily weakened the position of the Grand Dukes. The younger sons of Vsevolod felt more strongly bound to their particular principalities, in proportion as they lost the sense of dependence on their elder brother, then resident on the Klyazma. In these 25 years, the formerly so promising outlook of the Grand Duchy was obscured, while its political structure was weakened, and its cohesion diminished. It was precisely at this time of deterioration and adverse fortune, in the winter of 1237-38, that the great Tartar invasion took place.

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[1] The genealogy of these princes has been elaborated by A. Ekzemplyarsky, *Velikie i udelnye knyaz'ya severnoi Rusi v tatarskii period s* 1238 *po* 1506 *g.* I, 1889; II, 1891.

The plans of further conquest laid by the great Genghiz-Khan, the founder and organizer of the immense Mongol Empire, became after his death the guiding principles and the highest aims of his descendants.[1] These plans impelled Batu to proceed to the conquest of eastern Europe.[2] Having vanquished the Polovtsians and the peoples inhabiting the banks of the Volga, and having taken Ryazan,[3] the Tartars advanced to the North. Kolomna, Moscow, Suzdal, and Vladimir on the Klyazma mark the stages of their march, and fell to them one by one. At Vladimir the Tartars divided into several groups, and began simultaneously to operate against Galich, Yaroslavl, Rostov,[4] Pereyaslavl, Suzdal, Yurev, Dmitrov, Volok, Tver, Torzhok, etc. Yuri, son of Vsevolod, was killed in battle on the river Sit, a tributary of the Mologa, and his army was completely routed (March 1238). The chief forces of the Tartars began to advance on Great Novgorod,[5] but swung back to the South-East as the spring thaws set in. On their return march, the Tartars took Kozelsk, and finally disappeared in the steppe of the Polovtsians.

In the years that followed, Batu Khan continued the conquest of eastern and central Europe, this time chiefly of the Slavonic lands. Southern Pereyaslavl fell to him, as did Chernihov, and, in December 1240, Kiev was taken. Halicz and Volynia, as well as Sandomierz, Cracow, Silesia (the battle of Lignica)[6] suffered terrible devastation. From Poland the Tartars moved into Hungary, which was their chief objective in this region. Having returned from Hungary, in 1243, Batu founded a vast Empire extending from the Bulgar country, the Mordva, and the Finnish principalities of the Rurikides in the North, to Volynia and Halicz in the West, to the Crimea and the Caucasus in the South, and to Khoresm and the Syr-Daria in the East.

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[1] In the present work I forgo any discussion of the origin of the Mongol Empire, its territorial expanses, its organization and social conditions, or of the historic role of Gengkiz Khan and his successors. All these problems, adequately dealt with in many works, relate only indirectly to the present subject.

[2] More than ten years before Batu Khan opened hostilities, the first battle was fought in the southern steppes, on the banks of the river Kalka, between the Tartars and the Rurikides, and it ended in disaster for the latter. Students of the subject differ in their opinion as to whether this battle occurred in 1223 or 1224. A. Saltykov, Khronologiya bitvy pri r. Kalke, *UZII* IV, 1929, pp. 5—12, declares for the latter date. As to the place of encounter, cf. V. Lyaskoronsky, Russkie pokhody v stepi v udelno-vechevoe vremya, *ZMNP*, 1907, p. 300 seqq.; V. Sakhanev, Razvedka na meste bitvy pri r. Kalke 1224 goda, *ZORSA* XI, 1915, pp. 22—34. It is to be supposed that Kalka signifies the Kalmius river, which, together with its right-bank tributary, the Kalchik, flows into the sea of Azov. The fact, noted by the Nikon Chronicle in the 16th century, that the Tartars sent envoys to the Rurikides, leads Vernadsky to the conclusion that these envoys were Christians, namely, Nestorians; cf. G. Vernadsky, K voprosu o veroispovedanii mongolskikh poslov 1223 goda. *SK* III, 1929, pp. 145—7. It would seem that this question cannot be resolved categorically, as the Tartar envoys had knowledge of the Slavonic language; cf. *A ECO* III, 1937, p. 24.

[3] Ancient Ryazan, which never recovered from the devastation inflicted upon it by Batu, was situated on the right bank of the Oka, on the site where today there are ruins, more than two miles from the town of Spassk. A. Mongait, Staraya Ryazan, *VoI*, 1947 (4), pp. 88—98; *idem*, Topografiya Staroi Ryazani, *KSDPI* XLIV, 1952, pp. 104—15. In the 14th century, Ryazanian Pereyaslavl became the capital of the country, and took the name of Ryazan. Present-day Ryazan is situated more than 30 miles from the old site.

[4] M. Priselkov, *Istoriya russkogo letopisaniya XI—XV vv.*, 1940, p. 94, is of the opinion that of all the cities just mentioned, Rostov suffered relatively the least destruction.

[5] S. Ilin, Seligerskii put Batyya k Novgorodu v 1238 godu, *IsZ*, 1944 (4), pp. 96—100.

[6] L. Koczy, Lignica, *KHW* II, 1944, pp. 57—84.

This Empire, which was but loosely connected with the great Khan of Asia, was called the Golden Horde.[1] Its capital was Sarai, situated on the banks of the Volga.[2]

Historians generally represent the Tartar conquest as the beginning of a new period in the history of eastern Europe, and consider Tartar domination, commonly alluded to as the " Tartar yoke ", as the outstanding feature of that age. This domination was of much less consequence to the Slavonic than to the Finnish lands, since it was of shorter duration there and extended to only a part of the area occupied by the Eastern Slavs. For this reason our attention is chiefly devoted to the Grand Duchy of Vladimir.

The Tartars were most dangerous to the conquered nations at the time of the conquest itself. They then perpetrated massacres and wrought frightful devastation. In eastern Europe, as elsewhere, their conduct was marked by extreme cruelty. This cruelty was based on policy and was governed by method. The invaders wished to inspire fear, a feeling of helplessness, of humiliation and submission; in short, they desired to terrorize. This policy was applied by the Tartars with remorseless consistency, and we have to acknowledge that it was very successful.[3]

Without wishing in any way to minimize the devastation wrought by the Tartars in the land of Vladimir, we cannot overlook the fact that the chroniclers speak with a certain exaggeration of the Tartar raids and especially of the memorable invasion of the winter of 1237-8, as though everything

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[1] B. Grekov—A. Yakubovsky, *Zolotaya Orda i ee padenie*, 1950, pp. 57—69.

[2] There existed two cities of the name of Sarai: Sarai-Batu and Sarai-Berke, or Old and New Sarai. The former was situated near the village of Selistrennoe, not far from Astrakhan; the latter on an arm of the Volga, the Akhtuba, near the town of Tsarev. It was in the first half of the 14th century that the capital of the State was transferred to New Sarai. Numerous ruins of both Old and New Sarai are extant; cf. F. Balodis, Staryi i Novyi Sarai, stolitsy Zolotoi Ordy, *NV* III, 1923, pp. 372—9; IV, 1924, pp. 336—49; *idem*, Alt-Sarai und Neu-Sarai, die Hauptstädte der Goldenen Horde, *AUL* XIII, 1926, pp. 5—79; A. Yakubovsky, K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii remeslennoi promyshlennosti Saraya Berke, *IGAIMK* VIII (2—3), 1931; *idem*, *Feodalizm na Vostoke. Stolitsa Zolotoi Ordy-Sarai Berke*, 1932, pp. 3, 16, 18; *idem*, Mongolskaya imperiya, *IsZ*, 1940 (3), pp. 97—8.

[3] The Tartars built up the largest State in the history of the world. Not only did they succeed in conquering immense territories, but they also organized and maintained them. In many ways, the Tartars may well excite admiration. Their intelligence service, with swarms of spies disguised as merchants or beggars, allowed the invaders to reconnoitre the enemy country in advance. The Tartar armies, remarkable for the uncommon rapidity of movement and their brilliant adaptability to unforeseen circumstances, were exceedingly clever at ambushing their adversaries and wearing down resistance. In battle, these armies gave evidence of excellent technical preparation, which was apparent at the taking of cities; they used smoke screens, etc. The commanders maintained contact between the fighting units, which was not at all easy, both in the field, and as occasion required. Road-building, good communications, post stages, and security of travel completed the picture.

Sarai was a great centre of industry and trade. Goods from the whole world, from China to Venice, could be purchased there. The city had brick-kilns, potteries, foundries, and sewers. Canals and resevoirs provided water. Jewellers', tailors' and shoe-makers' shops existed in Sarai. Whole quarters of the city were built of brick, and according to plan. The houses were suitably built to serve their purpose, with very good flooring and central heating. Compared with the houses of western Europe, these buildings were fabulously luxurious. The palaces of the Tartar grandees were faced with marble. The Khan and his dignitaries had silver table-services. It is with good reason, therefore, that many authors oppose the underrating of the Tartar civilization; cf. F. Balodis, Kultura Zolotoi Ordy, *NV* VI, 1924, pp. 336—49; *idem*, Neuere Forschungen über die Kultur der Goldenen Horde, *ZSP* IV, 1927, pp. 1—19; N. Kozmin, *K voprosu o turetsko-mongolskom feodalizme*, 1934, p. 76; etc.

had been destroyed and the population completely exterminated. Actually, when the onslaught came, the inhabitants of the country dispersed in all directions, taking refuge in the woods far away from the roads and waterways, and when the invaders had passed returned to their ruined homesteads.[1] That such were the facts may be seen from the following events: after Grand Duke Yuri Vsevolodovich had fallen in battle against the Tartars, the " whole city of Vladimir " bemoaned him (1239), although the year before it had been taken and laid waste by the Tartars. " Very many *boyars* and servants " took part in the solemn burial.[2] Yuri's successor, Yaroslav Vsevolodovich, was not unduly weakened by the invasion of Batu Khan, since in 1239 he was already able to undertake an expedition against the Lithuanians in defence of Smolensk, and returned " with abundant booty ". Yaroslav's son Alexander, established at Novgorod, gained two great victories, one in 1240 over the Swedes on the river Neva[3] —hence his epithet " Nevsky "—and another in 1242 over the Livonian Order on the frozen Lake Chudskoe.[4] Alexander's successes contributed to Yaroslav's authority in the North-West with whom he kept in constant touch.[5]

In short, the happenings of the years which immediately followed the great Tartar invasion in no way testify to the complete breakdown and collapse of the Grand Duchy of Vladimir. On the contrary, strange as it may seem, we are forced to admit that the ascendancy of the Grand Duke increased at this time. The Tartar invasion led to changes in the distribution of power among the various princes of the North-East. Batu did not spare the descendants of Rurik; in the course of the year 1237-8 a considerable number of them were murdered. Certain principalities, left without heirs, passed under the direct authority of the Grand Duke; in others, young sons succeeded their fathers, and, as many of them were under age, Yaroslav's voice quite naturally gained in weight. To this we have to add that the other principalities of eastern Europe passed through a profound crisis in the course of the 13th century: in the South, Kiev and Pereyaslavl ceased to exist as political entities; the territory of Chernihov—Novgorod Seversk lost almost all its importance, disintegrating into a number of separate provinces; Ryazan was visibly weakened, and Smolensk declined through internal strife and Lithuanian raids. Thus, we obtain a picture of eastern Europe at this time in which only three powerful centres remained: Halicz-Volynia, Great Novgorod, and Vladimir on the Klyazma.

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[1] On this point we base our judgement on analogy. When the Tartars burned down Murom, and were plundering the region of the Klyazma, " there was at that time great panic in all the land, and people did not know where each of them was fleeing." *PSRL* I, under A.D. 1239; The chronicler relates that after another Tartar invasion the Grand Duke of Vladimir " reassembled the scattered population in its homes," *ibid.* V, under 1251, etc.

[2] *PSRL* I, under 1239.

[3] The political aspect of Alexander's conflicts with the Swedes is dealt with by I. Shaskolsky, Novye materialy o shvedskom pokhode 1240 g. na Rus, *IAN* VIII (3), 1951, pp. 267—76.

[4] Remarks on the place of battle in M. Tikhomirov, O meste Ledovogo poboishcha, *IAN* VII, 1950, pp. 88—91.

[5] We know that in his wars Alexander received military help from Yaroslav. In 1240 he spent some time in his native Pereyaslavl; in 1240 or 41, he was sent by Yaroslav on a mission to the Tartars; cf. H. Paszkiewicz, *Jagiellonowie a Moskwa*, pp. 179, 182.

CHAPTER XIII

THE RISE OF MOSCOW

The Rule of the Tartars in North-Eastern Europe. Tartar Attitude towards the Church of Rus. The Khans and the Volga Rurikides. The Struggle between Moscow and Tver. Ivan Kalita and His Successors. The Contribution of the Tartars and Constantinople to the Rise of Moscow. The Problem of the Great Rus Nation.

Tartar domination in north-eastern Europe has often been described by historians.[1] In spite of a multitude of studies, however, the subject is by no means exhausted, and opinions are far from reaching agreement. Marked divergences occur among authors, not only on points of detail, but also on fundamental questions. Tartar sovereignty on the banks of the Volga, Klyazma, and Oka, appears to certain scholars as beneficial, whilst others regard it as a calamity which dragged the conquered country into degradation and ruin. It would seem that these contradictory judgements arise largely from a somewhat inadequate knowledge of Tartar history on the one hand and, on the other, from a mistaken conception of ethnical conditions in eastern Europe due to an incorrect interpretation of the term " Rus ". The assumptions of a Slavonic descent of the Rus and the Rurik dynasty, and of the settlement by Slavs of the Rostov-Suzdal country, are significant cases in point. During the Tartar rule, events occurred which are in evident contradiction to much that has been written concerning the pre-Tartar period. Quite arbitrarily profound changes in former conditions are supposed to have taken place in consequence of the Tartars, although they were neither able to affect such changes nor desirous of doing so, as far as can be judged from the general lines of their policy.

Many historians assert that the most important consequence of the Tartar domination was the splitting up of a hitherto united Rus nation into three parts, Great Rus, Little Rus, and White Rus. We have indicated in the preceding chapters that a Rus nation comprising all the Eastern Slavs

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[1] A detailed list of the relevant sources and historical works is given by B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Russland* (1223—1502), 1943. For a general view on the subject, besides the work of Spuler, see: B. Grekov—A. Yakubovsky, *Zolotaya Orda*, 1937; 2nd ed., 1941 (The French transl. by F. Thuret, 1939); A. Nasonov, *Mongoly i Rus*, 1940; B. Grekov —A. Yakubovsky, *Zolotaya Orda i ee padenie*, 1950; of earlier works: J. Curtin, *The Mongols in Russia*, 1908.

never existed. Thus, the Tartars could not break up what was not in being. A decision of Batu Khan tells us that the Tartars meant to maintain the political unity of the Christians of Rus. The successor of Grand Duke Yuri who had fallen in 1238—his younger brother, Yaroslav—proceeded to plead with the Tartars. And the chronicler relates: "Batu received Yaroslav and his companions with great respect, and sent them back, saying: 'Yaroslav, be senior over all the princes who profess the faith of Rus (*budi ty starei vsem knyazem v Russkom yazytse.*)"[1] But Yaroslav did not go to Kiev; he did not assume the direct rule there, nor did he send any of his sons to the Dnieper city. In order to fulfil the Tartar injunction, he appointed a *boyar* of little consequence as his governor in Kiev. After the death of Yaroslav in 1246, a quarrel broke out between the sons of the deceased, Alexander and Andrew, over their father's heritage. Batu Khan gave Kiev to the former, and Vladimir on the Klyazma to the latter.[2] This decision was of great significance. It shows that the Tartars desired to preserve the old political tradition by maintaining the primacy of Kiev, which they gave to the elder brother, and thereby to prevent the Christians of Rus from becoming politically divided. We have no proof that Alexander ever proceeded to Kiev or governed there. He soon engaged in fresh hostilities against his brother, and that would tend to show that he felt unjustly treated by the Khan's decision. Thus, even the intervention of the Tartars was not sufficient to hold the two regions—South and North-East—together, as they were ethnically alien to each other. Similarly the Rurikides, in earlier days, had not been able to achieve this, although they had bound them together by the same faith.

According to certain historians, there was another most important consequence of the Tartar domination, namely, the profound estrangement between the Vladimirian (later Muscovite) realm and western Europe,[3] non-existent in Kievan times.[4] Now, such a development undoubtedly did take place, but it was not caused by the Tartars. In the Kievan period the Norse Varangians were dealing mainly with Eastern Slavs. During the Tartar invasion, and later, these Slavonic peoples remained faithful to their past, and maintained lively contacts with their western neighbours.[5] When Batu Khan's armies overran their country, Danilo of Halicz, and his brother Vasilko of Volynia, found refuge and salvation in Poland. Danilo received baptism in the Latin Church, and a royal crown from the Pope. Michael of Chernihov also fled to the West.[6] Other Slavonic lands,

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[1] *PSRL* I, under the year 1243.

[2] *PSRL* I, under 1249.

[3] F. Braun, Russland und die Deutschen in alter Zeit, in *Germanica, E. Sievers zum* 75 *Geburtstage*, 1925, p. 695; S. Runciman, *Byzantine Civilization*, 1936, p. 283; H. Pirenne, *A History of Europe from the Invasions to the* 16*th Century*, 1940, p. 466, and others.

[4] O. Halecki, *The Limits and Divisions of European History*, 1950, p. 91; B. Sumner, Russia and Europe, *OSP* II, 1951, p. 7.

[5] D. Obolensky, Russia's Byzantine Heritage, *OSP* I, 1950, p. 39.

[6] It is noteworthy that all the princes mentioned had Slavonic blood in their veins, their mothers or grand-mothers having been Polish princesses; cf. O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, 1895, *passim*.

especially Novgorod and Pskov, continued to have trade (and cultural) contacts with the West across the Baltic Sea, while Polotsk, Vitebsk, Smolensk, etc., threatened by the Tartars, began to look towards Lithuania. On the other hand, the Finnish tribes, the Merya and Ves, had no established traditions linking them with western Europe. The Tartars actually wished to maintain contacts—e.g., trade relations—with the West.[1] Mangu-Temir Khan (1267—1280) in an edict (*slovo*) to the Grand Duke of Vladimir entrusted to him the safety of the German merchants of Riga, who travelled through Rostov-Suzdal territory.[2] The Khan's injunction indicates that the Tartars did not try to disrupt the ties between the Grand Duchy and western Europe, but, on the contrary, were keen to maintain commercial (and cultural) relations with the West.

The Tartars did not intend to bring deep changes into the internal life of the north-eastern lands.[3] The tremendous territorial expansion of the Golden Horde and the limited number of Tartars who followed Batu into eastern Europe account for this fact. The great bulk of the Tartars remained in Asia.[4] That is why there can be no question of a mongolization of the countries conquered by the Khan's armies. On the contrary, in the course of time a certain influence of the subjected peoples over their conquerors becomes discernible.[5] Tartar supremacy over the Christians of Rus cannot be compared, for instance, to Turkish rule in the Balkans.[6] The Grand Duchy of Vladimir never became an annexed province; it remained a State, or a series of States, with unchanged internal structure, though in a relation of vassalage to the Golden Horde. The same situation prevailed in other territories, such as Armenia, Georgia, etc.

The Tartars observed complete tolerance towards the Church of Rus. They neither obstructed the spread of the Christian faith nor did they interfere with appointments to Church offices; they also maintained the clergy in their privileged position. The Khans issued special documents, called

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[1] F. Uspensky, Morskoe i sukhoputnoe dvizhenie iz Tsentralnoi Azii v Evropu i obratno v XIII—XIV vv., *VV* II (XXVII), 1949, p. 269.

[2] S. Valk, *Gramoty Velikogo Novgoroda i Pskova*, 1949, No. 30, p. 57.

[3] This has been stated by many authors, such as: G. Vernadsky, Mongolskoe igo v russkoi istorii, *EV* V, 1927, pp. 159—60; S. Bakhrushin, "Feodalnyi poryadok" v ponimanii M. N. Pokrovskogo, in *Protiv istoricheskoi kontseptsii M. N. Pokrovskogo*, by several hands, I, 1939, pp. 132—3, 136—7; M. Braun, *Der Aufstieg Russlands*, 1940, pp. 81—2; B. Spuler, *op. cit.*, preface, pp. 7—8, and others.

[4] A. Yakubovsky, Feodalnoe obshchestvo Srednei Azii i ego torgovlya s Vostochnoi Evropoi v X—XV vv., *Materialy narodov SSSR* (III), *Materialy po istorii Uzbekskoi, Tadzhikskoi i Turkmenskoi SSSR* I, 1933, pp. 40—1; *idem*, Kniga B. Vladimirtsova "Obshchestvennyi stroi mongolov" i perspektivy dalneishego izucheniya Zolotoi Ordy, *IS* V, 1936, pp. 305—6; W. Zatorski, Pierwszy najazd Mongołów na Polskę w r. 1240—41. *PHW* IX, 1937, p. 188; B. Grekov—A. Yakubovsky, *Zolotaya Orda*, pp. 47—8.

[5] This appears e.g. in the case of the Polovtsians (Kypchaks) who, surpassing the Tartars in numbers, and having merged with them by marriage, played so important a part that in the East the Golden Horde went under the name of the Kypchak State. Polovtsian influences are especially remarkable in the Tartar language; cf. A. Yakubovsky, *Kniga B. Vladimirtsova*, pp. 305—6; B. Grekov—A. Yakubovsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 48—9. On the cultural influence of Khoresm on the Golden Horde, cf. A. Yakubovsky, Razvaliny Urgencha, *IGAIMK* VI (2), 1930, pp. 17—8; V. Bartold, Obrazovanie imperii Chingizkhana, *ZVO* IX, 1896, pp. 117—8.

[6] O. Halecki, *The Limits*, p. 93.

yarlyks, to the Metropolitans and the clergy under their jurisdiction, freeing them from levies and other charges imposed by the Horde.[1] The princes remained on their ancestral thrones. They enjoyed wide liberty of action; they waged wars, conquered or lost territories, married their sons and daughters according to their will (and these marriages often had considerable political importance), concluded peace treaties and trade agreements with foreign countries, and invited foreigners into their countries. All this could be done without the consent, and, in most cases, without the knowledge of the Tartars.[2] There is no doubt that the supreme power of the Khans facilitated the active intercourse, especially trade relations, between the Vladimir country and Asia, but such trade relations had already existed before 1237. Tartar domination brought with it no radical changes in this respect, and above all it did not require the breaking off of contacts with western Europe.

The question now arises: what did the dependency of the north-eastern lands on the Golden Horde consist of? First and foremost, they paid tribute to the Khan. This the Tartars collected themselves. In many sources we frequently encounter the designation "*baskak*" for a Tartar functionary.[3] It is not easy to establish the duties of this officer, but it would appear, from what we read in the chronicles, that they consisted in collecting tribute from the subject population,[4] and commanding military detachments which maintained that population in subservience. In 1257-9, the Tartars carried out a census in the territories here considered as a preliminary step to assessing the payments to be imposed.[5]

The frequent journeys of the princes to the Horde, undertaken on various occasions, may well be numbered among the public burdens, as the Rurikides offered rich presents to the Khan and his dignitaries. Politically, Tartar domination consisted chiefly in the Khan's issuing a *yarlyk* to his candidate to the Grand-Ducal dignity, and in granting similar confirmation of the possession of their domains to the less important princes.

All these matters, in which the relations between the Golden Horde and the north-eastern lands found expression, were dependant, in the long

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1 M. Priselkov, *Khanskie yarlyki russkim mitropolitam*, 1916 (unavailable to me); N. Veselovsky, a review of Priselkov's work, *ZMNP*, 1917, pp. 118—30; P. Sokolov, Podlozhnyi yarlyk Uzbeka mitropolitu Petru, *RIZ* V, 1918, pp. 70—85; *Istoriya Tatarii v materialakh i dokumentakh*, by many hands, 1937, p. 89. Vernadsky regards the Tartars as defenders of the faith of Rus. See G. Vernadsky, Dva podviga sv. Aleksandra Nevskogo, *EV* IV, 1925, pp. 325—7; *idem*, *Mongolskoe igo*, pp. 159—60. D. Mirsky, Russia, 1015—1462, in *The Cambridge Mediaeval History* VII, 1932, p. 621, thinks that the Tartars contributed to the enhanced political position of the Church of Rus.

2 S. Bakhrushin—E. Kosminsky, Diplomatiya na Rusi XII—XV vekov, in *Istoriya diplomatii* (ed. by V. Potemkin) I, 1941, p. 129.

3 A. Semenov, K voprosu o zolotoordynskom termine "Baskak", *IANOLY* VI (2), 1947, pp. 137—47, is of the opinion that this appellation came from the Polovtsians, and it would seem that the office was of the same origin.

4 Within the territory of the Grand Duchy we encounter village names, such as Baskach, Baskaki, etc. S. Veselovsky, Toponimika na sluzhbe u istorii, *IZ* XVII, 1945, pp. 39—47, thinks that these were places where the *baskaks* used to collect taxes from the population.

5 Plano Carpini observed similar activities of the Tartars in eastern Europe in the years 1246 and 1247.

run, not only on the military superiority of the invaders, and their political insight and gift for organization, but in an equal measure on the power of resistance of the conquered, and especially of the princes. Now, the descendants of Vsevolod III not only submitted to the Khan's will, but did what they could to strengthen his authority.[1] The Grand Dukes of Vladimir in the 13th century, who owed their elevation to the Tartars, pursued towards them a policy of complete subservience. One of two ways stood open to these princes: they could either throw in their lot with the Finnish population, or with the Tartars. In view of their internal quarrels they were too weak to adopt a more independent attitude. They followed, therefore, the line of offering their services to the Khans, and this brought them considerable profit in a relatively short time; towards the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century, they themselves were entrusted with the collection of tribute for the Tartars, and undertook the function of Tartar *baskaks*.[2] While acting in the Khan's interest, and evidently also in their own, they placed the entire burden of maintaining the government on the broad Finnish masses, and greatly aggravated their plight.

Some scholars think that the most grievous side of Tartar domination was alien rule. This idea does not seem convincing. With the exception of the first period of a few decades, the population, when fulfilling its primary duty of paying taxes, had to deal with their own princes who had levied a tribute on them before Batu's invasion. As for the princes themselves, we can hardly affirm that the descendants of Vsevolod III treated the Tartars as foreigners. From the very beginning they drew the Horde into their internal conflicts and quarrels, without the slightest scruple or hesitation. The princes of the 13th and 14th centuries, greatly increased in numbers in the course of time and with their possessions diminishing in every generation, gradually lost the sense of community among themselves, and of their separateness from the Tartars. The chief question in which the internal conflicts within the reigning dynasty centred was the award of the throne of Vladimir, to which must be added other quarrels in the various principalities, of lesser scope and importance.[3]

After the death of Yaroslav Vsevolodovich (d. 1246), the Grand-Ducal throne was for thirty years occupied successively by his sons: Michael, Alexander, Andrew—the two latter being always at pains to wrest the throne

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[1] J. Umiński, *Niebezpieczeństwo tatarskie w połowie XIII w. i papież Innocenty IV*, 1922, p. 90, pertinently remarks that the attitude towards the Tartars in the Slavonic lands was different from that in the North-East.

[2] A. Nasonov, *Mongoly i Rus*, 1940, pp. 77—8 as well as B. Grekov—A. Yakubovsky, *Zolotaya Orda*, pp. 169, 174, assume that the *baskaks* disappeared in the North-East at the end of the 13th century. A. Zimin, Narodnye dvizheniya 20-kh godov XIV v. i likvidatsiya sistemy baskachestva v Severo—Vostochnoi Rusi, *IAN* IX (1), 1952, pp. 61—5, places this event at the beginning of the 14th century.

[3] The great number of princes and principalities concerned, the constantly changing political conditions and combinations, the ambitions and quarrels of individuals, combine to form a complex subject demanding the citation of many names and dates. I have at some length already dealt with this long chain of events in my work: *Jagiellonowie a Moskwa* I, *Litwa a Moskwa w* XIII *i* XIV *w.*, 1933. I shall restrict myself here to the most indispensable observations.

from each other—and Yaroslav and Vasili.[1] The brothers and nephews of Yaroslav were removed to secondary places, although some of them also had rights to the Grand Duchy by birth. The sons of Yaroslav owed their privileged position to their father who, at the close of his life, distributed to them not only what was, strictly speaking, his patrimony—namely Pereyaslavl—but also integral parts of the Grand Duchy.[2] This policy led to a gradual contraction of the territorial status of Vladimir and a decline of its authority.

Alexander Nevsky was, undoubtedly, the most remarkable personality among the sons of Yaroslav.[3] Following his father's example, he endeavoured to provide his sons with as large an inheritance as possible. Two of these sons—Dimitri and Andrew—engaged in an embittered conflict for the Grand-Ducal throne which was terminated by the death of Dimitri (1294), enabling Andrew to maintain himself in Vladimir up to his death (1304). The third son of Alexander, Danilo (d. 1303), never obtained Grand-Ducal dignity, but deserves our attention on account of the growing strength of the principality held by him, which was none other than Muscovy.

The death without issue of Andrew, who was the last living son of Nevsky, led to considerable changes and a regrouping of forces among the pretenders to the throne of Vladimir. Seniority within the dynasty now becomes less and less apparent, especially as it was in constant collision with seniority by age among the members of the "Great Nest". The more numerous the candidates to the Grand-Ducal throne, the more problematical became their rights, and the weaker the Grand-Ducal authority itself.

In the 14th century, a protracted contest developed between Moscow and Tver for supremacy in the Vladimirian realm.[4] From 1328 to 1341 Ivan Kalita, Danilo's son, was Grand Duke. His reign brought about a decisive turn in the history of the Grand Duchy, because after him no one was able to wrest from Moscow its hegemony, although attempts to do so were undertaken by other principalities.

In the course of the ninety years which elapsed between Batu's invasion and the accession of Ivan Kalita—i.e., between 1238 and 1328—fourteen princes sat on the throne of Vladimir. On an average, therefore, a change on the throne took place every six years, but in reality it was oftener, as some princes lost their position in Vladimir to regain it later. Unnatural deaths occurred very frequently among these rulers. The Grand Dukes went to

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[1] We pass over the very brief reign at Vladimir of Yaroslav's brother, Svyatoslav, which lasted only about one year (1247—8); it was an episode without significance. The possession of the capital for a few months in 1248 by Yaroslav's son Michael was also of only ephemeral importance.

[2] Alexander received Pereyaslavl; Andrew—Suzdal, Nizhni Novgorod, and Gorodets; Constantine—Galich; Michael—Moscow; Yaroslav—Tver; and Vasili—Kostroma.

[3] N. Sutt, *Aleksandr Nevskii*, 1940; V. Bochkarev, Aleksandr Nevskii, *IsZ*, 1942, and others.

[4] The two opposing parties were the sons of Danilo and their successors on the one side, and the descendants of Yaroslav, Nevsky's brother, on the other. Michael of Tver was the first to become Grand Duke (1304—1318). After him came Yuri of Moscow, Danilo's son (1318—1322), followed by the sons of Michael, Dimitri (1322—1325) and Alexander (1325—1327).

the Tartar country where some of them were slain, or secretly poisoned, so that they died on the way back from the Horde. Such deaths were usually the work of other members of the dynasty, who coveted the throne and incited the Tartars to crimes of this sort.[1]

The position of the Grand Dukes always was difficult and uncertain, and demanded great vigilance, for every particular member of the dynasty was in direct touch with the Tartars, and in a position to enter into various machinations and intrigues. The final decisions were made by the Horde, and the Khan's favour was by no means stable. The Tartars eagerly listened to insinuations and accusations of every kind. Princes who had but recently enjoyed favour and confidence were often deposed. The policy of the Khans was double-faced and faithless, and kept the princes in a state of unceasing apprehension. Changeable and capricious, apparently inconsistent, it was, however, guided by well considered designs. The Tartars furthered the internal struggles among the princes, and stimulated their individual ambitions, holding that continuing unrest within the dynasty was a safeguard of Tartar overlordship in the realm of Vladimir.

During their wars with one another, the princes continually appealed to Tartar forces to devastate the lands of their antagonists, although the latter were often their brothers or close kinsmen. In order to strengthen their position, they tried to prevail upon the Khans to summon their rivals for service on distant expeditions.[2] The princes visited the Horde not only when in duty bound,[3] but often of their own free will and, wishing to obtain the Khan's favour, they outbade one another in costly presents, married Tartar women,[4] and sent auxiliaries on their own initiative.[5] The rulers of Vladimir, moreover, made every effort to merge the interests of the Grand Duchy with those of the Horde. This can be clearly seen in their relations with Great Novgorod and Smolensk.

Novgorod, one of the most important trade centres of Europe, escaped devastation by the Tartars. The Grand Dukes of the period with which we are dealing followed one of two policies in relation to Novgorod:

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[1] Thus, many princes perished: Yaroslav, Vsevolod's son (1246), his sons, Alexander Nevsky (1262), Yaroslav (1272), and Vasili (1276); and further: Michael, Yaroslav's son (1318), and his sons, Dimitri (1325) and Alexander (1338). Cf. H. Paszkiewicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 184, 201, 204, 214, 216, 297, 301, 350.

[2] In 1277 nearly all the princes of the Vladimirian Grand Duchy took part in an expedition of the Tartars against the Yasians of the Caucasus. As at this time Dimitri, Alexander Nevsky's son, obtained the throne of Vladimir, he did not take part in the expedition. M. Braun, *op. cit.*, p. 82, thinks that the Rurikides were not bound to support the Tartars in their campaigns against other countries, and that, when such support was given, the initiative came from the princes. (G. Vernadsky, *Mongolskoe igo*, p. 158; *idem*, Feudalism in Russia, *Sp* XIV, 1939, p. 313, expresses a different opinion). The wars of the Rurikides and the Tartars against Lithuania in the 13th and 14th centuries were waged on the princes' instigation, as they felt themselves threatened by the growing Lithuanian expansion.

[3] Chroniclers sometimes complain of the humiliating etiquette to which the princes had to submit on their visits to the Horde, but it is difficult to say whether there was any intention on the part of the Tartars to humiliate their guests. N. Veselovsky, O religii tatar po russkim letopisyam, *ZMNP*, 1916, pp. 89—90, considers that certain customs with which the Rurikides had to conform, such as passing between two fires, derived only from Tartar beliefs and superstitions.

[4] H. Paszkiewicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 198, 200, 226, 296, etc.

[5] H. Paszkiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

either, as did Alexander Nevsky and Ivan Kalita, they intervened personally on the banks of Lake Ilmen, compelling the Novgorodians to obey the Khan, submit to him, and pay him tribute, or else they had recourse to them for financial support, in order to maintain themselves on the throne of Vladimir. With Novgorodian money, they could offer splendid gifts to the Tartars and buy the Khan's favour. This was the method followed by Yaroslav Yaroslavovich at the beginning of his career or Yuri Danilovich of Moscow. On certain occasions, Ivan Kalita did the same. Novgorod, on the other hand, with the money paid to the Tartars bought off their raids, gained influence in the Horde, and deposed inconvenient Grand Dukes. The rulers of Vladimir also harboured aggressive intention with regard to Smolensk. These ventures, however, could yield no considerable success, as Novgorod and Smolensk, in moment of serious danger, sought help from Lithuania. The Tartars favoured the expansion of the Grand Duchy of Vladimir towards the West, extending in this way their own domination over new regions.

It would be wrong to affirm that it was the Tartars who brought about the political disruption of the Grand Duchy. Disruption and the ensueing internal struggles had began before Batu's invasion. On the other hand, it is true that the Tartars aggravated the antagonisms among the princes, though with regard to this a certain time-limit has to be fixed. Since the reign of Ivan Kalita we note a gradual and increasing consolidation of the country, which proceeded with Tartar co-operation, and was to end in Muscovy gaining supremacy over an extensive region.

In view of Moscow's importance to the whole course of history, the cause of its rise above the other principalities has for a long while aroused the interest of scholars. Many opinions have been mooted on the subject, which often do not tally with one another. In the most recent works we observe a marked tendency to divorce the growth of Muscovy from the development of a centralized State in the North-East. The two tendencies are supposed to have coalesced only in the course of time.[1] This point of view could be justified if it were possible to show that the centralized State owed its existence to causes independent of the progress of the duchy of Moscow. And yet any scholar who studies the records of the time must perceive the constant interaction and the many ties between the two developments. In this case, purely theoretical distinctions between matters which in reality belonged to a single complex of events do not contribute to the advancement of knowledge.

P. Smirnov, when surveying historical opinions concerning the origin of the Grand Duchy from the time of Karamzin onwards,[2] remarks that in every period scholars explained this fact in their own fashion, and developed theories in accordance with the historical and philosophical conceptions

[1] Such views are expressed by Bakhrushin, Bazilevich, Yushkov, Mavrodin, Tikhomirov, etc.

[2] The older writings on the subject are listed by V. Ikonnikov, *Opyt russkoi istoriografii* II (2), 1908, pp. 1129—32.

prevailing at the time.[1] This observation has not been refuted. Smirnov has advanced a hypothesis of his own: he suggests that in the age which we are considering important changes must have taken place in the agriculture of the north-eastern region, bringing about a great rise in production. In accordance with his social ideas, this author looks upon the peasantry as the creator of the new State.[2] Other scholars dismiss Smirnov's thesis. " His conception of the origin of the Russian national State is purely speculative and theoretical, not to say fantastic. It is very feebly connected with the actual course of historical development," writes one of his critics.[3] When V. Mavrodin advanced other arguments bearing on the same subject, such as the tendency of the feudal lords to form a centralized State in order the better to exploit the soil they possessed, and to further the development of trade, etc.,[4] it was P. Smirnov who declared these arguments to be " unscientific."[5] Every student of the subject under discussion begins by dismissing the conjectures of his predecessors, while his own suppositions are refuted by later writers. Such is the inevitable lot of theories unsupported by sources.[6]

In my opinion, it is necessary to examine jointly the complex problem of Moscow's rise to supremacy over the other principalities, its advancement to the rank of capital of a powerful State, and the origin of this State itself.[7] To begin with, let us consider the geography of the region.

Moscow is situated on a water-way leading, to mention only the most important points, from Chernihov to Vladimir on the Klyazma, and from Ryazan to the North-West, in the direction of Great Novgorod. The river Moskva also served as an artery between Ryazan and Vladimir. This was a round-about route, but it was used because the two lands were separated by an impassable, thickly wooded and marshy region.[8] We have no data on the strength of which we could decide to what extent the river Moskva was important in the distant past as a means of communication, especially as in the vast north-eastern region there were many other waterways. That the importance of this river increased in later times can be readily explained by the fact that a powerful city had arisen on its banks.

Much has been written on the convenient and central position of

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[1] P. Smirnov, Obrazovanie russkogo tsentralizovannogo gosudarstva v XIV—XV vv., *VoI*, 1946 (2—3), p. 55.

[2] P. Smirnov, *op. cit.*, pp. 71—90.

[3] I. Smirnov, O putyakh issledovaniya russkogo tsentralizovannogo gosudarstva, *VoI*, 1946 (4), pp. 30—44. Other authors also reject the thesis of P. Smirnov; cf. V. Mavrodin, Neskolko zamechanii po povodu stati P. P. Smirnova " Obrazovanie russkogo tsentralizovannogo gosudarstva v XIV—XV vv.," *VoI*, 1946 (4), pp. 45—54; S. Yushkov, K voprosu ob obrazovanii russkogo gosudarstva v XIV—XVI vv., *VoI*, 1946 (4), pp. 56—64; K. Bazilevich, K voprosu ob istoricheskikh usloviyakh obrazovaniya russkogo gosudarstva, *VoI*, 1946 (7), pp. 26—44.

[4] V. Mavrodin, *Obrazovanie russkogo natsionalnogo gosudarstva*, 2nd ed., 1941, p. 128; *idem*, Osnovnye momenty razvitiya russkogo gosudarstva do XVIII v. *VLU*, 1947 (3), pp. 91—4.

[5] P. Smirnov, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[6] S. Krakowski, Problem powstania zcentralizowanego narodowego państwa ruskiego w historiografii radzieckiej, *KH* LVII, 1949, pp. 358—71, discusses the polemics on the subject.

[7] V. Mavrodin, *Obrazovanie edinogo russkogo gosudarstva*, 1951, p. 75.

[8] M. Tikhomirov, Nachalo vozvysheniya Moskvy, *IAN* I (3), 1944, p. 102; *idem*, Osnovanie Moskvy i Yurii Dolgorukii, *IAN* V (2), 1948, p. 144.

Moscow,[1] although the Muscovite principality was situated rather at the extremity of the Grand Duchy of Vladimir and of Finnish territory, adjoining Slavonic lands in the West and South.

In the first phase of its existence, Moscow was a fortified town, a stronghold,[2] destined to protect the Klyazma region against incursions from the West.[3] In this again there was nothing uncommon. The Grand Duchy of Vladimir possessed a number of such strongholds. Many scholars think that the numerous small streams of the Suzdal-Vladimir country had great commercial importance, and that the development of trade brought about the growth of Moscow, broke down the obstacles put in its way by the various principalities, and so provided conditions for the foundation of a centralized State.[4] Not too much weight attaches to these arguments, since the theory of the development of trade in the period here considered is itself a pure conjecture. Lyubavsky rightly warns against overrating the commercial importance of those small streams.[5] In the years with which we are concerned Moscow undoubtedly developed, but by no means more than Tver or Nizhni Novgorod. The position of Tver, which was situated on the Volga and maintained commercial connections with Great Novgorod, and through Smolensk also with Lithuania, was undoubtedly more favourable than that of Moscow. And in the matter of accumulated wealth, Tver was, if not superior, in any case equal to its rival.[6]

The region of Moscow was densely wooded.[7] Some historians think that these forests attracted settlers on account of the abundance of game in them, and of fish in the lakes and streams, while the clearings were well suited for agriculture.[8] But such arguments are not convincing, as similar regions abounded in the North-East. Lyubavsky has stated the very contrary of the environs of Moscow, namely, that the soil was not very fertile, that the rivers did not abound in fish, nor the forests in game and wild honey; there were no salt lakes, etc.;[9] in short, there was nothing to attract settlers.

Lyubavsky is of the opinion that the chief reason which brought about

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[1] S. Bakhrushin, "Feodalnyi poryadok" v ponimanii M. N. Pokrovskogo, in *Protiv istoricheskoi kontseptsii M. N. Pokrovskogo* I, 1939, p. 138; *idem*, *Staraya Moskva*, 1947, p. 3; *idem*, Moskva tsentr, obedinyayushchii russkii narod, *IAN* V (4), 1948, pp. 323—4; M. Tikhomirov, *Nachalo vozvysheniya Moskvy*, p. 108.

[2] On the military significance of Moscow in this period see S. Platonov, O nachale Moskvy, *Stati po russkoi istorii*, 1912, pp. 76—83; S. Bartenev, *Moskovskii Kreml v starinu i teper*, 1912, pp. 3—4; R. Kerner, *The Urge to the Sea*, 1946, pp. 35—6, and others.

[3] M. Tikhomirov, *Osnovanie Moskvy*, p. 145; *idem*, *Drevnyaya Moskva*, 1947 (unavailable to me).

[4] Solovev, Klyuchevsky, Zabelin, Pokrovsky, Mavrodin, etc.

[5] M. Lyubavsky, *Obrazovanie*, p. 38.

[6] S. Bakhrushin, *Feodalnyi poryadok*, pp. 137—8; M. Tikhomirov, *Nachalo vozvysheniya Moskvy*, pp. 107—8.

[7] If, in the early 20th century, forests covered one-third of the district of Moscow, how much vaster must they have been in the period with which we are dealing; cf. D. Anuchin, Geologicheskoe proshloe i geograficheskoe nastoyashchee Moskvy, in *Moskva v eya proshlom i nastoyashchem*, by several hands, I, 1909, p. 24; O. Bader, Materialy k arkheologicheskoi karte Moskvy i ee okrestnostei, *MIA* VII, 1947, p. 90; L. Sobolev, Rastitelnost, in *Priroda goroda Moskvy i podmoskovya*, 1947, pp. 175—87.

[8] S. Bakhrushin, *Staraya Moskva*, 1947, p. 4.

[9] M. Lyubavsky, *Obrazovanie*, p. 38.

the development of Moscow and its district was the influx of population from the eastern part of the Grand-Duchy about the turn of the 13th century.[1] His sole argument in support of his thesis is the allegedly favourable position of Moscow, and the fact that it afforded security from Tartar incursions.[2] If the population, abandoning its homes in the eastern parts of the Grand Duchy, had migrated to the West in search of safer surroundings, it would more probably have followed a direction to the North, where the forests and marshes were more inaccessible and gave better refuge. The many new localities which arose in the 14th century in the region of Moscow indicate that there was a growth of population, but leave the question open as to whether this growth was the cause which brought about Moscow's rise to a position of pre-eminence, or whether, on the contrary, it was the consequence of the political situation which had developed.

The hypothesis that the western lands, such as those of Moscow and Tver, were safer from Tartar incursions than the eastern parts of the Grand Duchy finds no confirmation in our sources.[3] In the course of the 13th century, Moscow was more than once plundered by the armies of the Khan (1238 and 1293), and so was Tver (1238, 1281, and 1284). It depended solely on the plans and intentions of the Tartars which principalities they would plunder, and which they would spare, and not on the inaccessibility of this or that territory. This would be especially true of Moscow, situated on a convenient fluvial artery, as it is well known that the Tartars on their expeditions advanced chiefly along the courses of rivers.

To sum up, we come to the conclusion that the opinion so frequently advanced by historians, that it was Moscow's geographical position which brought about its ascendancy over the other principalities, cannot be accepted. Here a more general remark must be added. Without denying the influence of geographical conditions on the course of human life, it may be said that they do not produce nor create historical phenomena in a direct sense, although they influence them to some extent.[4] Moscow's geographical situation may well have assisted the city to maintain its pre-eminent position, but obviously could not endow it with its dominant role in so vast a region. An explanation of this role can be sought, in

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[1] M. Lyubavsky, Vozvyshenie Moskvy, in *Moskva v eya proshlom i nastoyashchem* I, 1909, pp. 66—74; *idem*, *Obrazovanie*, pp. 32—3. Lyubavsky's opinion is shared by S. Platonov, *Lektsii po russkoi istorii*, 1913, p. 144; A. Presnyakov, *Obrazovanie*, pp. 113—4; S. Bakhrushin, *Moskva tsentr*, p. 324.

[2] "In the 13th century . . . when all the other principalities around Moscow were ruined and devastated by the Tartars, Moscow alone remained outside the sphere of destruction." M. Lyubavsky, *Vozvyshenie Moskvy*, p. 72.

[3] In support of his thesis, Lyubavsky quotes the events of 1293, when, in the face of Tartar armies marching into the country, "a great number of people fled to Tver from the other principalities." Now this fact relates to Tver, not to Moscow, and therefore the argument does not apply to the latter. Nor do the chroniclers say anywhere that this population remained permanently at Tver. That during a panic it would have fled in all directions is obvious, but one such detail in a chronicle does not entitle us to draw the conclusion that a mass movement of population from East to West took place. Cf. H. Paszkiewicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 238—9. M. Tikhomirov, *Nachalo vozvysheniya Moskvy*, p. 98, also doubts the correctness of Lyubavsky's thesis and points out that in this same period Nizhni Novgorod, a city certainly not situated in the West, too, showed signs of notable development.

[4] N. Rozhkov, *Obzor russkoi istorii s sotsiologicheskoi tochki zreniya* II (1), 1901, p. 6.

accordance with existing historical sources, only in the field of political happenings.

In the second half of the 13th century the incessant wars between the members of the ruling dynasty brought about the decline of the Grand Dukes' power and the shrinking of their territory. At the beginning of the 14th century, Vladimir on the Klyazma, devastated by the Tartars in 1238, 1252, 1281, and 1293, was in ruins,[1] and, deprived of its fortifications, could be captured by minor military forces.[2]

From the death of Alexander Nevsky onwards, the Grand Dukes felt more strongly linked to their particular principalities (where they generally resided and were buried) than to Vladimir. As disorder and chaos were widespread, the various Rurikides sought primarily to enlarge their own hereditary lands. When a prince had consolidated his position and was able to capture Vladimir, he regarded the capital as a welcome addition to his existing possessions. Towards the end of the 13th century, and especially at the beginning of the 14th, four important centres began to emerge, although their significance continued to be local in character. Having become the master of Gorodets and Nizhni Novgorod, Suzdal expanded chiefly in an easterly direction; Rostov desired to extend its sovereignty over Uglich, Yaroslavl, and the northern territories. Tver and Moscow have also to be taken into account.

Tver owed a great deal to Grand Duke Yaroslav (d. 1272). In his reign, a Bishopric was erected in the city, to embrace the western part of the Grand Duchy, while the Bishopric of Rostov embraced the northern, and the see of Vladimir the eastern lands. This Church organization undoubtedly reveals political tendencies. Signs of Tver's growing strength in the last quarter of the 13th century are by no means lacking in our sources. The rulers of this principality endeavoured to enlarge their territory at the expanse of Great Novgorod, Dmitrov, Pereyaslavl, etc.

Moscow, under the rule of Danilo, the son of Alexander Nevsky, (d. 1303), who unsuccessfully strove to obtain the Grand Duchy and at first received only a small territory, also expanded in all directions, especially in the early years of the 14th century. In the West, Moscow gained control of the upper reaches of the river Moskva by incorporating the district of Mozhaisk, which formerly belonged to Smolensk. In the South, it broke through the Oka by taking Kolomna and other cities from Ryazan. In the North, it maintained its hold on Pereyaslavl against heavy odds; finally, holding the head waters of the Klyazma, Moscow could extend its possessions in the East as far as Vladimir.

In spite of the growing disintegration of the Grand Duchy, the rulers of Vladimir, in the 13th century, showed great stubborness and persistency in pressing north-westwards towards Great Novgorod. They were

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[1] A letter of Simeon, Bishop of Vladimir, to Grand Duke Andrew Alexandrovich, eloquently depicts the tragic state of that city. *RIB* VI No. 9, pp. 117—8.

[2] V. Ikonnikov, *Opyt* II (1), p. 937. On the other hand, Vladimir, in spite of its weakness, for a long time (until the 15th century) was considered by contemporaries the capital of the Grand Duchy, although in fact Moscow occupied that position.

attracted by the city's wealth, and supported in this policy by the Tartars.

In this expansion, the western principalities, Tver and Moscow (not Rostov and Suzdal), necessarily played the leading role. That is why, in the 14th century, they were to carry on a long and stubborn struggle for supremacy in the Grand Duchy.

Although the outcome of the rivalry between Tver and Moscow is well known, our judgement should not be influenced by it to the extent of declaring Moscow's victory to have been inevitable. The chances of the two antagonists in the contest were more or less equal. The vicissitudes of the struggle, pursued with changing fortunes, show that the final decision might have gone in favour of Tver. But one thing is certain : it was not Moscow and not Tver which finally decided the outcome.[1] This is of fundamental importance with regard to Moscow's elevation over the other principalities, and to the rise of a powerful State in the North-East. The decisive factors in these two great developments were not the internal conditions of the country, not the increase of its trade, nor the change in agricultural methods or the patriotism of the people, etc. ; for all this there is no evidence in the sources. The decisive factors have to be sought in an entirely different quarter.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the quarrel between Moscow and Tver was of a local character, and could be reduced to the rivalry of two ambitious princes, hitherto of small consequence, for the throne of Vladimir. In this contest, the interests of the Tartars, those of the Church of Rus and consequently of Constantinople, and, finally, the interests of Lithuania, were all engaged. It was on the relation between these three powers, on their co-operation or their antagonism, that depended the fortunes of the fourth partner, Moscow or Tver, whichever of the two would finally be the victor.

It is noteworthy that towards the end of the 13th and in the early 14th century, precisely when the suzerainty of the rulers of Vladimir over the various princes had definitely weakened, there occurred two events which raised the authority of the Grand Dukes and reinforced their position. In 1299 or 1300, Vladimir on the Klyazma became the seat of the Metropolitan of Rus.[2] Thus, the dream of Andrew Bogolyubsky came true. The transfer of the Metropolitan seat to the North-East[3] marks the begin-

[1] Many historians think that the rulers of Moscow, in the 14th century, decided the future of their country. Without wishing to belittle the personal qualities and historical achievements of some of those princes, such as Ivan Kalita and his grandson, Dimitri, it is impossible to accept such a point of view. M. Tikhomirov, *Nachalo vozvysheniya Moskvy*, p. 99, has observed that no one has as yet been able to prove that the other princes were less talented than those of Moscow. In my opinion, the princes of Tver, for several generations, were outstanding for their initiative and enterprise, and for their strength of character and consistency in action.

[2] The invasion of Batu Khan finally undermined the already declining position of Kiev. The Metropolitan Cyril (c. 1242—c. 1280) resided partly in Kiev and party in Vladimir. Possibly the baptism of Danilo, Prince of Halicz, in the Roman Catholic Church influenced this decision of the Metropolitan Cyril ; cf. D. Likhachev, Galitsko literaturnaya traditsiya v zhitii Aleksandra Nevskogo, *TODRL* V, 1947, pp. 50—1. Cyril's successor, Maxim (1283—1304), took up his residence permanently at Vladimir.

[3] W. Zaikyn, Zarys dziejów ustroju kościoła wschodnio-słowiańskiego, *ATNL* XXIV (1), 1939, p. 44 ; I. Smolitsch, Zur Frage der Periodisierung der Geschichte der russischen Kirche, *Ky* V, 1940—1, pp. 78—9.

ning of a new period in the history of the Eastern Church. This transfer to Finnish territory caused two Slavonic ecclesiastical provinces to be founded, that of Halicz, in 1303, and that of Lithuania, in 1316 or 1317. These events are generally considered to have been brought about by the Tartars, while their explanation must really be sought in the ethnic differences among the peoples, and in the political antagonism among the States of eastern Europe.

Maxim used the title of Metropolitan of all Rus, and the rulers of Vladimir assumed an analogous title as Grand Dukes.[1] When Moscow, after getting the better of Tver, put forward the plan of uniting under its sceptre all the Christians of Rus, a plan which was in keeping with the Grand Dukes' new title, it was decidedly opposed by Lithuania whose frontiers enclosed many Slavs of the faith of Rus. Some princes of Tver, and especially the most eminent among them, married Lithuanian princesses and, when expelled by their Muscovite rivals, fled to Lithuania in quest of aid and support. By the force of circumstances Lithuania was drawn into the vortex of the struggles taking place in the North-East.

Vladimir on the Klyazma remained the Metropolitan seat for a long time, but only in name; actually Moscow very soon assumed that position. Maxim's successor, Peter, resided in Moscow and was buried there in 1325. Peter linked the organization and the interests of the Eastern Church with Moscow, although it seems that he did so for purely personal reasons.[2] But this policy was followed by his successors, with naturally detrimental results for Tver.

To be identified with the Metropolitan See was too great an asset for Moscow to surrender. Hence Moscow's endeavours, so frequent in the 14th century, to gain the favour of the Patriarchs; hence Moscow's readiness to acknowledge the sovereignty of Constantinople, if only in name;[3] hence the loans granted to the Empire; hence the important sums paid in gifts, and the rich endowment of the Metropolitans of Rus, who, before 1300, had possessed no estates in the North-East.[4] As for the Metropolitans, Peter, Theognostus (d. 1353), and Alexius (an outstanding individuality and a man of vast knowledge,[5] who rendered great services during the minority of Dimitri Ivanovich), they acted in the interest of the Muscovite State by applying all accessible means, not excluding excommunication.

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[1] A. Presnyakov, *Obrazovanie*, pp. 106—9; D. Doroschenko, *Was ist die osteuropäische Geschichte*, p. 39.

[2] Peter became Metropolitan in 1307, against the will of Grand Duke Michael of Tver who did all he could from the very beginning to get rid of the "intruder." Peter, who felt unjustly treated, always manifested a strong aversion for Tver, although he had to have official contacts with the princes of Tver when they occupied the throne of Vladimir; cf. A. Shakhmatov, Zametka ob odnom maloizvestnom drevne-russkom pouchenii XIV v., *TKIAN* III, 1947, pp. 161—3.

[3] A. Vasiliev, Was Old Russia a Vassal-State of Byzantium? *Sp* VII, 1932, pp. 357—60; M. Tikhomirov, Vizantiya i Moskovskaya Rus, *IsZ*, 1945 (1—2), p. 11.

[4] S. Veselovsky, *Feodalnoe zemlevladenie v severo-vostochnoi Rusi* I, 1947, pp. 386—7.

[5] Alexius knew Greek, and was probably the initiator of the translation of the New Testament into Slavonic. M. Korneeva Petrulan, K istorii russkogo yazyka. Osobennosti pisma i yazyka pistsov moskovskikh vladyk XIV v., *S* XV, 1937—8, pp. 1—23; M. Tikhomirov, Moskva i kulturnoe razvitie russkogo naroda XIV—XVII vv., *VoI*, 1947 (9), p. 6.

Constantinople, for its part, with some hesitations and deviations, also supported Muscovy.

Apart from the transfer of the Metropolitan seat to the North-East, another circumstance greatly augmented the power and significance of the rulers of Vladimir. They managed to replace the *baskaks* by paying tribute directly to the Horde for all the lands belonging to the Grand Duchy. The less important princes were under the obligation of remitting the tribute due from them to the senior duke at Vladimir, who, in turn, would forward it to the Khan. The Grand Dukes were very careful to preserve this privileged position ;[1] and it is improbable that they had only the interests of the Tartars at heart. The sources relate that when Grand Duke Yuri of Moscow, Danilo's son, was slow in paying the Khan the tribute collected in Vladimir State, he was severely punished.[2] His brother, Ivan Kalita, was responsible for terrible acts of violence when collecting the monies due to the Tartars from the various principalities.[3]

The actions of both sons of Danilo, and later facts which are even more conclusive,[4] allow us to infer that the rulers of Moscow, when reigning as Grand Dukes, were in the habit of keeping for themselves a part of the tribute destined for the Tartars.[5] This was the origin of Moscow's rise to power, and of its extraordinarily rapid growth. Ivan, Danilo's son, outwardly extremely submissive to the Tartars, but at the same time perfidious and false, very ably exploited this delicate position. His epithet " Kalita " (the Purse) indicates the dominant traits of his character: practical sense, ability to accumulate money, and parsimony. Ivan " bought up " villages, towns, and entire principalities, and his successors followed his example.[6] He brought in people from other principalities,[7] built churches in Moscow,[8]

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[1] H. Paszkiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

[2] *Ibidem*, p. 300.

[3] S. Knyazkov, Moskva gorod i Moskva narod v XIV—XV vv., in *Moskva v eya proshlom i nastoyashchem* I, 1909, p. 80; M. Lyubavsky, *Obrazovanie*, p. 53 ; H. Paszkiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

[4] S. Kuczyński, Tatarzy wobec Litwy i Moskwy w drugiej połowie XV w., *PEW*, 1939 (1), pp. 4—5.

[5] E. Shmurlo, *Kurs russkoi istorii* I, 1931, p. 187 ; K. Bazilevich, K voprosu ob istoricheskikh usloviyakh obrazovaniya russkogo gosudarstva, *VoI*, 1946 (7), p. 36 ; G. Vernadsky, Feudalism in Russia, *Sp* XIV, 1939, p. 313, and others.

[6] A. Presnyakov, *Obrazovanie*, pp. 150—3 ; M. Lyubavsky, *Obrazovanie*, p. 54 ; H. Paszkiewicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 313—4 ; A. Kopanev, O " kuplyakh " Ivana Kality, *IZ* XX, 1946, pp. 24—37.

[7] Among the men brought in from other countries who served their new master with special devotion was Byakont, a *boyar* of Chernihov, the father of Metropolitan Alexius. S. Veselovsky, Toponimika na sluzhbe u istorii, *IZ* XVII, 1945, p. 37, draws attention to the localities in the Grand Duchy of Moscow bearing the name of Byakontovo, which undoubtedly formed part of the endowment of this *boyar*. It is difficult to establish the descent of Byakont. Veselovsky only states that the name is not derived from the Slavonic.

[8] I. Zabelin, *Istoriya goroda Moskvy* I, 1905 ; G. Zhidkov, *Moskovskaya zhivopis srediny* XIV *v.*, 1928 ; A. Nekrasov, *Vozniknovenie moskovskogo iskusstva*, 1929 ; M. Alpatov—M. Brunov, *Geschichte der altrussischen Kunst*, 1932 ; P. Maksimov, K kharakteristike pamyatnikov moskovskogo zodchestva XIII—XV vv., *MIA* XII, 1949, and others. The matter will no doubt be fully discussed in the forthcoming new History of Moscow, planned in several volumes.

In order to make Moscow a centre of culture Ivan also attracted writers to the city. In the reign of Ivan new books were written; cf. M. Tikhomirov, Moskva i kulturnoe razvitie russkogo naroda XIV—XVII vv., *VoI*, 1947, pp. 3—5 ; it was at that time that the Chronicle of Moscow began to be written. Cf. A. Shakhmatov, Obshcherusskie letopisnye svody XIV i XV vv., *ZMNP*, 1900, pp. 197—8 ; M. Priselkov, *Istoriya russkogo letopisaniya XI—XV vv.*, 1940, pp. 123—5.

and erected powerful wooden fortifications[1] for the protection of the city. He also used his money to increase his military forces, a measure of considerable political importance.

The transfer to the Grand Dukes of Vladimir of the right to collect the tribute in the whole country, and the consequences of this measure, so apparent in the history of Muscovy, testify to the great influence of the Horde on political conditions in the North-East.[2] The events just related show clearly that if the Tartars had not chosen the rulers of Moscow to fill the Grand-Ducal throne, another principality would have become the chief centre of the entire State. It remains an open question why the Khan took recourse to the Grand Dukes for collecting tribute for the Horde. Grekov shares the opinion of Solovev that the rulers of Vladimir must have obtained greater sums from the population at large than the Tartar *baskaks* had done.[3] The continual outbidding of one another by the candidates to the Grand-Ducal throne may have allowed the Khans to raise their demands.

Ivan Kalita, on the one hand, followed the line of the Tartar calculations, but on the other, by double-dealing, he helped to bring about a state of affairs which, in the long run, was bound to become dangerous to the Horde. However highly we may appraise the achievements of Danilo's son, it cannot be denied that at the moment of his death in 1341, Moscow was still very far from being able to play an independent role. In view of Tartar suspicion, Ivan was incessantly obliged to court the Khan's favour, and to the end of his life he could never be sure of his position.[4]

Alexander Mikhailovich continued to be Kalita's chief antagonist, all the more dangerous because he was beyond his grasp. Expelled from Tver in 1327, he fled to Pskov and thence to Lithuania.[5] Later, he returned to Pskov which had become dependent on Lithuania, and remained there for some years. As the antagonism between Moscow and Lithuania became more and more acute, even to the extent of frontier incidents (1335), Gediminas' help might, under favourable circumstances, have restored Alexander's lost position. But Lithuania, involved in ceaseless wars with the Teutonic Order, was not able to take part in the conflict between Moscow and Tver. This induced Alexander to risk an attempt to regain the Khan's favour, and in 1337 Uzbek actually restored Tver to him. But Moscow's counter-action soon achieved its object: in 1338, Alexander was

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[1] I. Zabelin, *op. cit.*, pp. 82—3; S. Bartenev, *Moskovskii Kreml v starinu i teper*, 1912, pp. 15—6; M. Fride, Russkie derevyannye ukrepleniya po drevnim literaturnym istochnikam, *IRAIMK* III, 1924, p. 139.

[2] M. Pokrovsky, *Russkaya istoriya v samom szhatom ocherke*, 1933, p. 26.

[3] B. Grekov—A. Yakubovsky, *Zolotaya Orda*, p. 174.

[4] When Ivan, in 1339, started on a journey to the Tartars, he was careful to draw up his testament, being uncertain of his return. In this testament, he wrote that the Tartars might deprive the princes of Moscow of the lands possessed by them. L. Cherepnin, *Russkie feodalnye arkhivy XIV—XV vv.* I, 1948, pp. 16—7, supposes that all that Ivan desired was to have his testament confirmed by the Khan.

[5] Alexander's deceased brother Dimitri had married the daughter of Gediminas, a circumstance which undoubtedly made it easier for the exiled prince to maintain relations with Lithuania.

summoned by Uzbek and subsequently executed. This was undoubtedly a heavy blow to the fortunes of Tver.

Alexander was brought to his ruin through his long connection with Gediminas, while Ivan put to account the deepening antagonism between the Tartars and Lithuania in their contest for the mastery of eastern Europe. Two events which occurred in these same years were not accidental: in 1338, a Tartar invasion of Lithuania took place, of which details are lacking, and again, in 1340, the Tartars with Muscovite support, and perhaps on Muscovite initiative, undertook an expedition against Smolensk, at that time dependent on Lithuania.[1]

Tartar co-operation with Moscow extended also to internal affairs of the Grand Duchy of Vladimir. In the reign of Kalita, great changes took place in almost all parts of the realm. Some princes left no issue and their territories were taken over by Moscow. Others left sons, often under age, or brothers. These successors could claim their patrimony only with Ivan's consent and were completely dependent upon him. It is a fact that many princes met their death while in the territory of the Horde.[2] Judging from analogy with the fate of Alexander of Tver, we must suppose that they were disposed of by the Tartars at Kalita's instigation. We know of the deaths of other princes only from very brief remarks in the chronicles.[3] It is quite possible that Ivan was the direct cause of their disappearance. Our sources state that the Grand Duke was guilty of violence committed in many principalities.[4] But he also extended his sovereignty over various lands by peaceful methods, namely through the marriages of his daughters with local princes.[5] Whatever one may say, the fact remains that in the reign of Ivan a regrouping of forces took place within the boundaries of the Grand Duchy, which obviously redounded to the advantage of Moscow.[6] As this reign was short (1328—41), it seems quite improbable that so many changes on the ducal thrones could have been due to mere coincidence.

Why did the Tartars not prevent such underhand action by Danilo's son, and even participate in it? The answer must be sought in the awareness of both Ivan and Uzbek of a common danger threatening them on the part of Lithuania. The Notes of the Metropolitan Theognostus (1330—1) show that the power of the purse of the Lithuanian Metropolitan, and consequently of Gediminas, extended very far into the lands outflanking the Grand Duchy of Vladimir in the South, such as Bryansk, Kozelsk, Novosil, Ryazan, and Murom.[7] Remembering that the return of Alexander to Tver (1337) was viewed with favour not only by Great Novgorod, always manoeuvring between Lithuania and Moscow, but also by the princes of

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[1] H. Paszkiewicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 350—3.
[2] Ivan, Yaroslav's son, of Ryazan (1327); Fedor, Ivan's son, of Starodub (1330); Boris of Dmitrov (1334); probably Roman of Beloozero (1338); Alexander of Tver (1338), and others.
[3] This concerns Fedor of Rostov (1331), Alexander of Suzdal (1332), and Fedor of Galich (1335).
[4] *PSRL* XI, p. 128.
[5] Vasili of Yaroslavl, Constantine of Rostov, and Fedor of Beloozero.
[6] H. Paszkiewicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 306—8.
[7] *Ibidem*, pp. 330—2.

Rostov, Yaroslavl, Suzdal,[1] etc., it becomes obvious that the Lithuanian peril at this time was more serious than might appear at first sight. Moreover, though these princes may have had no contacts with Lithuania, false charges on the part of Kalita were sufficient to bring about their downfall; the charges fell on fertile ground, as the Tartars were well known for their distrust and suspicion, and lent a willing ear to accusations of every kind.

Since the death of Ivan, in 1341, the princes of Tver, or at least the more ambitious among them, sought increasingly to obtain the support of Lithuania on which their future depended.[2] At the same time, as a result of internal strife within the Horde,[3] Moscow gained more liberty and could act with greater boldness. In any case, the struggles in the North-East assume a new character in the second half of the 14th century, and from being a contest between Moscow and Tver they become a conflict between Muscovy and Lithuania.

The re-grouping of political forces which then occurred can only in a small part be attributed to Moscow. The Grand Duchy was not in a position to change the course of events, whether directly or indirectly. It did not depend upon Moscow how the internal conflicts within the Horde would develop, nor could she influence the expeditions of the Teutonic Order against Lithuania, which balked the latter's eastward expansion under Gediminas, Algirdas, and Jogaila. This is confirmed by the fact that during the thirty years following the death of Kalita, when the Grand-Ducal throne was occupied by less eminent personalities, Moscow's rulers only partly succeeded in maintaining her outstanding position.[4]

The fortunes of Moscow still hung in the balance. During Algirdas' three expeditions against Moscow (1368—1372), Dimitri Ivanovich, a grandson of Kalita, resisted, but never dared to stage a large-scale offensive. During the rule of Vytautas (d. 1430), Lithuanian preponderance over Muscovy was long maintained. In 1382, the Tartars took Moscow and sacked it mercilessly. In the early 15th century (1409), the Grand Duchy of Muscovy was again devastated by the Tartars. The political situation in eastern Europe, which contributed so much to the rise of Muscovy, however, might easily have turned to her disadvantage. But

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[1] *Ibidem*, p. 349.

[2] An event of decisive significance for the relations between Lithuania and Tver was the marriage, in 1350, of the Grand Duke Algirdas to Juliana, a daughter of Alexander Mikhailovich. Juliana was, without doubt, an outstanding political personality who played an important role in Lithuania. Both her brothers, first Vsevolod and after his death, in 1364, Michael, a man of great initiative and energy, set their hopes on Algirdas. Michael went to Lithuania more than once, and returned to Tver with the help of his brother-in-law. He was one of the initiators of Algirdas' expeditions against Moscow, and took part in them. His relations with the Horde show that he not only wished to maintain himself at Tver, but also to obtain the Grand Duchy of Vladimir. All these plans were overthrown by Moscow's victorious campaign of 1375 which ended in the capitulation of Tver; cf. M. Rabinovich, Osadnaya tekhnika na Rusi v X—XV vv., *IAN* VIII (1), 1951, pp. 72—3.

[3] While, in the first half of the 14th century, Uzbek Khan alone wielded power (1313—1342), there were over twenty Khans between his death and 1377; see B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, 1943, p. 453.

[4] From 1341 to 1353, Ivan's son, Simeon was Grand Duke; from 1354 to 1358 his second son, also named Ivan. The son and heir of the latter Dimitri was under age at his father's death, being only eight years old. For particulars see H. Paszkiewicz, *op. cit.*, Chapter IV.

two facts were of decisive significance: in the first place, the progressive disintegration of the Golden Horde.[1] Though the Tartars observed tolerance in relation to the Eastern Church and kept in close touch with the Rus clergy,[2] they themselves never adopted the faith of Rus. In view of the great importance of religion in the shaping of political conditions at the time, they failed thereby to gain the allegiance of the Christians of Rus.[3] The second fact was the conversion of Lithuania to the Roman Catholic faith (1386—1387), the importance of which has been emphasized in a preceding chapter. Both protagonists, the Khans and the Grand Dukes of Lithuania, had the chance to consolidate their sway in eastern Europe, but both failed to take advantage of it. It fell to Moscow to profit by their failure, and thereby to enter upon her historic career.

The first large-scale undertaking of Moscow directed against the Tartars resulted in the victory of Kulikovo Pole on the upper Don (1380). Many scholars stress the decisive significance of this battle.[4] Contemporaries and later generations understood its importance equally well, as appears from the literature of the period. Narratives of the battle attribute to Mamai Khan, vanquished on the Don, the intention of destroying the faith of Rus. This is not true; nevertheless, the victory of Kulikovo Pole was in the eyes of the clergy a fateful event, a Christian triumph over the infidels. To the Muscovites, the military exploit of Dimitri Ivanovich was proof that the ultimate defeat of the Tartars was within the range of possibility, and was therefore an encouragement to further struggles.

It has often been affirmed that the consolidation around Moscow of all the north-eastern principalities had already taken place before 1380,

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[1] B. Grekov,—A. Yakubovsky, *Zolotaya Orda i eya padenie*, 1950, pp. 261—373.

[2] A special Bishopric was founded at Sarai (1261). N. Solovev, Saraiskaya i Krutitskaya eparkhii, *COID*, 1894, p. 5, thinks that this Bishopric was intended, besides other purposes, for the propagation of Christianity among the Tartars. The Tartars availed themselves of the services of the Bishops of Sarai as envoys to the Eastern Empire; cf. G. Vernadsky, Zolotaya Orda, Egipet i Vizantiya v ikh vzaimootnosheniyakh v tsarstvovanie Mikhaila Paleologa, *SK* I, 1927, pp. 80—1. As to the territorial expanse of the Bishopric of Sarai, see S. Fedorov, Borotba za mezhi v stepovoi eparkhii XIII—XIV st., *AOBM* VI, 1935, pp. 1—15. The Metropolitans of Rus often visited the Horde, and were held in high regard there, especially the Metropolitan Alexius; cf. A. Oreshnikov, Persten sv. Alekseya mitropolita, *SK* II, 1928, pp. 171—81. The clergy of the Grand Duchy of Vladimir offered up prayers for the Khans and intensified the conviction among the people that subjection to Tartar authority was a necessity; cf. B. Grekov—A. Yakubovsky, *Zolotaya Orda*, p. 171. M. Shakhmatov, Otnoshenie drevnerusskikh knizhnikov k Tataram, *TRSAO* I, 1929, pp. 165—70, states that the writers of Slavonic lands—Halicz, Volynia, Chernihov, Great Novgorod, etc.—show a much greater sense of honour, more spirit of resistance, and readiness to oppose the Tartars, than those from the Finnish territories.

[3] G. Vernadsky, Mongolskoe igo v russkoi istorii, *EV* V, 1927, pp. 160—4, expresses the opinion that had the Tartars adopted Christianity, Sarai instead of Moscow would have become the centre of the faith of Rus. M. Shakhmatov, *Otnoshenie*, pp. 171—2, thinks that the Tartars' reception into the Eastern Church would have assured them, in contemporary opinion, the right to dominate all Rus Christians.

[4] B. Fedorov, *Kulikovskaya bitva*, 1939; P. Kuchin, *Kulikovskaya bitva*, 1939; E. Lutsky, Kulikovo pole, *IzZ*, 1940 (9), pp. 44—54; D. Likhachev, Kultura Rusi na rubezhe XIV—XV vv., *IzZ*, 1943 (1), pp. 40—5; V. Pashuto—L. Cherepnin, O periodizatsii istorii Rossii epokhi feodalizma, *VoI*, 1951 (2), p. 63, and others.

and that this mainly prepared the victory.[1] This opinion is justified in so far as in 1380 Dimitri actually commanded the forces of the Grand Duchy of Vladimir, yet the process of unification and consolidation of the realm was far from accomplished. In the reign of Dimitri, numerous princes who were his nominal vassals actually gravitated towards Lithuania and were in contact with Algirdas. In the years 1377—80, Lithuania was internally in a state of confusion, but the weakening was only transitory. Already in 1380, Jogaila, having strengthened his position on the Grand-Ducal throne, was on the march towards the Oka and the Don in order to co-operate with Mamai Khan. Dimitri, therefore, was still endangered, and the events which followed 1380 confirm this. In short, though the victory over the Tartars was an important occurrence, its significance must not be over-estimated and unduly magnified.

Many historians affirm that the battle of Kulikovo Pole was " the dawn of national awakening ",[2] " determined Moscow as the leader and the symbol of national unity ",[3] etc. Scholars reasoning in this way consider that the victory of 1380 had an enormous influence on the formation of the Great Rus nation.

Yushkov, Tikhomirov, and others assert that this new nation was consolidated only after the rise of the Moscow State, but that its development was simultaneous with the political evolution of the State, and consequently began in the 14th century.[4]

Whenever the origin of Moscow's power is discussed, the question of the formation of the Great Rus nation unavoidably appears too. This is what the editors of the periodical *Voprosy istorii* have said on the subject: " The study of this problem has been definitely deficient . . . There exists on this point an extraordinary amount of contradictions and evasions . . . We constantly tolerate confusion when the concepts of the Russian and Great Russian nations are to be determined. Some historians use the two appellations as synonyms. Others speak of the Russian nation when referring to Rus of Kiev, and of the Great Russians when alluding to Rus of Moscow. A third group continues to defend the opinion of Hrushevsky that the Russian nation, in the days of Kievan Rus, is no other than the Ukrainian nation. Nor has the problem of the rise of the Great Russian nation been resolved . . . We consider that in the outcome of this discussion, there should be a mobilization of specialists in history, ethnography, linguistics, and philology in order to work out the problem of Great Russia's origin as a nation. It is a question of honour for Soviet scholars to resolve this question within the shortest possible time."[5]

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[1] Such is the thesis e.g., of Bakhrushin.

[2] V. Mavrodin, *Formirovanie russkoi natsii*, 1947, p. 25.

[3] D. Mirsky, Russia, 1015—1462, in *The Cambridge Mediaeval History* VII, 1932, p. 627.

[4] S. Yushkov, K voprosu ob obrazovanii russkogo gosudarstva v XIV—XVI vekakh, *VoI*, 1946 (4), pp. 64—7. M. Tikhomirov, Nachalo vozvysheniya Moskvy, *IAN* I, 1944, p. 108. Much earlier, A. Shakhmatov, K voprosu ob obrazovanii russkikh narechii i russkikh narodnostei, *ZMNP*, 1899, p. 326, assumed that the origin of the Great Rus nation should be assigned to the 14th and 15th centuries.

[5] Ob obrazovanii tsentralizovannogo russkogo gosudarstva, *VoI*, 1946 (11—12), pp. 9—10. The deficiencies of studies dealing with the subject were already clearly perceived by Lyubav-

However, neither questions of honour, nor a mobilization of scholars will be of any avail, as long as historians proceed from the false assumption that the term " Rus " signified an ethnical purely Slavonic group, and that the Great Rus were one of the three East Slavonic nations.[1] We are not so much interested in the future plans formulated by the editors of the Soviet periodical; what carries real weight is their statement of the meagre results obtained by the numerous studies on the origin of the Great Rus. This problem cannot be resolved on the plane on which solutions have been sought hitherto.

Solovev supposes that the term " Great Rus " existed already in the 12th century; Mavrodin thinks this was actually so in the 10th century. But Rus designated at that period all the followers of the Greek Church in eastern Europe, Slavonic and non-Slavonic. Avowedly, the territory occupied by them covered an immense expanse, and the sources stress this point. Now, Solovev considers the allusions to the vastness of the territory occupied by Rus—which occur in such authors as Matthew, Bishop of Cracow, the Hungarian missionary Julianus, Marco Polo, and others—as an argument which proves that in the 12th and 13th centuries the term " Great Rus " was already in use,[2] although these sources in no way justify such a conclusion.[3] Mavrodin goes even further, and expresses the opinion that as the rulers of Kiev in the 10th century bore the title of Grand Dukes —an opinion which, by the way, has been challenged[4]—a " Great Rus " must have been also in existance.[5] Why this should have been so, the author does not explain. But Mavrodin also calls on the testimony of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, although the latter's works contain nothing whatever to support his assertions.[6] On more solid ground are the scholars

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sky when he stated: " We must confess that both . . . these historical developments (i.e., the formation of the Great-Rus nation and that of the Great-Rus State) have not yet been sufficiently elucidated by research in Russian history. Works on the subject abound, on the one hand, in every kind of general consideration not founded on sources and, on the other, in particular disconnected observations." M. Lyubavsky, *Obrazovanie*, p. 1.

[1] M. Hrushevsky, Zvichaina skhema " russkoi " istorii i sprava ratsionalnogo ukladu istorii Skhidnogo Slovyanstva, in *Stati po slavyanovedeniyu*, ed. by V. Lamansky, I, 1904, p. 300, when criticizing the general outline of east-European history as accepted hitherto, remarked that, in fact, the history of the Great Rus nation has as yet no beginning. The same work in English—M. Hrushevsky, The Traditional Scheme of " Russian " History and the Problem of a Rational Organization of the History of the Eastern Slavs, *AUA* II, 1952, pp. 355—64.

[2] A. Solovev, Velikaya, Malaya i Belaya Rus, *Vol*, 1947 (7), pp. 24—7.

[3] Matthew says that Rus, which constitutes a world apart, is as numerous as the stars in the sky; Julianus remarks that it extends from the riparian populations of the Volga, the Bulgars and Mordvians, to the Hungarians on the banks of the Danube; Marco Polo states that it is one of the largest countries in the world, etc.

[4] L. Goetz, Der Titel " Grossfürst " in den ältesten russischen Chroniken, *ZOG* I, 1911, pp. 26—31, etc.; D. Likhachev, *Povest Vremennykh Let* II, 1950, pp. 274—5, 388.

[5] V. Mavrodin, Osnovnye etapy etnicheskogo razvitiya russkogo naroda, *Vol*, 1950 (4), p. 65.

[6] Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions the Rus who sailed down the Dnieper on their way to Constantinople from outer Rus. As we have already shown in one of the preceding chapters, the author means the Norsemen when he uses the term " Rus ". By outer Rus he understands that part of eastern Europe conquered by the Norsemen, which is geographically nearer the Byzantine Empire. In Constantine's opinion, inner Rus, the one farther from Constantinople, was no other land than Scandinavia. Mavrodin quite wrongly considered that the term " Rus " applies to Slavs, and thinks that if there were two kinds of Rus, there must have been a third designation to cover them both, and this could be none other than " Great Rus ". Such an arbitrary interpretation of the source is inadmissible.

who assume, in accordance with the sources, that the terms " Great Rus " and " Little Rus " were introduced by the Greek clergy in Constantinople in the 14th century, in connection with the division of the Church of Rus into two Metropolitan sees, one of which had its seat at Vladimir on the Klyazma, and the other at Halicz.[1] This new terminology, obviously artificial from an ethnic point of view, was hence only the outcome of a specific ecclesiastical situation.

The term " Great Rus," in the period we are considering, comprised all the followers of the Eastern Church who acknowledged the authority of the Metropolitan of Moscow ; consequently, in the first place, the Finnish Merya.[2] In the opinion of the authors alluded to above, the formation of the Great Rus nation began in the 14th century, while in the 13th the Merya-Merowia still existed, as pointed out in Chapter XI. Cherepnin reproaches Presnyakov[3] because he disregards the role of the Great Rus nation in the work of founding the realm of Moscow.[4] Now, Presnyakov simply adhered to the sources, and these prevented him from writing about the Great Rus nation at a time when that nation did not exist.[5]

The beginnings of the Great Rus nation are usually discussed together with the formation of the Great Rus language. We need only compare the work of Ionenko with that of Avanesov to see how fundamentally the specialists in this field differ. Ionenko assumes that the population of the Grandy Duchy of Vladimir was ethnically mixed at that time and that the dialect of the Kursk-Orel region was the base on which the Great Rus language developed. This process, according to Ionenko, began in the 12th century. Avanesov, on the other hand, rejects this hypothesis, stating that the Great Rus language originated in the upper Volga basin in later times (14th—16th centuries).[6] In my opinion, the Finns on the Volga, subjected to a foreign political organization and subsequently christianized, gradually lost their native tongue and adopted the Slavonic language which was that of the Church, the princes, and their officials. In time, the very name of Merya was forgotten, as the Finns represented chiefly the common people, and the ensuing gap was filled by the term " Great Rus " used by the Church.

It is a fact that the battle of Kulikovo Pole raised the authority of the

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[1] D. Doroschenko, Die Namen "Rus", "Russland" and "Ukraine" in ihrer historischen und gegenwärtigen Bedeutung, *AUWIB* III, 1931, pp. 17—8 ; *idem*, Naris istorii Ukraini, *PUNI* IX, 1932, p. 19 ; *idem*, Was ist die osteuropäische Geschichte, *ZOG* IX, 1935, pp. 47—8 ; V. Sichinsky, *Nazva Ukrainii*, 1948, pp. 21—2 ; P. Kovaliv, Name of Ukraine in Foreign Languages, *UQ* VI (4), 1950, p. 348 ; G. Simpson, The Names " Rus," " Russia," " Ukraine " and their Historical Background, *SI* X, 1951, p. 15.

[2] Other Finnish tribes are not mentioned here because the centre of the Muscovite State was on the territory of the Merya.

[3] A. Presnyakov, *Obrazovanie velikorusskogo gosudarstva*, 1918.

[4] L. Cherepnin, Ob istoricheskikh vzglyadakh A. E. Presnyakova, *IZ* XXXIII, 1950, p. 220.

[5] " Great Rus " in the ethnical sense, with the designation of the people as " *velikorossy* ", is not encountered before the 17th century. See A. Solovev, *Velikaya, Malaya i Belaya Rus*, p. 36 ; V. Mavrodin, *Osnovnye etapy*, p. 65.

[6] I. Ionenko, Ob istoricheskikh usloviyakh prevrashcheniya kursko-orlovskogo dialekta v osnovu russkogo natsionalnogo yazyka, *VoI*, 1952 (7), pp. 88—100 ; R. Avanesov, K voprosam obrazovaniya russkogo natsionalnogo yazyka, *VY*, 1953 (2), pp. 47—70.

Grand Dukes of Moscow and stimulated their ambitions; but there is no ground for asserting that the development of the Grand Duchy corresponded to the rise of the Great Rus nation, and that the external peril represented by the Golden Horde helped to mould the inhabitants of that territory into an ethnical unity. We venture to affirm that the final result of Tartar domination rendered more acute the divergencies (which already existed before the invasions of Batu Khan) between, on the one hand, the princes and those foreigners whom they introduced and privileged, and the broad mass of the native Finnish population, on the other.

During their internecine wars against each other, the princes continually appealed to the Tartars who were always willing to profit by the opportunity for plunder. These occurrences led to a great impoverishment of the common people who must have known who was responsible for their misfortune. It was certainly a clever move on the part of the Khans when they charged the local princes with the duty of collecting the tribute from their subjects, while the payment of contributions for the entire realm was a privilege of the rulers of Vladimir-Moscow. The more the princes identified themselves with the interests of the Horde, and the greater the zeal they showed in discharging their duties as functionaries of the Tartars, the greater became the chasm separating them from the Finnish population which was obliged to bear the double burden of the Tartars' and the Rurikides' domination.

The chroniclers mention anti-Tartar riots which broke out time and again in the various cities. It was the lowest social strata that generally took part in these riots; the sources call them "people", "Christians", or "the whole populace."[1] Under these anonymous designations we must assume that in the first place the Finns were meant. During these internal unrests which were but outbreaks of popular despair, the princes and their *boyars*, in the great majority of cases, helped the Tartars, hoping, not without reason, to maintain and assure their privileged position in this way.[2]

According to some scholars, the great spiritual and secular lords supported the rulers of Moscow of the 14th and 15th centuries in their endeavours to found a centralized State, the better to exploit, under the new conditions, the population settled on their lands. But the same authors do not hesitate to speak at length of the "national consciousness" and the "patriotic feeling" with which the common people of the Grand Duchy are supposed to have been imbued as a result of the battle of Kulikovo Pole.[3] Such reasoning does not seem convincing, as the victory over the Tartars favoured the interests of the princes and the alien ruling class rather than those of the toiling people.

Is it permissible to assume that the rulers of Moscow undertook to

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[1] Such riots broke out in 1262 at Yaroslavl, Vladimir, Suzdal, and Rostov; in 1320 at Rostov; in 1327 at Tver, etc.

[2] B. Grekov—A. Yakubovsky, *Zolotaya Orda*, pp. 175—7.

[3] S. Bakhrushin, *Feodalnyi poryadok*, pp. 133—5; *idem*, Moskva-tsentr obedinyayushchii russkii narod, *IAN* V (4), pp. 323—36; V. Mavrodin, *Obrazovanie russkogo natsionalnogo gosudarstva*, 1941, p. 128; *idem*, Neskolko zamechanii, *VoI*, 1946 (4), p. 50, and others.

develop patriotic feelings and the sense of national consciousness among the people ?

The chroniclers relate that in the days of Kalita, Moscow was guilty of many acts of violence perpetrated in various regions of the Grand Duchy ; but this does not prevent the writers of the period from praising Ivan, because in his reign " the Christians . . . breathed again . . . after the Tartar violence."[1] The clergy, bent on maintaining a strong political power in Christian hands, took offence, not at the oppression of the people, but at the fact that this oppression was the work of infidels. It follows also from the above that the rulers of Moscow deputized for the Tartars in committing violence against the inhabitants of the Vladimirian realm.

The battle of Kulikovo Pole initiated a period in which the descendants of Ivan Kalita, far from becoming the patrons and defenders of the Great Rus nation, were in their relations with the lower social strata nothing else but the successors of the Khans and the continuators of their methods. Pokrovsky emphazises that the main object of Tartar rule in the North-East was the thorough economic exploitation of the native population. " Moscow governments had no alternative but to continue to develop the system introduced by the Tartars."[2]

Scholars have advanced various views as to the role of the Tartars in the history of the Vladimir-Moscow State, and it cannot be denied that there is some justification for both their favourable and their depreciative opinions.[3] Evidently, it is necessary to reject today the obsolete thesis concerning the savagery and barbarism of the Mongols. But it does not follow that the Tartars, although by no means devoid of good qualities, consistently exercised a happy influence on the life of the lands under discussion. The fate of the nations conquered by the Tartars depended on the aims and interests of the Horde.[4]

The Tartars are sometimes charged with misdeeds which they did not commit, and the less commendable aspects of their domination are often exaggerated. Some scholars assert that the Tartars ransacked the literary monuments of the north-eastern lands.[5] The charge is justified up to a certain point. It should be remembered, however, that in the 15th and 16th centuries Moscow was deliberately and consistently destroying the chronicles of other principalities, such as Tver,[6] or distorted them in accordance with her own interest.[7] It is assumed that the eastward expansion of the realm of Vladimir-Moscow was impeded by the Tartars, an opinion which is ill-founded, because in the 14th and 15th centuries the pressure of

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1 H. Paszkiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 309.
2 M. Pokrovsky, *Russkaya istoriya s drevneishikh vremen*, pp. 116—7.
3 Cf. Ob itogakh diskussii o periodizatsii istorii SSSR, *Vol*, 1951 (3), pp. 56—7.
4 Some territories, such as Khoresm (cf. A. Yakubovsky, Razvaliny Urgencha, *IGAIMK* VI (2), 1930, pp. 13—20), flourished under Tartar rule, but this was not so with all the countries conquered by the Mongols.
5 E.g., N. Serebryansky, Drevne-russkie knyazheskie zhitya, *COID*, 1915 (3), p. 1.
6 A. Nasonov, Letopisnye pamyatniki tverskogo knyazhestva, *IAN*, 1930, pp. 709—10.
7 M. Priselkov, *Istoriya russkogo letopisaniya XI—XV vv.*, 1940, pp. 6, 9—10, 123—5, etc.

that State upon the Finnish Mordva is undeniable.[1] Presnyakov supposes that the Tartars interfered with the development of trade along the Volga.[2] This conjecture seems to be unlikely. The position of both the cities of the name of Sarai, which were large centres of trade and industry, and the foundation by the Tartars of a number of other large cities on the banks of the Volga, prove that they appreciated the commercial value of that great water-way.[3] There cannot be any doubt that the Golden Horde protected and developed trade relations between eastern Europe and Asia.[4]

The Tartars exploited the population of the Vladimir State, weakened its energies, and augmented the apathy and submissiveness to oppression on the part of its rulers.[5] On this point, which bears on the most deleterious consequences of the Tartar sway, historians are justified in depicting the rule of the Khans in sombre colours.

Nevertheless, the plight of the common people in the North-East, hard as it is must have been, does not exaust the question under discussion. To limit the enquiry to this aspect only would necessarily result in a one-sided picture, for the Tartars contributed a great deal to the growth of the Muscovite State,[6] which remains their enduring achievement.[7] It is obvious that they did not do this for the sake of Kalita and his successors, but that events followed a course contrary to their aims and calculations. Being able to choose among the members of the " Great Nest ", the Tartars, in fact, awarded to Moscow the rights to the Grand-Ducal throne ; they helped Moscow to overthrow her most dangerous rivals, especially Tver, and permitted the weakening of the other principalities of the Vladimirian realm; they strengthened the financial position of Moscow by the inflow of the tribute collected on their behalf from the entire country; they endowed her with a political and fiscal administrative system of no mean excellence in its time ;[8] finally, by wearing down the resources and the resistance of the people, they prepared the ground for the despotic rule of the Grand Dukes of Moscow and the Tsars.

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[1] P. Chermensky, Nastuplenie na Mordvu russkikh knyazei v XIV—XV vv., *NTOPK*, 1928 (3), pp. 58—65.

[2] A. Presnyakov, *Obrazovanie*, pp. 48—9.

[3] F. Balodis, Neuere Forschungen über die Kultur der Goldenen Horde, *ZSP* IV, 1927, p. 6.

[4] A. Yakubovsky, Rasskaz Ibn-al-Bibi o pokhode maloaziiskikh turok na Sudak, polovtsev i russkikh v nachale XIII v., *VV*, 1928, pp. 75—6 ; *idem*, *Razvaliny Urgencha*, pp. 13—4 ; *idem*, Feodalnoe obshchestvo Srednei Azii i ego torgovlya s Vostochnoi Evropoi v X—XVvv., *Materialy narodov SSSR*. *Materialy po istorii Uzbekskoi, Tadzhikskoi i Turkmenskoi SSR* I, 1933, pp. 42—56 ; B. Grekov—A. Yakubovsky, *Zolotaya Orda*, p. 50.

[5] A. Pypin, *Istoriya russkoi literatury* I, 1911, pp. 186—7 ; B. Nolde, Réflexions sur le développement politique de la Russie, *MS*, 1927, pp. 161—95 ; 342—78 ; A. Eck, *Le moyen-âge russe*, 1933, p. 42; B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus i problema proiskhozhdeniya russkogo feodalizma u M. N. Pokrovskogo*, p. 115, and many others.

[6] Supporters of the so-called Euro-Asiatic theory take a specially favourable view of Tartar domination.

[7] " The unification of Rus around Moscow—says Pokrovsky—was at least half a Tartar achievement ". M. Pokrovsky, *Russkaya istoriya v samom szhatom ocherke*, p. 25 ; *idem*, *Russkaya istoriya s drevneishikh vremen* I, pp. 114—9 ; " it is not without the help of the Khans of the Golden Horde that the dukes of Moscow came to the fore ", write B. Grekov and A. Yakubovsky, *Zolotaya Orda*, p. 72 ; cf. D. Mirsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 621—3.

[8] This has been remarked by M. Pokrovsky, *Ocherk istorii russkoi kultury* I, 1924, p. 128, by Braun, Vernadsky, and others.

Moscow took over from the Horde the almost divine adulation of the ruler, a deep instinct for affairs of State,[1] and a bold sweeping conception of leadership. The Tartars were promoters of the idea of a world peace,[2] which they wished to assure by creating a federation of kingdoms and nations under their hegemony.[3] The rulers of Moscow appropriated these ambitious plans of the Tartars, but developed a programme of their own, basing it on religion[4] and on the political traditions of Byzantium.[5] The downfall, in the 15th century, of both the Eastern Empire and the Golden Horde, two events of immense consequence, left Muscovy as the natural heir of both Constantinople and Sarai.[6]

Pokrovsky has stated that the absolute power of the ruler was a characteristic feature not only of the Empire of the Romanovs, but equally of the Grand Duchy of Moscow.[7] This despotism, which maintained itself with undiminished force for so many centuries, was rooted in the Tartar and pre-Tartar periods.[8] The descendants of Rurik are often said to have been a national dynasty. Had the princes been of the same blood as the population inhabiting the region of the upper Volga, so deep a rift

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[1] In spite of the Tartars' increasing weakness, the Grand Dukes maintained the ties binding them to the Horde for a further hundred years after 1380, although they might have severed them much sooner than in fact they did (1480); cf. M. Braun, *Der Aufstieg Russlands*, 1940, pp. 81—2. These ties, more and more of a purely formal character, were in their interest; at the price of a tribute, Moscow gained the benefit of peace and security on her southern border, indispensable to her if she was to consolidate her position in the vast territories of the North-East. This policy was dictated by reasons of State exclusively.

Moscow not only turned Tartar rule to good account, but after it had ended she was glad to invite individual eminent Tartars to remain in her territory, and from them arose a social group on which the rulers of Moscow could safely rely; cf. A. Pypin *Istoriya russkoi etnografii* I, 1890, pp. 9—10; *idem*, *Istoriya russkoi literatury*, 1911, p. 198; S. Veselovsky, Toponimika na sluzhbe u istorii, *IZ* XVII, 1945, pp. 43—6; V. Ryazanovsky, *Obzor russkoi kultury* I, 1947, p. 389.

[2] W. Kotwicz, Les Mongols, promoteurs de l'idée de paix universelle, in *La Pologne au VIIe Congrès International des sciences historiques* I, 1933, pp. 199—204; E. Voegelin, The Mongol Orders of Submission to European Powers, 1245—1255, *B* XV, 1940—1, pp. 387—413.

[3] S. Kozin, K voprosu o deshifrirovanii diplomaticheskikh dokumentov mongolskikh il-khanov, *IAN*, 1935, pp. 646—54.

[4] This programme was the well-known "gathering of Rus," i.e. the extension of Moscow's rule to all the lands inhabited by the followers of the faith of Rus, and, in fact, also by non-Christians who were to become Rus in the future.

[5] The problem of Byzantine influences on Moscow has its own abundant literature; cf. V. Savva, *Moskovskie tsari i vizantiiskie vasilevsy. K voprosu o vliyanii Vizantii na obrazovanie idei tsarskoi vlasti moskovskikh gosudarei*, 1901; N. Borch, L'héritage de Byzance dans l'histore de la Russie, *RGB* LVII, 1924, pp. 335—57; S. Runciman, *Byzantine Civilization*, 1936, p. 283; A. Mazon, Byzance et la Russie, *RHPHGC* XIX, 1937, pp. 77; W. Lednicki, Russia and her Culture, *NE* I (10), 1941, pp. 250—2; S. Cross, The Results of the Conversion of the Slavs from Byzantium, *AIPHOS* VII, 1939—44, pp. 71—82; A. Meyendorff—N. Baynes, The Byzantine Inheritance of Russia, in *Byzantium*, ed. by N. Baynes —H. Moss, 1948, pp. 369—91; D. Obolenksy, Russia's Byzantine Heritage, *OSP* I, 1950, pp. 37—63; O. Halecki, *The Limits and Divisions of European History*, 1950, pp. 91, 96; K. Medlin, *Moscow and East Rome*, 1952, and others.

[6] "Moscow's autocracy was a despotism ... semi-Byzantine and semi-Tartar." A. Pypin, *Istoriya russkoi etnografii* I, 1890, pp. 9—10.

[7] "The Russian Empire used to be called a prison of nations (*tyurma narodov*). Today we know that the designation was deserved not only by the State of the Romanovs, but also by its predecessor, the heritage of Kalita's descendants." M. Pokrovsky, Vozniknovenie moskovskogo gosudarstva i "velikorusskaya narodnost," *Istoricheskaya nauka i borba klassov* I, 1933, p. 284.

[8] It is noteworthy that historians consider Andrei Bogolyubsky as a remarkable predecessor of Ivan the Terrible; cf. N. Voronin, *Kultura Vladimiro-Suzdalskoi zemli*, p. 37.

would never have developed between them, and Byzantine and Tartar influences are not sufficient to explain it. In many countries a foreign dynasty entered in and began its rule by acts of violence, yet in the course of time it was assimilated to the people and became the protector of their needs and interests. But in the North-East developments followed a different line. They depended on circumstances rooted in the distant past: the conquest of the land by the Norsemen, its conquest by the Rurikides who came from the South, although they drew their descent from the North, and only in the last instance, the conquest by the Tartars.

The period of continual conquests, which lasted nearly five centuries (9th—14th), was decisive for the entire future of the country. The cultural weakness of the native population, their incapacity for effectively making their influence prevail over their conquerors,[1] assured the latter, once and for all, of a position of crushing superiority over the people. The princes of the house of Rurik and the foreign new-comers, whom they called in, finally founded a State, which developed independently and in complete isolation from the needs and aspirations of the country's inhabitants. This State inspired by great ambitions and impelled by great energies, especially in the direction of territorial expansion, in the course of time involved its Finnish subjects in its policy and warlike enterprises.

"Muscovy"—and since Peter the Great "Russia"—through the whole course of her existence, felt an insatiable cupidity for land, and expanded unceasingly during the last seven centuries, absorbing ever new ethnical elements. The faith of Rus and the Slavonic language—which thus acquired the character of an international idiom—were decisive factors in the realization of these far-reaching plans.

The newly arisen power, inspired by Constantinople with hostility against the Roman Church and its followers, and linked to Asia by the Tartars, had not and could not have any traditional sense of community with western Europe. The weakness of the influences penetrating from the West was reflected all through the centuries in the unchanged conditions and habits of mind prevailing in the North-East: the worship of the ruler, his unlimited power, his domination through fear, a servile attitude of the people who, deprived of their language and their ethnical name, came to be known only as the "Great Rus" and were nourished in a faith which had become an instrument of State policy.

These were the dominant features which developed in the period covered in this work, and which were to leave a lasting imprint on the entire history of this land.

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[1] How very different was the case of the Eastern Slavs who were able to force the Norse Rurikides and the Lithuanian princes to adopt their language and their Slavonic creed, and often to make their views heard in political matters.

APPENDICES

1

THE GEOGRAPHICAL MEANING OF THE TERM " RUS "

The analysis of the rich material contained in the chronicles leads us to the conclusion that, from the 10th to the 13th century, what was understood by Rus as a term of geography was nothing more than the basin of the middle Dnieper, with the chief towns of Kiev, Chernihov, and Pereyaslavl. This comprised the territories of two tribes, the Polyanians and Severians.

The question arises, whether there is information of any sort contained in the Russian chronicles which runs counter to this thesis ? There are two or three items of this kind which must be discussed at some length.

Under the year 1206, a chronicler gives an account of a particularly solemn ceremony in which Vsevelod of Vladimir-Rostov took leave of his son Constantine when sending him to Novgorod. The great multitude of people gathered on that occasion attended these ceremonies with enthusiasm, delighting in their resplendent pageantry. The words pronounced by the father seem hardly credible : " My son Constantine, God has given you seniority over all your brothers, and Great Novgorod has the supreme right to rule over the whole land of Rus . . . God has given you supremacy not only over your brothers, but also over the whole land of Rus. This seniority I bestow upon you. Go to your city."[1]

The following reservations should be considered :

a) Novgorod—as appears from a great number of sources—did not then belong to Rus ; consequently it could not have been its capital.

b) We know that minor princes were often set upon the throne of Novgorod before that date, and that the same thing also occurred later (that is, after 1206).

c) The events of 1206 so pompously narrated by the chronicler do not agree with either previous or subsequent moves made by Vsevolod. This Prince sent his four-year-old son Svyatoslav to Novgorod in 1200. Had he cherished such plans relating to Novgorod, as the author of this entry indicates, he would have taken up his residence there himself. Had he entrusted Constantine, in 1206, with such an important mission, he would not have recalled him almost immediately[2] and assigned him to Rostov. If we were to accept the " metropolitan " character of Novgorod, this would mean an inferior position for the son of Vsevolod. It is curious that it was

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[1] *PSRL* I, under the year 1206.

[2] To be more precise, the people of Novgorod expelled Constantine the very next year, a procedure applied to the princes on the banks of the Ilmen with considerable frequency.

the young Svyatoslav who returned to the banks of the Ilmen, and during his whole life remained a somewhat secondary figure.

In short, the relevant passage of the chronicle is not in harmony with the actual reality in eastern Europe at the time.[1]

Two further entries in the chronicles deserve our attention:

1169. "In the winter of this year the men of Suzdal . . . Roman and Mstislav with the men of Smolensk and Toropets, the men of Murom and Ryazan with two Princes, the Prince of Polotsk with his men, and the whole land of Rus without exception, came forth before Novgorod."[2] The chronicler then speaks of the victory of the Novgorodians which according to him was enormous.[3]

1216. "One of Prince Yuri's *boyars* said: 'Princes Yuri and Yaroslav! It never occurred (under the rule of) your great-grandfather or your grandfather and father that anyone should penetrate with arms into the powerful land of Suzdal and come out unscathed, even though it had been the whole land of Rus: Galich and Kiev and Smolensk and Chernigov and Novgorod and Ryazan."[4] These words of a *boyar* are not to be found in earlier chronicles. We find them only in the Troitsk Chronicle (15th cent.), and only in an old edition of this source. A more recent reconstruction of the text does not contain this passage.[5]

The boastful words of this *boyar* are not in keeping with the facts since the chronicles tell of many raids and depredations inflicted on the land of Suzdal by other princes.

Both these entries—that of 1169 as well as that of 1216—have this feature in common: that they enormously exaggerate the successes and the power of the side which the writer represents. It is well known that mediaeval chroniclers were as a rule inclined to magnify the events they related, especially as regards general developments and their own appreciations of the facts. They tend to exaggerate the armed forces of their own country or those of the enemy, the importance of defeats and war victories, the casualties resulting from fire, famine, and so forth.[6] At the most,

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[1] The notion of Rus passed through several phases in the course of history The above version is not without historical value, but only in so far as it echoes conditions of a remote past (the 9th and 10th centuries) when the Norsemen-Rus had their centre at Novgorod. But in relation to the 13th century the conception which finds its expression here is shockingly inappropriate.

[2] Some historians interpret this text in the sense that Smolensk, Suzdal, Ryazan, etc. were part of "the whole land of Rus" as referred to. But when the chronicler says "and the whole land of Rus", he seems to distinguish it from those other lands, of Ryazan, Suzdal, and others.

[3] *PSRL* III, p. 215; A. Nasonov, *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis starshego i mladshego izvodov*, 1950, pp. 33, 221, etc. A war operation on such a large scale could never have occurred in view of the internecine struggles between the princes of the house of Rurik themselves. The chronicler enumerates all these confederate princes simply because he wishes to magnify the warlike success of the people of Novgorod.

[4] *PSRL* I, 1846, p. 213.

[5] M. Priselkov, *Troitskaya letopis. Rekonstruktsiya teksta*, 1950.

[6] Let us quote some examples: At Rostov, a church was burned down; "nothing like it ever was or will be." A chronicler states that in one battle 1300 men of Suzdal were said to have fallen, and only 15 men of Novgorod. When Vsevolod of Vladimir-Rostov dies, "all lands trembled . . . before his name . . . and his fame spread over the whole world." The Lithuanian armies which invaded Novgorod in 1225 were so great "that nothing like it has ever been seen since the beginning of the world"—and so on.

these passages may be regarded as manifestations of a local "patriotism" —in the first case, of the provincial spirit of Novgorod, and in the second, of that of Suzdal.

Summing up our investigations, we are able to state that the sources, with rare unanimity, enable us to define the exact geographical meaning of the term "Rus," from the 10th to the 13th century. It cannot have signified an area embracing more than the middle basin of the Dnieper. The two or three misleading entries cannot be taken seriously, contradicted as they are by hundreds of others suggestive of a very different state of affairs.

2

THE TALE OF THE RAID OF IGOR

Slovo o polku Igoreve (The Tale of the Raid of Igor), which describes the expedition of the Severian Prince Igor, son of Svyatoslav, undertaken in 1185 against the Polovtsians, has long been the object of special interest among scholars. Several hundred studies have been devoted to it, and their number grows every year. The *Slovo* has been translated into many languages: Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Czech, Hungarian, Serb, English, French, German, Danish, etc., a circumstance which proves its world-wide renown.[1]

As is well known, the poem was preserved only in one manuscript, which was discovered at the end of the 18th century and destroyed by fire in 1812.[2] The loss of the manuscript, of course, deprived the scholars of many criteria which would have been essential in establishing its authenticity.

The fact remains that certain characteristic expressions, particular phrases and sentences, and even entire fragments of the *Slovo* occur in many sources, such as the Chronicle of Kiev, the First Chronicle of Novgorod,[3] the Pskovian Apostle of 1307,[4] the *Zadonshchina*, and other writings describing the battle against the Tartars on Kulikovo Pole in 1380, the description in the First Chronicle of Pskov of the battle of Orsha fought in 1514, the Life of Alexander Nevsky written by Vasili-Varlaam in the 16th century,[5] etc.[6]

Hitherto, students have concentrated chiefly on the linguistic and artistic aspect of the work. Many authors have tried to prove that the 2800 words or so which constitute the *Slovo* correspond, on the whole, to the linguistic usages of Old-Slavonic writing. It is on this foundation

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[1] V. Adrianova-Peretts, *Slovo o polku Igoreve. Bibliografiya izdanii, perevodov i issledovanii*, 1940; V. Kuzmina, "Slovo o polku Igoreve" kak pamyatnik mirovoi literatury, in *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, by several hands, 1947, pp. 7—42. The last translation of the *Slovo* into English was made by S. Cross, *AIPHOS* VIII, 1948, pp. 151—79.

[2] The text of the *Slovo*, together with the so-called Empress Catherine copy, and the edition of 1800 were published recently by D. Likhachev, in *Literaturnye pamyatniki*, *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, 1950, pp. 9—49. See N. Gudzy, Sudby pechatnogo teksta "Slova o polku Igoreve," *TODRL* VIII, 1951, pp. 31—52; L. Bulakhovsky, O pervonachalnom tekste "Slova o polku Igoreve," *IANOLY* XI (5), 1952, pp. 439—49.

[3] D. Likhachev, O russkoi letopisi, nakhodivsheisya v odnom sbornike so Slovom o polku Igoreve, *TODRL* V, 1947, pp. 139—41.

[4] I. Mayakovsky, *Ocherki po istorii arkhivnogo dela v SSSR* I, 1941, p. 46.

[5] V. Peretts, Slovo o polku Igorevim, *ZIFV* XXXIII, 1926, pp. 36—9.

[6] A. Solovev, New Traces of the Igor Tale in Old Russian Literature, *HSS* I, 1953, pp. 73—81.

that the poem is declared to be authentic. But there is no unanimous opinion on the subject. Many scholars consider the *Slovo* to be apocryphal. Among the latter, Mazon deserves special attention as the author of an important work.[1] Although Mazon is by no means isolated in his views,[2] his opinion met with a decided protest on the part of other scholars,[3] with Jakobson at their head.[4] I have no intention of reviewing in detail this interesting controversy with Mazon which was carried on in a somewhat violent tone.

The actual question is whether the language of a work is to be considered a decisive proof of its authenticity. The fact that quotations from the *Slovo* appear in many other sources is generally regarded to mean that the *Slovo* produced a broad repercussion in eastern Europe, and consequently that the poem must have been in existence at an early date. Yet the conclusion could be reversed with equal success, in the sense that a writer might have selected texts of varying lengths in the sources, thereby preserving something of the idiom of a bygone epoch.

It is not easy to explain why other writers should be supposed to have introduced into their works various phrases and passages taken from the *Slovo*. If these quotations were short, could they really enhance the value of these works? And if they could have done so—if the uncommon quality of the work under consideration was so keenly felt—how is it that the *Slovo* as a whole was not copied more frequently? How is it that no other source so much as mentions that poem? It cannot be denied that the history of the sole supposed manuscript which is alleged to have originated in the land of Pskov[5] or Novgorod[6] is extremely puzzling and mysterious. It is worth our while to note the genuine popularity of the *Zadonshchina*, describing the celebrated victory over the Tartars in 1380, which

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[1] A. Mazon, Le Slovo d'Igor, *TPIES* XX, 1940; *idem*, Le Slovo d'Igor, *RES* XXI, 1944, pp. 5—45; *idem*, Le Slovo d'Igor, *SEER*, XXVII, 1949, pp. 515—35.

[2] L. Léger, *La mythologie slave*, 1901, p. 5; *idem*, *Histoire de la littérature russe*, 1907, p. 12; F. Koneczny, *Dzieje Rosji* I, 1917, p. 460; A. Vaillant, Les chants épiques des slaves du Sud, *Revue des cours et conférences*, 1932 (unavailable to me); J. Krzyżanowski, Byliny, *INBEW* III, 1934, p. 6; B. Unbegaun, Les Rusići—Rusici du Slovo d'Igor, *RES* XVIII, 1938, pp. 79—80; I. Sventsitsky, *Rus i polovtsi v staroukrainskomu pismenstvi*, 1939 (unavailable to me); A. Vaillant, La "Terre de Trojan," *RES* XXIV, 1948, pp. 179—80 ("Il n'est pas agréable de parler du Slovo d'Igor. Ce n'est plus une question philologique, c'est une affaire de foi"); M. Gorlin, and others.

[3] E. Lyatsky, Neudachnyi pokhod na "Slovo o polku Igoreve," *S* XVIII, 1939—40, pp. 110—27, 374—411; N. Gudzy, *Istoriya drevnei russkoi literatury*, 1945, p. 149; *idem*, Nainovishi sprobi revizii sprvazhnosti "Slova o polku Igoreve," *Visti Akad. Nauk USSR*, 1946 (2), pp. 19—36; *idem*, *UZMGU* CX, 1946 (unavailable to me); *idem*, Neveroyatnye dogadki prof. A. Mazona o veroyatnom avtore "Slova o polku Igoreve," *IANOLY* IX (6), 1950, pp. 492—8; S. Obnorsky, *Ocherki po istorii russkogo literaturnogo yazyka starshego perioda*, 1946, p. 198; V. Adrianova-Peretts, Zadonshchina, *IANOLY* VI (2), 1947, pp. 97—8; Orlov, Filin, Lyapunov, Malov, and others made pronouncements in a similar sense.

[4] The entire VIIIth volume of *AIPHOS* is devoted to the defence of the authenticity of the *Slovo*. In the forefront of this publication is R. Jakobson's study: *L'authenticité du Slovo*, pp. 235—360.

[5] N. Karinsky, Musin Pushkinskaya rukopis Slova o polku Igoreve kak pamyatnik pskovskoi pismennosti XV—XVIvv., *ZMNP*, 1916, pp. 199—214; N. Gudzy, *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, 1938, p. 7; A. Orlov, *Drevnyaya russkaya literatura XI—XVI vv.*, 1939, p. 98.

[6] S. Obnorsky, *Ocherki po istorii russkogo literaturnogo yazyka starshego perioda*, 1946; D. Likhachev, O russkoi letopisi, *TODRL* V, 1947, pp. 139—41.

has been copied and emended many times. "Nestor's" Chronicle, for instance, enjoyed similar popularity.

The belief has become current that the *Slovo* faithfully reproduces the experiences of the "Russian nation" in the 12th century, with its heroic endeavours and exaltations on the one hand, and its loss of heart, its disasters and its internal weakness on the other. That no one ever understood his countrymen better, and felt for them more unerringly, than the author of that work, is the judgement of many scholars.[1] But again, we must ask what was the reaction of the people to this work which, it is alleged, was so very dear to them? One might have expected to find some proofs of this wide-spread popularity of the *Slovo*. Actually we are confronted by a complete blank. The generally accepted thesis that the discovered manuscript, reputedly of the 16th century, was based on other earlier copies is a pure conjecture.

But even if we assume that these copies existed, other very serious difficulties will confront us. As is well known, there occur in the *Slovo* certain pagan elements of which we shall speak later on. Some scholars, such as Rzhiga, Obnorsky, and others, have even asserted that the pagan outlook predominates in the *Slovo*. At the same time, however, there is evidence that the author was a Christian. Such religious duality at the end of the 12th century is not easy to explain. At that time the dynasty of Rurik had been Christian for 200 years, and all scholars agree that the author of the *Slovo* appears to have been someone who was in close contact with the princes. Is it possible to suppose that Russian writers, from the 13th to 16th century, in a period when Christianity was progressing from generation to generation, would have continued to copy a half-pagan work without any alteration, without so much as trying to obliterate the expression of beliefs which at that time were discreditable in an educated man?[2]

If, therefore, the mere linguistic analysis of the poem is not sufficient to prove its authenticity, it becomes necessary to approach the subject from the historical side. "No historian—says Priselkov—has as yet treated of the *Slovo* as a historical source, from which a number of answers could be obtained to the problems which arise in our studies of the history of the Kievan State."[3] Priselkov's paper contains a valuable appreciation of the political situation of south-eastern Europe in the 12th century, it describes Rus-Byzantine relations, and deals with the role of the Polovtsians at that period, but it is relatively little concerned with the chief subject: namely, the proof of the historical value of the poem. For if the *Slovo* contains a

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[1] D. Likhachev, Obshchestvenno-politicheskie idei "Slova o polku Igoreve," *TODRL* VIII, 1951, p. 17, speaks of the enthusiastic reception of the poem by the masses in Rus, of the immense response it evoked among the great majority of the people there. On the other hand, V. Vinogradov, "Slovo o polku Igoreve" i russkaya kultura, *ibidem*, p. 11, states that, at the end of the 18th century, the *Slovo* was awakened to a new life from a lethargic slumber of many centuries. Thus, Vinogradov does not lend support to Likhachev's arbitrary assumption.

[2] It is generally thought that the author of the *Zadonshchina* took the *Slovo* for his source and model, but in that case he omitted all the vestiges of his predecessor's pagan beliefs. Yet the copyists of the *Slovo* are supposed to have proceeded quite differently.

[3] M. Priselkov, "Slovo o polku Igoreve" kak istoricheskii istochnik, *IM*, 1938 (6), p. 112.

number of concrete facts, which are also mentioned in the chronicles, it does not by any means follow, as Priselkov seems to believe, that the poem can be regarded as a historical source. Anyone could easily have obtained these details from the chronicles. Priselkov is further of the opinion that, for instance, the word *troyan*, which occurs in the *Slovo*, signifies the alliance of the three sons of Yaroslav the Wise—Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, and Vsevolod;[1] that the maiden beloved by Prince Vseslav signifies Great Novgorod,[2] etc. The arbitrariness of such interpretations is glaring. Yet, Vernadsky comments on the text in much the same way. As the *Slovo* mentions princes of Polotsk who have no connection with Igor's expedition, this scholar suggests that the poet is here reviving ancient traditions, dating from the 9th century, of links between the Polochians and Severians, resulting from a trade-route which is supposed to have run along the Dvina to the Donets and the Don.[3] It is impossible to accept such a conjecture, as the interval between the time when that route existed and the date of the *Slovo* would have been, in any case, several centuries, and the poet does not make even the vaguest allusion to any trade-route.

When such arguments are advanced, they prove the contrary of what they are supposed to demonstrate: namely, the very doubtful historical value of the *Slovo*. All assertions, however definite, that the poem gives a faithful picture of its epoch,[4] are unconvincing, because they do not rest on evidence. In spite of this, Lyubavsky believes so profoundly in the historical instinct of the author of the *Slovo* that he does not hesitate to call him a prophet who rightly foresaw the future of his country.[5] The question is whether the "prophet" was not fairly well acquainted with the history of the later centuries while he was writing his "prophecy."

In the *Slovo* much attention is paid to Prince Igor, who led the expedition against the Polovtsians. The poet surrounds him with a halo, and describes him as an outstanding representative of the purely national ideal. Now, it is impossible to forget that the same Igor—on the whole, a mediocre personality—often allied himself with the Polovtsians against both his closer and his more distant kinsmen.[6] Svyatoslav of Kiev had similar sins on his conscience.[7] In their wars against the Polovtsians, the Rurikides were prompted on the one hand by the necessity of defending their own territory, but on the other by the desire to take loot from the enemy. The poet, however, makes these princes, who were simple plunderers, as Peretts

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[1] N. Derzhavin, "Troyan" v "Slove o polku Igoreve", *VDI* I (6), 1939, pp. 169, 173, thinks that *Troyan* represents the name of the Roman Emperor. M. Szeftel, Commentaire historique au texte du Slovo, *AIPHOS* VIII, 1948, pp. 99, 101—2, is of the opinion that this term signifies the territory situated between the Donets and the lower reaches of the Dnieper. The diversity of all these commentaries is striking.

[2] M. Priselkov, *op. cit.*, pp. 112—33.

[3] G. Vernadsky, La Geste d'Igor au point de vue historique, *AIPHOS* VIII, 1948, p. 230.

[4] B. Grekov, Avtor "Slova o polku Igoreve" i ego vremya, *IM*, 1938; G. Vernadsky, *op. cit.*, p. 230, etc.

[5] M. Lyubavsky, *Drevnyaya russkaya istoriya do kontsa XVI v.* 1918, pp. 143—5.

[6] M. Hrunsky, Pitannya pro avtora "Slova o polku Igorevim", *Yubileinyi zbirnik na poshanu D. Bagaliya*, 1927, p. 440.

[7] N. Gudzy, *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, 1938, pp. 23—4.

has called them,[1] the providential instruments of a historical mission, and the Polovtsian wars are represented as wars of ideas.

Hrunsky considers that the *Slovo* contains so many historical inaccuracies that a long time must have passed between the events described and the drafting of the poem,[2] so that events well known at the time could become blurred and defaced in human memory. That is why the scholar just mentioned looks upon the *Slovo* as a simple poetic narrative from which no historical accuracy can be expected. "It is true—adds Hrunsky—that this remark refutes the opinion that a certain historical value may be attributed to the *Slovo*."[3]

Orlov also states that the *Slovo* is a poem and not a historical source in the strict sense. "Events do not direct the course of the narrative; (the poet) subordinates the facts to the development of poetic ideas, to the change of mood, and to the production of picturesque effects."[4] "(The poem) is built up not as a consistant description of events, but rather on the impressions produced by those events; not on facts, but on their poetical symbols."[5] But once we accept such a view the question presents itself: why was the *Slovo* ever regarded as a historical source, and why is it accepted as correctly describing the conditions of a period?

Igor's expedition against the Polovtsians in 1185 has been described by the Kievan Chronicle in both the Laurentian and the Hypatian versions; it is the latter which is of particular importance for the subject under discussion. Not only do the same facts occur in the Chronicle and in the *Slovo*, but the same words, expressions, and phrases are repeated, a circumstance which shows that one of these works served as a basis for the other. Certain scholars, such as Khrushchov and Peretts, hold that the chronicler had the text of the *Slovo* in front of him when he described the events there depicted.[6] Others think the very reverse.[7] Which of these alternatives should we accept?

Only the second possibility can be seriously taken into consideration, as the narrative of the chronicler is much more accurate and objective, and greatly surpasses the *Slovo* in the abundance of concrete detail.[8] What is

[1] V. Peretts, *Slovo*, pp. 3, 13.

[2] A similar opinion is expressed by A. Pogodin, Novye issledovaniya ob epicheskom elemente v russkoi letopisi, *S* XIII, 1934—5.

[3] M. Hrunsky, *op. cit.*, p. 442.

[4] A. Orlov, 750-letie "Slova o polku Igoreve", *VAN*, 1938, pp. 66—7.

[5] *Idem*, *Geroicheskie temy drevnei russkoi literatury*, 1945, p. 28.

[6] Many scholars assert that the *Slovo* must have been written before April 1187, because after that date certain princes die who appear in the poem as living persons. The author addresses them pathetically and exhorts them to unite and stand up to the Polovtsians. In truth, however, these are purely rhetorical phrases and poetic ornaments which do not contain any material that might help to establish the date of origin of the *Slovo*.

[7] V. Istrin, *Ocherk istorii drevne-russkoi literatury*, 1922, pp. 184—6; A. Orlov, *Drevnyaya russkaya literatura XI—XVI vv.*, 1939, p. 99; M. Priselkov, *Istoriya russkogo letopisaniya XI—XV vv.*, 1940, p. 52, and many others.

[8] On the subject of the geographical background of Igor's expedition see K. Kudryashov, Istoriko geograficheskie svedeniya o polovetskoi zemle po letopisnym izvestiyam o pokhode Igorya Severskogo na Polovtsev v 1185 godu, *IGGO* LXIX (1), 1937, pp. 58—60 seqq; V. Afanasev, Veroyatnyi put knyazya Igorya Severskogo na Polovtsev v 1185 godu, *IsZ*, 1939, pp. 51—6; K. Kudryashov, "Slovo o polku Igoreve" v istoriko geograficheskom osveshchenii, in *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, 1947, pp. 43—94.

more, the *Slovo* does not confine itself to the description of the events of 1185, but sometimes goes back to the days of Vladimir the Great[1] and Yaroslav the Wise. It describes these bygone events by drawing on "Nestor" in a fashion so obvious that all doubt can be excluded. The *Povest* was written more than 70 years before the expedition of Igor. Thus, the conclusion imposes itself that in dealing with previous events, the poet utilized the chroniclers' material. Lyashchenko is right when he says: "Without knowledge of the Hypatian Chronicle, the poetical allusions of the *Slovo* would be inexplicable." And further on: "When one considers the chronicler's relation of the wars of the Rus with the Polovtsians, one is bound to recognize that as early as the beginning of the 12th century there developed among Russian writers a particular style of narrative relating to combats with the Polovtsians, which the *Slovo* could not have influenced."[2]

All these remarks are in full agreement with the inference expressed above that there is nothing to exclude the possibility of a poet having had recourse to many sources, particular sentences, and even whole passages of which he incorporated into his text.

In what country, now, can we suppose the *Slovo* to have been written?

As our sources contain no indications whatever on the subject, the answer can be sought only in the text of the poem itself. Some scholars, who believe in the authenticity of the *Slovo*, think that it must have been produced in the principality of Novgorod-Seversk, because Igor originated in that region. At first sight this conclusion looks convincing, but on second thoughts many objections and doubts must arise. Both Brückner and Orlov have rightly observed that the Prince is not the central figure of the poem.[3] As to the place of origin of the *Slovo*, opinions among scholars are very divided. Lyashchenko, Gudzy, and Rzhiga suppose it was written in Kiev,[4] Novikov assumes that it was drafted among the Polovtsians, when the author was a prisoner in the company of Prince Igor.[5] Many scholars propound the theory that it originated in the land of Halicz-Volynia.

The old conjecture, put forward many years ago by Petrushevich (1877), that the author of the *Slovo* was a native of Halicz, has today many supporters. Orlov, when comparing the poem with the 13th century Chronicle of Halicz-Volynia, sees many similarities between the two works. These appear in the picturesque descriptions of battles, in a taste for metaphors, in the high-flown sentiments of chivalry, in West-Slavonic borrowings in the syntax.[6] Cherepnin also draws attention to the similarity in the

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[1] The surmise formulated from time to time, according to which the author of our poem, when speaking of "old Vladimir", has in mind Vladimir Monomakh (d. 1125), has few arguments to recommend it.

[2] A. Lyashchenko, Etyudy o "Slove o polku Igoreve", *IORYS* XXXI, 1926, p. 150.

[3] A. Brückner, Słowo o wyprawie Igora, *BN* L, 1928, pp. 11—2; A. Orlov, 750-letie Slova, *VAN*, 1938, p. 71.

[4] A. Lyashchenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 146—7; N. Gudzy, *Slovo*, p. 72; V. Rzhiga, Neskolko myslei po voprosu ob avtore "Slova o polku Igoreve", *IANOLY* XI (5), 1952, p. 438.

[5] I. Novikov, *Slovo o polku Igoreve i ego avtor*, 1938, p. 72.

[6] A. Orlov, "Slovo o polku Igoreve" kak literaturnyi pamyatnik, in *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, by several hands, 1945, pp. 36—7.

style and the artistic description of events.[1] Durnovo, Zarubin, and others also declare themselves in favour of the Haliczian descent of the author of the *Slovo*.[2] Yugov goes so far as to identify the poet with Mitusa of Przemyśl, mentioned in the Chronicle under the year 1241.[3] Grekov considers Yugov's conjecture not unacceptable.[4]

And yet this hypothesis must arouse objections, even at first sight. The author of the *Slovo* mentions over ten rivers in his poem. It is difficult to imagine that if he had come from Halicz he could have forgotten his native Dniester, or, if a Volynian, that he could have forborne to mention the Bug.

It must be stressed that the attribution of a Haliczian descent to the author of the *Slovo* is based purely on the literary analysis of the work. The historical sources, as is shown at some length in the IVth Chapter, preclude the adoption of such a conjecture. The poem is supposed to be a work of the whole Rus, whereas the inhabitants of the upper Dniester and the Bug region have, at the time we are considering, a decided feeling of their distinctness from their eastern, Slavonic neighbours. If the Chronicle of Halicz—Volynia actually exercised some influence over the author of the *Slovo*, this does not mean much in relation to the author's place of origin ; in fact, it might only show where some later writer chose his model.

How are we to explain this great diversity of conjectures concerning the place where the poem may have been written ? Which of the scholars is right when he declares himself in favour of one region rather than another ? The answer may sound paradoxical, yet it is to the point: nobody is wrong and nobody is right. Every student chose some fragment of the *Slovo* as a basis for his conjecture, being little concerned with other passages of the same work, or with criteria other than those which he himself applied. The diversity of existing suppositions shows that the text of the *Slovo* is not a sufficient ground for discovering the place where the work originated, and whence the author was descended. A poet could, in later times, draw from the most diverse sources material for his work, without identifying himself expressly with anyone of the principalities in existence at the time.[5]

The pagan element comes to the fore in the *Slovo*. The author brings the forces of nature into action, and enumerates the ancient gods, such as Veles, Dazhbog, Stribog, etc. ; but at the same time he tells how God helped Igor in his flight from the Polovtsians, and how that Prince, after his return

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[1] L. Cherepnin, Letopisets Danila Galitskogo, *IZ*, 1941 (12), pp. 236—9.

[2] N. Durnovo, Vvedenie v istoriyu russkogo yazyka, *SFFMU*, 1927, p. 97; N. Zarubin, Zarya utrennyaya ili vechernyaya? *TODRL* II, 1935, pp. 149—50.

[3] A. Yugov, Istoricheskoe razyskanie ob avtore " Slova o polku Igoreve ", in *Slovo o polku Igoreve* ,by several hands, 1945, pp. 173—9.

[4] B. Grekov, *Rus vremen " Slova o polku Igoreve "*, p. 14.

[5] "Wherever the *Slovo* may have originated, be it at Kiev, Chernihov, Halicz, Polotsk, or Great Novgorod, for even that has been asserted, it has not incorporated any provincial features." D. Likhachev, Slovo o polku Igoreve. Istoriko literaturnyi ocherk, in *Literaturnye pamyatniki*, by several hands, 1950. On a linguistic basis, some scholars think that the *Slovo* may have been written in any of the territories just mentioned, while others consider that this could have happened only in the southern lands ; cf. V. Chaplenko, Mova Slova o polku Igorevi, *SI* VIII, 1950, pp. 1—26.

home, thanked the Mother of God for his rescue. And on many occasions the poet stresses the fact that the Polovtsians, the enemies of Rus, were pagans.

The observation has frequently been made in the literature on the subject that all this mythology is unreal in character; that it does not represent the paganism of the Slavs as it really was; that it is markedly superficial, artificial, and literary.[1] If this were true, we should have to regard this pagan element of the *Slovo* as a poetical metaphor and a literary adornment. It is impossible to disregard the fact that according to the *Slovo* the whole expedition of Igor is reducible to a struggle of the " grandsons of Dazhbog ", or the Rus, with the " children of Satan ", or the Polotvsians.[2] Such a point of view greatly obscures the actual background of the events of 1185.[3] Many scholars are of the opinion that the pagan element in the *Slovo* testifies against the authenticity of the poem. Jakobson and others take a different view and think that the *Slovo* faithfully renders the conditions that existed in eastern Europe at the time. According to them, the same man could be a Christian and a pagan simultaneously (*dvoeverie*).[4]

No religion wins the adherence of the whole population of a country at once. To attain this end a long time is needed everywhere. If scholars suppose that, at the close of the 12th century, paganism and Christianity still confronted one another among the Eastern Slavs, it is certain, nevertheless, that at this time the more cultured and distinguished strata of society professed the faith of Christ. Only the common people still adhered to to paganism. But neither Igor nor his companions were of that class. The author, therefore, when describing the expedition against the Polovtsians, in which the broad mass of the people took no part, was under no obligation to introduce the pagan element into his narrative. Since he did so, this would prove that he himself felt a kinship with the most backward part of the population.[5] This is all the more astonishing, as all students are agreed that he must have been a man of broad education and extensive

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[1] E. Anichkov, *Yazychestvo i drevnyaya Rus*, 1914, pp. 329—30; A. Brückner, *Mitologia słowiańska*, 1918, pp. 29—32; V. Peretts, *Slovo*, p. 54; M. Hrunsky, *Pitannya*, p. 443; A. Brückner, Słowo, *BN*, 1928, p. 10; S. Urbańczyk, Religia pogańskich Słowian, *BSSUJ* VI, 1947, p. 10. Similar opinions have been expressed by L. Léger, A. Mazon, and others.

[2] If we followed the reasoning of Ainalov, we should have to assume that Igor himself was called by the poet the grandson of the pagan god Troyan. Cf. D. Ainalov, Zamechaniya k tekstu Slova o polku Igoreve, *TODRL* II, 1935, p. 92.

[3] I. Budovnits, Ideinoe soderzhanie Slova o polku Igoreve, *IAN* VII (2), 1950, p. 152, observes that the Russian chroniclers show less hatred towards the pagan Polovtsians than the author of the poem.

[4] V. Rzhiga, Slovo o polku Igoreve i drevnee russkoe yazychestvo, *S* XII, 1933—4, pp. 432—3; E. Lyatsky, Neudachnyi pokhod na " Slovo o polku Igoreve ", *S* XVII, 1939—40, p. 385; A. Orlov, *Geroicheskie temy*, p. 33; S. Obnorsky, *Ocherki*, p. 196; R. Jakobson, *L'authenticité du Slovo*, pp. 351—9.

[5] If we assume that the author was deeply versed in old pagan traditions, which in the 12th century may have been still alive among the people, it would follow that he was himself of the people, and felt at one with them. However, as has been demonstrated by Istrin, the poetic work of the author of the *Slovo* was in no way popular, but decidedly " literary ". V. Istrin, *Ocherk istorii drevne-russkoi literatury*, 1922, p. 189. A. Orlov, 750-letie Slova, *VAN*, 1938 p. 70, also suggests that the artistic substance of the poem contains many elements acquired through reading and more especially, much rhetoric. The syntax of the *Slovo* is eminently artificial; cf. M. Peterson, Sintaksis " Slova o polku Igoreve," *S* XIV, 1936—7, pp. 591—2.

reading.[1] He knew not only the chronicles of his native land, but also foreign sources. In his poetical motives he follows the compilation known as *Chronograph*, which contains Flavius' "History of the Jewish War," and draws from the Bible, the Chronicles of Constantine Manasses, of John Malalas, etc.[2] Connections have been noted between the *Slovo* and the popular epics of the southern Slavs,[3] the western songs of chivalry,[4] and the poetry of the northern countries.[5] All this would show how well the poet had prepared his ground, while it seems most improbable that a person involved in pagan beliefs and traditions could have had such an extensive knowledge of literature.

The opinion is fairly unanimously held that the author of the *Slovo* was a layman. The idea of sin and of divine vengeance, which in those days served as an explanation of all misfortunes afflicting man, of war, famine, and pestilence, is absent from his mind.[6] But the strongest argument in support of this thesis are the pagan tenets of the author, which have survived in his work.

Let us consider a significant detail. The poet calls the Rus grandsons of Dazhbog. It is generally assumed that the semi-pagan bard was an ardent "patriot" of Rus. The same character is also imparted to "Nestor", and both these men are supposed to have lived and written in the same century. Now, we know with what detestation and contempt the author of the *Povest* speaks of paganism among the Slavs.[7] The question is whether it was possible for two outstanding "patriots" to take such diametrically opposite views on the same subject, and whether the fact that one of them was a layman and the other a cleric is sufficient to explain the contradiction.

Theoretically speaking the author of the *Slovo* may have been a layman. In Great Novgorod the art of writing was wide-spread among the laity,

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[1] The very first words of the poem show that the poet began his work with a classical exordium, so typical of all good epic poems. We find here all the elements of the exordium, the words addressed to the reader, the indication of the hero, and the invocation of the Muse, the role of which is here played by the mythical bard, Boyan.

[2] V. Peretts, "Slovo o polku Igoreve" i istoricheskie bibleiskie knigi, *SRYS*, 1928, p. 14; A. Orlov, *Perevodnye povesti feodalnoi Rusi i Moskovskogo gosudarstva XII—XVII vv.*, 1934, pp. 6—25; *idem*, *Drevnyaya russkaya literatura*, p. 99; N. Gudzy, "Istoriya Iudeiskoi voiny" Iosifa Flaviya v drevnerusskom perevode, in *Starinnaya russkaya povest*, by several hands, 1941, pp. 38—47; L. Cherepnin, Letopisets Daniila Galitskogo *IZ*, 1941, p. 237; R. Jakobson, *op. cit.*, pp. 290—307, etc.

[3] N. Derzhavin, "Troyan" v Slove o polku Igoreve, *VDI* I (6), 1939, p. 177; V. Gordlevsky, Chto takoe "bosyi volk" k tolkovaniyu "Slova o polku Igoreve," *IANOLY* VI, 1947, p. 324, and others.

[4] N. Dashkevich, Opyt ukazaniya literaturnykh parallelei k "plachu Yaroslavny" v "Slove o polku Igoreve," *Jagić Festschrift*, 1908, pp. 415—22; G. Patrick, Le Chanson de Roland et le Dit des Guerriers d'Igor, RR XV, 1924, pp. 296—307; V. Dynnik, "Slovo o polku Igoreve" i "Pesn o Rolande," in *Starinnaya russkaya povest*, by several hands, 1941, pp. 48—64.

[5] R. Abicht, A. Luther, etc. As for G. Barats, O bibleiskom elemente v "Slove o polku Igoreve," *Sobranie trudov po voprosu o evreiskom elemente v pamyatnikakh drevne-russkoi pismennosti*, I (2), 1927, pp. 685—732, that author considers that the poet knew Jewish writings and that judaisms occur in the *Slovo*.

[6] A. Brückner, *Historia literatury rosyjskiej* I, 1922, p. 105; V. Istrin, *Ocherk*, p. 185; B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus*, p. 326; V. Adrianova-Peretts, Slovo o polku Igoreve i ustnaya narodnaya poeziya, in *Literaturnye pamyatniki. Slovo o polku Igoreve*, 1950, p. 295.

[7] Cross, pp. 141—2.

as the most recent archaeological findings testify.[1] But the same does not necessarily apply to other cities of eastern Europe. The Novgorodians acquired the art of writing, because they carried on trade on a great scale; proficiency in writing, however, is not tantamount to the participation of laymen in the development of letters.[2] It remains a fact that of the 240 Russian writers who are known to have lived before the close of the 16th cent. not less than 190 were monks, 20 belonged to the secular clergy, and only 30 were laymen.[3]

Starting from the assumption that the author of the *Slovo* was a layman, some students have endeavoured to determine the position he occupied in his lifetime. Most of them think he must have belonged to the retinue of a prince.[4] As he describes the expedition of Igor, some suggest that he must have belonged to the warriors serving under that Prince. But there is little to commend such a conjecture. Did the author of the *Slovo* take part in the raid against the Polovtsians ? We do not find in the work a single detail to justify such an assumption. The poem describes Igor's feat of arms in the most general terms, in a literary, artificial style, devoid of any personal accent or impression. A man who had seen the tragic fate of the princely host and had shared in its vicissitudes, would have had a very different feeling for the events he described. We must, therefore, agree with Brückner and Lyashchenko when they say that the poet did not take part in the expedition,[5] and did not witness the tragedy which developed in the desolate steppe.

This observation does not lend support to the hypothesis that the author of the *Slovo* was one of Igor's retainers. The poet shows exactly the same sympathy for Igor as for other princes of the same epoch, and it is clear that he was closely linked to none. Orlov understood this, and, in order that the hypothesis of the authenticity of the *Slovo* should appear more probable, he made that retainer travel from one princely court to another.[6] It is possible that a warrior might transfer his allegiance from one lord to another. But we venture to doubt whether such cases were frequent, and whether it was possible to pass from one principality to another quite as often as would follow from the text of the *Slovo*. There were many antagonisms among the princes, and no one would rely completely upon a wanderer

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[1] See p. 178.

[2] It is often assumed that the most frequent form of secular poetical activity were war records ; cf. D. Rasovsky, Drevne-russkoe svetskoe mirovozzrenie, *ZRIOP* I, 1927, pp. 23—4. It is sufficient to point out the broad scope of interest in affairs by no means only ecclesiastical, but also secular—political and military—shown by the author of the *Povest*.

[3] N. Baynes—H. Moss, *Byzantium*, 1948, p. 375.

[4] According to N. Sharleman, Iz realnogo kommentariya k " Slovu o polku Igoreve," *TODRL* VI, 1948, pp. 111—24, the poet was also an accomplished hunter.

[5] A. Brückner, Słowo, *BN*, 1928, p. 8. A. Lyashchenko, Etyudy o " Slove o polku Igoreve ", *IORYS* XXXI, 1926, pp. 137—58, analyses the text of the poem, and comes to the conclusion that the beginning of the Slovo was written before Igor's return from Polovtsian captivity, that the author must have witnessed Igor's entry into Kiev, and that it was probably through personal conversation with that prince that he had learned of the fate of the expedition. But all these details show that Lyashchenko did not believe the author of the *Slovo* took part in the campaign of 1185.

[6] A. Orlov, *Drevnyaya russkaya literatura*, p. 99.

and trust him. And why should the poet abandon one prince and enter the service of another if he cherished such a warm affection for the first ?

The lack of foundation for all these conjectures was pointed out by V. Rzhiga, who writes as follows : " The idea that the author of the *Slovo* was a member of a prince's retinue, whether of Igor, or Svyatoslav, or Yaroslav of Halicz, must be definitely rejected. If we assume that the author was a retainer of Svyatoslav (of Kiev), it is difficult to understand how the idea originated in him to sing the praises of the Prince of Novgorod-Seversk and to describe Igor and the persons closely linked to him with such familiarity . . . If we consider that the author belonged to the *boyars* of Halicz-Volynia, it becomes unintelligible how, in those surroundings, a panegyric on the power of Yaroslav could have been conceived . . . , since . . . it is well known that this Prince . . . , a friend of the Byzantine Emperor . . . , imbued with the ideal of Caesarism, struggled all his life with *boyar* opposition. If, finally, we see in the author of the *Slovo* one of Igor's retinue, it is impossible to explain how a retainer of the Prince of Novgorod-Seversk, while singing the deeds of his master, could at the same time overcome his social dependence and adopt an attitude which can only be described as independent of the individual princes."[1] Rzhiga comes to the conclusion that the *Slovo* did not originate in a knightly environment, but against a strictly princely background ; the author of the poem must have been either a prince, or, as is more probable, the court poet of some prince.[2]

The value of Rzhiga's work is chiefly negative, and consists in the fact of his having demonstrated that the poet should not be sought among the princely retainers. Rzhiga's own thesis, on the other hand, is much less convincing. We know nothing of the court poets of this period. It would be strange if a relatively unimportant prince of Novgorod-Seversk, in contrast with other and far more powerful descendants of Rurik, should have been the only one to keep at his court such a highly educated and talented man.

In fact, when speaking of the relations of the semi-pagan author with the Christian princes, we cannot say with any degree of certainty that they had been especially intimate. It is true that the poet devotes much space to the descendants of Rurik, that he extolls their deeds and their power, that he exhorts them to fight together against the pagans, but at the same time he is a very severe critic and judge of these princes. The poet soars high above the throng of contending dukes, and addresses them in bitter tones of reproach and condemnation. He reprimands them in the name of the purely political ideal, which he serves, the defence of " the land of Rus ". This political maturity of the author of the *Slovo*, his sobriety, his broad territorial programme, are all phenomena unknown to the period in which

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[1] V. Rzhiga, " Slovo o polku Igoreve " kak poeticheskii pamyatnik Kievskoi feodalnoi Rusi XII v., in V. Rzhiga-S. Shambinago, *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, 1934, pp. 157—9.

[2] Rzhiga has also pertinently remarked that there is a complete lack of any detailed mention of particular retainers. The retinue is treated impersonally, as a body, as a background against which the princes are depicted.

they are supposed to have occurred. And the extraordinary fact of their appearance is further stressed by the combination in the poem, of two elements which rarely coincide in real life: poetical talent and political realism. We could debate for a long time as to whether the author of the *Slovo* was greater as a poet or as a statesman.

The composition of the work also appears to be unusual. Certain students defend the unity of its composition,[1] but here again opinions differ widely. One often comes across the theory that originally the poem did not exist in the form which we know today, that it was produced from several distinct songs ; that certain parts were added later ; that the *Slovo* underwent emendations, some of which may have been very extensive.[2]

Let us sum up our remarks.

The poem was preserved in only one manuscript, the history of which appears to be highly mysterious. It is supposed to be a historical source of the 12th century, yet it depicts the reality of that period with shocking errors. It is alleged to derive from popular poetry,[3] yet its connections with that poetry are slender and artificial. The place of origin of the poem can be fixed with as little certainty as that of the author. The author is assumed to have been both Christian and pagan. Being half a pagan, he had, nevertheless, read widely the works of Christian authors, and the knowledge of the literatures of many countries, which he is credited with, is truly astounding. It is difficult to guess what role he played in life, or to what social class he belonged.[4] It is alleged that he was a prince's retainer, but that he did not take part in the expedition against the Polovtsians. At a time when the princes were at loggerheads with one another, he felt the same warm sympathy for them all, and simultaneously he scolded them for their lack of concord. He was a poet and a statesman in one person, etc., etc. Every work can be anomalous in a certain direction, but in this case[5]

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[1] E.g. V. Rzhiga, Kompozitsiya Slova o polku Igoreve, *S* IV, 1925—6, pp. 44—62 ; I. Eremin, " Slovo o polku Igoreve " v sovetskom literaturovedenii, *TODRL* VI, 1948, pp. 19—20.

[2] I. Frank, Die Komposition des " Slovo o polku Igoreve ", *ASP* XXIX, 1907 ; A. Potebnya, *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, 1914, pp. 2, 51, etc. ; L. Magnus, *The Tale of the Armament of Igor A.D.* 1185, 1915 ; S. Shambinago, Slovo o polku Igoreve, in *Istoriya russkoi literatury do XIX v.*, ed. by A. Gruzinsky, pp. 170—87 ; I. Mandichevsky, *Slovo o polku Igorevi*, 1918, p. 32 ; E. Lyatsky, Slovo o polku Igoreve, *PSU* XII, 1933 ; *idem*, Zvukopis v stikhovom tekste " Slova o polku Igoreve ", *S* XVI, 1938—9, pp. 50—78 ; A. Pogodin, Novye issledovaniya ob epicheskom elemente v russkoi letopisi, *S* XIII, 1934—5, etc.

[3] Many authors emphasize that the *Slovo* developed from popular poetry. See V. Adrianova-Peretts, " Slovo o polku Igoreve " i russkaya narodnaya poeziya, *IANOLY* IX (6), 1950, pp. 409—18 ; *idem*, Istoricheskaya literatura XI—nachala XV v. i narodnaya poeziya, *TODRL* VIII, 1951, p. 114 ; D. Likhachev, Literatura, in *Istoriya kultury drevnei Rusi domongolskogo perioda*, by several hands, II, 1951, p. 212, and others.

[4] I. Eremin, " Slovo o polku Igoreve " v sovetskom literaturovedenii, *TODRL* VI, 1948, p. 20 and V. Rzhiga, Neskolko myslei po voprosu ob avtore " Slova o polku Igoreve," *IANOLY* XI (5), 1952, p. 428, summing up the results of all the studies undertaken to the present time, come to the conclusion that nothing palpable can be said of the author of the *Slovo*.

[5] This has been noticed by many authors who believe in the authenticity of the poem. In order to defend their point of view they have to assume that the *Slovo* as a work is " mysterious," "exceptional", and " unique." See A. Brückner, *Historia literatury rosyjskiej* I, 1922, p. 105; *idem*, Słowo, *BN*, 1928, p. 4; A. Orlov, 750-letie Slova, *VAN*, 1938, p. 62; *idem*, Slovo o polku Igoreve kak literaturnyi pamyatnik, in *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, by several hands, 1945, p. 44, and others.

the anomalies are really too numerous; and this confirms me in the opinion that the *Slovo* is not genuine.

I should like to give my reasons for this opinion in some detail. Let us consider the poet's attitude toward Rus. Many students have voiced unanimous opinions on the subject. "The author of the *Slovo* . . . was a true son of the whole land of Rus, a representative of the Russian nation";[1] he was "an ardent patriot,"[2] "the ideologist of the unity of the whole Russian country."[3] "The poet suffers with his nation; he suffers for it. This was the nation which created the greatness of Kiev, which united the East Slavonic tribes; a nation which set itself great aims, and, what is more, knew how to achieve them."[4] "The *Slovo* is a poetical elegy expressing anguish because the Russian reality at the time did not in any way correspond to the national ideal."[5] "For the contemporaries of the author of the *Slovo*, the whole Russian country is one; it forms one whole. Although at that time a series of independent principalities had already sprung up—Chernihov, Polotsk, Halicz, Suzdal—the contemporaries of the author of the *Slovo* are not yet penetrated by local patriotism, and the princes, as well as their retainers, look upon each part of the country simply as upon 'the land of Rus.' This term is the only one which is used to designate a territory inhabited by a Russian population."[6]

Numberless opinions of a similar kind could be quoted, but they are all based on a single source, the *Slovo* itself. As a matter of fact, the poem endows the term "land of Rus" with an ethnical, national meaning.[7]

When reading the *Slovo*, one is impressed, on the one side, by the strong bond of sentiment which links the poet to the land of Rus, but on the other, by his lack of palpable interest in it, a fact which appears in the extreme penury of geographical detail in his poem.[8] The author does not fill the land of Rus with names of rivers, places, etc., but only with the names of princes who divided it between them. He speaks of Vsevolod, but never mentions his towns, Rostov, Suzdal, Vladimir on the Klyazma; of David, but without mentioning Smolensk; of the sons of Gleb, but without any reference to Ryazan; of Roman without alluding to Vladimir in Volynia; of Vsevolod without Łuck; of Mstislav without Peresopnica, etc. Even when he calls Yaroslav ruler of Halicz and seems to take an interest in his

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1 A. Orlov—V. Adrianova Peretts—N. Gudzy, *Istoriya russkoi literatury* I, 1941, p. 394.
2 V. Adrianova-Peretts, *Voinskie povesti drevnei Rusi*, 1949, p. 116. I. Budovnits, *Ideinoe soderzhanie Slova*, 1950, p. 158, expresses a similar opinion.
3 A. Orlov, "*Slovo o polku Igoreve*" *kak literaturnyi pamyatnik*, 1945, p. 44.
4 B. Grekov, *Rus vremen "Slova o polku Igoreve"*, 1945, p. 16.
5 D. Lyubavsky, *Drevnyaya russkaya istoriya do kontsa XVI v.*, 1918, pp. 143—5.
6 V. Istrin, *Ocherk istorii drevne-russkoi literatury*, 1922, pp. 187—8.
7 In the latest studies the author of the *Slovo* is credited, without any justification whatever, not only with national but also with class consciousness, with the defence of the working classes. See V. Adrianova-Peretts, "Slovo o polku Igoreve" i russkaya narodnaya poeziya, *IANOLY* IX (6), 1950, pp. 410, 418; D. Likhachev, "Slovo o polku Igoreve." Istoriko literaturnyi ocherk, in *Literaturnye pamyatniki*, 1950, p. 238; *idem*, Obshchestvenno—politicheskie idei "Slova o polku Igoreve," *TO DRL* VIII, 1951, p. 21.
8 It is easy to become convinced of this if one compares two maps: one based on the data which occur in the Chronicle of "Nestor", such as the one attached to the translation of Cross (or of Likhachev), and another, inserted in the translation of the *Slovo*, *AIP HOS* VIII, 1948, p. 99.

land, he strangely enough passes the Dniester over in silence, but writes a great deal about the Danube. Yet it would be an error to conclude that the poet neglects the geographical factor in general. On the contrary, he shows great interest in it.

The poem in no way confines itself to the description of Igor's expedition against the Polovtsians, but deals with a number of other problems which did not have any relation either in space or in time to that campaign. The *Slovo* covers 150 to 200 years of the history of Rus, and mentions nearly 40 princes, many of a period anterior to the middle of the 12th century. The *Slovo* is by no means a learned treatise; the author is primarily interested in making an impression on the reader. That is why he broadens the chronological limits within which the poem moves, in order to have greater liberty in the choice of facts taken from the chronicles, to have the opportunity of establishing comparisons, making digressions, indulging in flowery phrases; it is these that seem to represent the most essential part of his work, and in these passages we cannot complain of any lack of geographical nomenclature. There appear the Danube and Korsun (Kherson) with Surozh (Sugdaea) in the Crimea, and Tmutorokan in the straits of Kerch; and there is even room to mention the Caucasian tribe of the Kasogians. And if we turn our attention from the South to the West, to the border of Lithuania, we shall find Grodno,[1] and the river Nemiga, a tributary of the Svisloch, and Polotsk, and the Dvina, etc. We cannot deny the author of the poem consummate adroitness; he deals parsimoniously with what might be called the internal geographical features of Rus[2] in order to place its frontiers in strong relief. Reading the *Slovo*, one has the impression that the " Russian nation " occupies all the territories reaching from the Danube and the Black Sea in the South, from the mountains of Hungary and the Lithuanian border in the West, to Great Novgorod in the North and the Volga in the East. Orlov has said that the true hero of the *Slovo* is the whole Russian land.[3] This thesis should be expressed with greater precision; the true theme of the poem is: the frontiers of Rus. And it is here that the intention of the author, whoever he was, becomes distinctly visible.

We have devoted Chapter I of this work to the analysis of the problem of Rus in the period reaching from the 10th to the 13th century. It resulted from our investigations that in this period Rus had a double meaning: the one was narrower; it was geographical and political, and was confined to the land of the Polyanians and Severians, comprising Kiev, Chernihov, and Pereyaslavl; the other was much broader in scope, for it was religious, and comprised all the peoples, Slavs and non-Slavs, who professed the faith

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[1] M. Szeftel, Commentaire historique au texte du Slovo, *AIPHOS* VIII, p. 136, expresses the opinion that the words: *truby gorodenskii* (the trumpets of Gorodno) are to be taken as alluding to Gorodets, in the region of Minsk. I, for my part, maintain that what is meant here is Grodno on the Niemen. See H. Paszkiewicz, *Jagiellonowie a Moskwa* I, 1933, pp. 8—10.

[2] Evidently we must here set aside the geographical indications relating to Igor and his expedition against the Polovtsians, taken from the chronicles and indispensable for the description of the campaign.

[3] A. Orlov, 750—*letie Slova*, p. 71.

of Rus. The author of the poem is at variance with all the material preserved in the sources, when he attributes to the word "Rus" a meaning nowhere to be found in the days when the action is supposed to take place. And herein lies the main proof of forgery in relation to the *Slovo*.[1]

Here I may be allowed to quote the opinion of Istrin: "The literature of the period which extends from the 11th to the 13th century . . . is lacking in an element which is, on the contrary, very marked from the 15th to the 17th century. It is a peculiarity of these early writings that they lack any ideology . . . Literature was universally Russian, without any local (particularistic) tendencies." And the same scholar writes further on: "As to the literature produced from the 11th to the 13th century . . . it was, during this period, without any dominating centre, yet was developed in all parts of Rus of the period, a certain preponderance of the South being evident at first, and later of the North-East. That is why it cannot be called either Kievan or Rostovo-Suzdalian . . . In fact, it would be best to call it the literature of the pre-Moscow period." "The clergy, educated in the South, brought with them into the North the books . . . according to which they celebrated the offices of the Church, and were in the land of Rostov-Suzdal . . . the propagators of letters. There is no justification for doubting the rapid appearance in the North-East of Rus of other books, in addition to those which were indispensable for religious purposes . . . In this way a literary work produced anywhere in the South

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[1] The defenders of the poem's authenticity frequently use the following argument: there occur in the *Slovo* words of Turkish origin, which could not have been invented in later centuries. See S. Malov, Tyurkizmy v yazyke "Slova o polku Igoreve," *IANOLY* V, 1946, p. 139; A. Zajączkowski, Związki językowe połowiecko-słowiańskie, *PWTN* XXXIV, 1949, p. 51. The origin and meaning of these words have already been the subject of some lively polemics in the first years of the current century between P. Melioransky and F. Korsh (*IORYS*, vols. VII, VIII, X, and XI). Of late, the opinions expressed in commentaries on these words differ greatly; cf. the critical remarks of V. Rzhiga, Vostok v "Slove o polku Igoreve," in *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, by several hands, 1947, pp. 159—89, concerning the work of Malov already quoted.

The majority of the words of Turkish origin which we encounter in the *Slovo* occurs in the Russian chronicles, and the author of the poem had no difficulty in adopting them. Only a negligible number of Turkish words in the *Slovo* do not appear anywhere else. The author of the poem could have copied them from some source which has been lost, or else has hitherto been overlooked by scholars. In my opinion, the Turkish elements in the *Slovo* are irrelevant to the problem of the poem's authenticity.

Scholars are specially interested in the well-known passage of the poem where it is said that Prince Yaroslav of Chernihov was supported by the Tatrans (*Tatrany*), and Shelbirs (*Shelbiry*), and Topchaks (*Topchaki*), and Revugs (*Revugi*), and Olbers (*Olbery*); cf. Cross' English translation, *AIPHOS* VIII, 1948, p. 167. Some scholars think that these are tribal names (L. Rásonyi, Les noms de tribus dans le "Slovo o polku Igoreve", *SK* VIII, 1936, pp. 293—9) designating parts of the Koui tribe (D. Likhachev, in his Russian translation of *Slovo*, 1950, p. 91). Others believe these names to be titles, offices, or nicknames of particular persons (Malov). And yet even in this passage, which is credited with containing Turkish names not to be met with anywhere else, we should connect *Olber* with the *boyar* Olbeg, who, according to the Hypathian Chronicle, killed the Polovtsian Itlar in 1095. The question occurs whether *Topchaki* does not mean *Torchaki* ("Nestor" speaks of: Torcheskii gorod, Torchin, Tortsi, etc.). The instance of the term "Rus" shows how very arbitrarily the author of the poem fashioned these appellations according to his liking. In the sources of the period in question there occur two terms: "Rusin" in the singular, and "Rus" as a collective noun; but a name of "Rusitsi" or "Rusichi," as used by the poet, is nowhere to be found. B. Unbegaun, Les Rusiči—Rusici du Slovo d'Igor, *RES* XVIII, 1938, pp. 79—80.

became immediately known also in the North, at Novgorod in the first place, and later also in the land of Rostov-Suzdal."[1]

These passages of Istrin's contain some pertinent remarks. The author very rightly names the period of Russian literature under consideration the pre-Moscow period, as the literature of the Moscow period, from the 15th to the 17th century, has, politically considered, a completely different aspect. This early literature was, in truth, devoid of any ideas of a national character, but it would be a serious mistake to suppose that the literature dating from the 11th to the 13th century was lacking in any ideas at all; on the contrary, it served the religious ideal in a way which is quite unmistakable. That is why it lacks all local particularities; that is why it was transferred so easily and began to thrive in many parts of eastern Europe. This period of literature may well be called universally " Russian " in the religious sense of the term.

Solovev draws attention to a literary work of the 13th cent., *Slovo o pogibeli Russkoi zemli* (The Discourse on the Ruin of the Land of Rus), and considers this work as the strongest evidence for the authenticity of our poem.[2] This historian points to the connection existing between the two works in the form of an equally broad use of the term " the land of Rus ", broad in the sense of territorial significance. The author of the *Slovo o pogibeli*, when describing the beauty of that land and its riches, cries out: " Thou aboundest in everything, O Land of Rus, O Orthodox Christian faith !" To him, the conception of the land of Rus is synonymous with that of religion, of the Christianity of Rus.[3] That is why the author of the *Slovo o pogibeli* enumerates, as the neighbours of the land of Rus, the peoples following different creeds, both Christian, such as the Hungarians, Czechs, Poles, and Germans, and pagans, such as the Yatvingians, Lithuanians, Mordvians, Burtas, and others.[4] The author of the *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, for his part, uses the term " the land of Rus " in an ethnical and national sense, and therein lies the fundamental difference between the two works, a contrast which Solovev does not perceive.

Another comparison which suggests itself is that of the *Slovo o polku Igoreve* with the *Zadonshchina*.[5] The latter has often been unfavourably judged in the past,[6] but an important change in this respect has taken place

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[1] V. Istrin, *Ocherk istorii drevne-russkoi literatury*, 1922, pp. 6, 9, 34.

[2] A. Solovev, Politicheskii krugozor avtora " Slova o polku Igoreve," *IZ* XXV, 1943, pp. 71—103; cf. M. Hrushevsky, *Istoriya ukrainskoi literaturi* II, 1923, p. 207.

[3] The author of the *Slovo o pogibeli* describes vast territories of eastern Europe, which became subordinated to the " Christian *yazyk* " of Rus. It is obvious, therefore, that the author endowed the term " Rus " with a religious significance. (See Chapter I).

[4] For remarks on these neighbours of the land of Rus—M. Tikhomirov, Gde i kogda napisano " Slovo o pogibeli russkoi zemli," *TODRL* VIII, 1951. Yet the author's conclusions regarding the origin of the *Slovo o pogibeli* and the time when it was written are open to far-reaching objections, as Tikhomirov gives an erroneous interpretation of the term " the land of Rus."

[5] V. Adrianova-Peretts, Zadonshchina, *TODRL* V, 1947, pp. 194—224; *eadem*, Zadonshchina, K voprosu o rekonstruktsii avtorskogo teksta, *IANOLY* VI (2), 1947, pp. 95—100; *eadem*, *Ocherki poeticheskogo stilya drevnei Rusi*, 1947, pp. 116, etc.; *eadem*, *Voinskie povesti drevnei Rusi*, 1949, pp. 33—41, 143—65.

[6] M. Speransky, *Istoriya drevnei russkoi literatury*, 1921, p. 25; an equally unfavourable view of the poem is taken by A. Brückner and others.

of late.[1] The *Zadonshchina* is superior to the *Slovo*, because its connection with the period to which it belongs is much closer; because it is much more realistic in its presentation of events, and because it stands up to criticism on many points. It does not contain all the anomalies which occur at every step in the *Slovo*.

The *Zadonshchina* made a profound impression on contemporary and subsequent generations. It was evidently in harmony with the feelings and convictions of the time, when it was much more highly appreciated than by later scholars. The style of the *Zadonshchina* is simpler than that of the *Slovo*.

The author of the *Zadonshchina*, known by name and descent, glorifies contemporary events. Although there were a number of principalities in the 14th century, the *Zadonshchina* is composed in honour of the ruler of Moscow, Dimitri Ivanovich. It shows no tendency to speak in the same tone of the many contending princes.

Those who take part in the battle on Kulikovo Pole (1380) fight with the Tartars" for the land of Rus and the Christian faith," " for the Holy Church, for the land of Rus and for the Christian faith," etc. And again, as in the *Slovo o pogibeli* and in many other sources, the land of Rus here signifies the territory inhabited by those who profess the faith of Rus. There is one characteristic feature which confirms us in this conviction: among those who take part in the expedition against the Tartars there are two sons of Algirdas, Grand Duke of Lithuania. One of them, Dimitri, says to the other: "Brother Andrew, we shall not spare our lives for the land of Rus and the Christian faith." At first sight, this Russian " patriotism " on the part of a Lithuanian might well excite some astonishment, were it not for the fact that both sons of Algirdas professed the faith of Rus. The author of the *Zadonshchina* praises the heroic Lithuanians, attributes to them a considerable part in the battle, and shows no trace of national prejudice in referring to them. He attributes no national meaning whatever to the conception of Rus. Most emphatically, the poet opposes Christian Rus to the pagan Tartars. And there is in his poem none of that complete obliteration of religious elements which is so striking in the *Slovo*.

In the *Zandonshchina*, the ancient bard Boyan appears in a half legendary form. I do not wish to discuss the problem as to whether he is a real or only a symbolic figure. Now the author of the *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, who, in truth, drew the motif of Boyan from the *Zadonshchina*, presents him as a man living at the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century.[2]

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[1] A. Mazon, La Zadonscina, *RES* XVIII, 1938; J. Frcek, Zádonstina, *PSU* XVIII, 1948.

[2] It is generally assumed (e.g. N. Shlyakov, Boyan, *IRYS* I (2), 1928, pp. 483—98; M. Tikhomirov, Boyan i Troyanova zemlya, in *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, 1950, p. 176; V. Rzhiga, Neskolko myslei po voprosu ob avtore " Slova o polku Igoreve," *IANOLY* XI (5), 1952, pp. 730—1) that Boyan lived in the 11th century. L. Cherepnin, " Povest Vremennykh Let," ee redaktsii i predshestvuyushchee ei letopisnye svody, *IZ* XXV, 1948, pp. 328—9, identifies Boyan with Yan Vyshatich who figures in the Chronicle of " Nestor." Orlov considers that the author of the *Slovo* was about 50 years younger than Boyan. According to Adrianova-Peretts, he was as much as 100 years younger. See A. Orlov, " *Slovo o polku Igoreve* " *kak literaturnyi pamyatnik*, p. 33; V. Adrianova-Peretts, " *Slovo o polku Igoreve* " *i russkaya narodnaya poeziya*, p. 416.

Thus Boyan, who is alleged to have lived some decades before the expedition of Igor, appears in the *Slovo* as a half-mythical character, although a 12th century writer might have had quite precise information about him from men of his father's or grandfather's generation.

The author of the *Slovo* drew on the *Zadonshchina* by handfuls ; he took from it many motives and characteristic details ; he copied long fragments verbatim or almost verbatim.[1] There were reasons for this,[2] and the literary and artistic values of the *Zadonshchina* played an important part.

The publication by Jakobson and others, entitled *La Geste du prince Igor*, ends with Orlov's words : " We, Russian scholars, must make common cause with students beyond the frontiers, in order, by way of mutual help, to attain objective truth."[3]

I think that, for the sake of this objective truth, the hypothesis of the authenticity of the *Slovo* should be categorically rejected.

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[1] I abstain from formulating the relation between the two works more precisely, because a great many scholars have given their attention to this problem.

[2] The friendly attitude of the *Zadonshchina* towards the ruler of Moscow, Dimitri Ivanovich, the fact that in both works the action develops in the region of the Don, etc.

[3] *AIPHOS*, VIII, 1948, p. 362.

3

THE TERRITORY OF THE ULICHIANS

Usually the following text of the *Povest* is considered as decisive in this matter: . . . " the Ulichians and the Tivertsians lived by the Dniester, and extended as far as the Danube. There was a multitude of them, for they inhabited the banks of the Dniester almost down to the sea."[1]

The joint location of Ulichians and Tivertsians renders all the more difficult our task of determining the territory occupied by each of these tribes. But if we consider that the Ulichians are mentioned first, and that they are cited as neighbours of the Croats, the inference surely is that the Ulichians lived somewhere on the banks of the middle or the southern reaches of the Dniester, while the Tivertsians were to be found along its lower course, and further to the South-West, in the direction of the Danube.[2]

The Ulichians figure for the second and last time in the legendary part of the *Povest*: Oleg is said to have fought them and the Tivertsians in the year 885.[3]

When describing expeditions of the Rus against Constantinople—that of Oleg in 907, and that of Igor in 944—the chronicler, truthfully or fictitiously, mentions the part taken in them by the Tivertsians, but is silent as regards the Ulichians. Now, from the geographical point of view it was impossible to dominate the Tivertsians without having, as a preliminary step, conquered the Ulichians, and once this conquest had taken place, the latter would have taken part in the diverse military undertakings of the Rus.

The omission of the Ulichians would suggest that this tribe abandoned the region of the Dniester after 885, but before 907 (if we adhere to the chronology of the Chronicle). However, other sources testify to the presence of the Ulichians to the East of the Carpathians in the course of the 10th century, or at least up to the middle of that century. The striking scarcity of information concerning the Ulichians in the *Povest* is the most convincing proof that this tribe was not in immediate contact with the Polyanians in the days of Vladimir the Great and later, for otherwise some repercussion of this association would surely occur in the Chronicle.

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[1] Cross, p. 141.

[2] G. Fedorov, Tivertsi, *VDI*, 1952 (2), pp. 252—3. On the maps attached to their works both Cross and Vernadsky place these tribes in this way. Likhachev (*Povest* II, 1952), on the other hand, locates them in reverse.

[3] Cross, p. 147.

Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De Administrando Imperio*) remarks, in the middle of the 10th century, that a branch of the Pechenegs bordered on tribes which were dependent on Rus: among others on the *Oultines* (Ulichians) and the *Dervlenines* (Derevlians). If the Pechenegs extended to the land of the Derevlians, which can be located on the map, the Ulichians could not have lived on the middle or the lower course of the Dniester.[1] They would have been cut off from Kiev by the Pechenegs, and our sources do not justify the conclusion that the Rus ruled over the Pechenegs, or over any group of them. Thus, in the middle of the 10th century, the Ulichians must have inhabited other regions than those indicated by "Nestor": namely, territories situated further to the North-East. If they recognized the authority of Rus, that shows that they dwelt near the Polyanians. It follows from the order in which the neighbours of the Pechenegs are enumerated by Porphyrogenitus that the Ulichians extended, or nearly extended, to the land of the Derevlians—which means that they inhabited the country lying to the South of the sources of the rivers Sluch and Horyn. Now, if the settlements of the Polyanians reached the upper Boh, the Ulichians must have occupied the area lying immediately to the West of that river. Thus, a close examination of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' text leads to the conclusion that the country inhabited by the Ulichians about 950 was a region situated between the upper Boh and the middle Dniester.

That our inference is correct finds support in the *Nachalnyi Svod* (the Primary Compilation), a source older than the *Povest*. Here we learn that originally "the Ulichians lived on the lower reaches of the Dnieper (*i besha sedyashche Ulichi po Dnepru vniz*, i.e. to the South of the Polyanians), and later on moved in between the Boh and the Dniester, and settled there (*i po sem preidosha mezhyu Bg i Dnestr, i sedosha tamo*)."[2]

The *Nachalnyi Svod* states that the Ulichians abandoned the lands on the Dnieper as a result of the conquest of that tribe by Sveneld about 940. This commander of Prince Igor besieged Peresechen, the city of the Ulichians, for three years. If it were possible to indicate the exact position of that city, we should be in possession of important data for ascertaining the original territory of the Ulichians. Some scholars think that Peresechen lay far to the South-West of Kiev, between the Dniester and the Prut.[3] An analysis of later sources, made by Rybakov, led this scholar to the conclusion that Peresechen should be looked for close to the Stuhna, a right bank confluent of the Dnieper, or on the Dnieper itself.[4] This, however, is contradicted by the fact that the territory in question undoubtedly belonged to the Polyan-

[1] If the Ulichians had lived in the above mentioned territories, then they would have been the neighbours of those groups of the Pechenegs which—according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus—lived in proximity of the Bulgarians (the province of *Giazichopon*) or Hungarians (the province of *Kato Gyla*).

[2] A. Shakhmatov, Povest Vremennykh Let, *LZAK*, 1916, p. 373; A. Nasonov, *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis starshego i mladshego izvodov*, 1950, p. 109. In some versions of the *Povest*, not only the Dniester, but also the Dnieper and the Boh regions are mentioned as the territory of the Ulichians. See D. Likhachev, *Povest* II, 1950, p. 226.

[3] D. Likhachev, *op. cit.* II, Map.

[4] B. Rybakov, Ulichi, *KSDPI* XXV, 1950, pp. 5—7.

ians. It would be difficult to assume that the Ulichians could have lived in such close proximity to Kiev. To make his hypothesis more probable, Rybakov assumes that the Ulichians were driven into the territory of the Polyanians by the Pechenegs. However, we know nothing of any happenings which would lend support to such an assumption.

The *Nachalnyi Svod* relates that the first Varangians, Oskold and Dir, " fought against the Derevlians and Ulichians ", and later " Igor established himself at Kiev, and ruled (there), and kept the peace with all countries, and waged wars only against the Derevlians and Ulichians " These facts belong to an earlier time than the already mentioned victory of Sveneld. As the above source invariably mentions both the tribes together, we may be allowed to assume that they must have lived in the same region, even if that region can only be vaguely delimitated. From the text of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (about 950) it follows that the Ulichians lived at no great distance from the Derevlians. It may be, therefore, that the Byzantine Emperor was able to record a newly arisen situation (the migration of the Ulichians after 940), or—which is more likely—that the Ulichians abandoned the lands on the Dnieper before the conquest of Sveneld, unless that conquest took place before 940. In the last eventuality the date transmitted by the *Nachalnyi Svod* could not be regarded as reliable. In the light of the data available we reach the conclusion that we have no foundation for a more precise assessment of the original territory of the Ulichians.[1]

" Nestor " describes a later phase of the history of the Ulichians, when they were pushed a considerable distance to the South-West, and became neighbours of the Tivertsians.

By whom and when were the Ulichians pushed out of the Polyanian-Derevlian borderland ?

The Polish chronicler Master Vincent mentions both Hungarians and Pechenegs among the peoples subject to Poland in the reign of Bolesław the Great (992—1025). This information is indirectly confirmed by Thietmar, who lived in the first quarter of the 11th century.[2] He says that both Hungarians and Pechenegs reinforced Poland in the campaign against Kiev. In these records, which narrate the events of the early 11th century, there is no reference to the Ulichians. It would appear, then, that this

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[1] In my opinion, Rybakov is mistaken in assessing the territories occupied by the Ulichians. His work invites the following criticism : A) the author indulges in a very arbitrary interpretation of tribal names ; thus he treats the *Lenzenines* and the *Lenzanines*, mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, as two distinct tribes who had nothing in common ; on the other hand, he considers that the *Oultines* and the *Lenzenines* were one and the same tribe. B) Rybakov believes that the Byzantine Emperor placed the Ulichians both on the Dnieper and the Dniester —though it is obvious that if the tribe occupied one territory, it could not occupy the other one. C) He indicates the bend of the lower Dnieper, where the river turns from the south-eastern to the south-western direction, as the original territory of the Ulichians, which finds no support in the situation of Peresechen, the fortified city of the Ulichians. D) Constantine Porphyrogenitus writes of the particular clans of the Pechenegs on the right bank of the Dnieper and states that the province of *Jabdiertim* adjoined the *Oultines* (Ulichians) and *Dervlenines* (Derevlians) and *Lenzenines*, while the province of *Charaboï* adjoined Rus. Rybakov's arguments and the map (p. 10) attached to them would indicate that the last named group of Pechenegs also adjoined the Derevlians and the *Lenzenines*, which is not supported by and contrary to the text of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

[2] Both sources are the object of a more detailed enquiry in Chapter IV.

tribe must have been forced into the territory indicated by " Nestor " in the latter half of the 10th century.

That the new migration of the Ulichians took place under the pressure of the Pechenegs[1] follows from the fact, noted by Thietmar, that these steppe nomads took part in the Polish expeditions against Rus in the years 1013 and 1018. The Pechenegs, having occupied the former territory of the Ulichians between the Boh and the Dniester, were, by force of circumstances, involved in the struggle between the Rurikides and the Piasts. In the course of time, probably in the 11th century, the Pechenegs in turn were pushed further to the West by the Polovtsians. This does not exclude the possibility of a small remnant of the Pechenegs having remained behind on the Boh for some time. A number of circumstances speak in favour of such a conjecture,[2] and among them the most important is the existence, in the 12th and 13th centuries, of a territory inhabited by Bolokhovtsians (*Bolokhovo*) along the upper reaches of the rivers Sluch, Boh, and Teterev,[3] and consequently in the borderland between Polyanians, Derevlians, and Buzhians.

A great deal has been written on the origin of the Bolokhovtsians. The most probable conjecture is that they were the settled remnants of the Pechenegs, and perhaps even of the Ulichians.[4] They might also have been Polovtsians.[5] The rise and the relatively long existence of this small political entity, which differed strongly from its Slavonic neighbours in its social and political structure, was a consequence of the deep penetration, in the 10th and 11th centuries, by steppe nomads of the borderlands between the " Eastern " and " Western " Slavs.

Macartney stresses the part played by the Pechenegs in the history of south-eastern Europe. It was they who forced the Hungarians to the West, and deepened the rift between the " Southern " and " Eastern " Slavs.[6] One more observation might be added to these pertinent remarks.

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[1] The Pechenegs were regarded as the most cruel of all the pagans: . . . "ad omnium paganorum crudelissimos Pezenegos . . . " *MPH* I, p. 224; —and as a very powerful people: . . . " gentem validam. . . " *MPH* II, p. 279, etc.

[2] For instance, in 1162 the Polovtsians captured bands of " Black Caps " (*Chernye Klobuki*), the remnants of the former Turks, Pechenegs, and others, in the region of the river Ros. Cf. D. Rasovsky, O roli Chernykh Klobukov v istorii drevnei Rusi, *SK* I, 1927, p. 96.

[3] A. Baranovich, Naselenie predstepnoi Ukrainy v XVI v., *IZ* XXXII, 1950, p. 230.

[4] The names of the strongholds of the Bolokhovtsians—such as Derevich, Gubin, Kobud, Kudin, etc.—sometimes sound Slavonic, and sometimes do not. The Slavonic appellations may have been relics of the Ulichians, or they may have occurred as a result of Slavonic colonization in later times, and Slavonic intermixture with the local element.

[5] Some scholars regard the Bolokhovtsians as Polovtsians (Sharanevich), others as Polovtsians mixed with Slavs (Zubritsky, Barsov), others as Wallachians (Petrushevich, Linnichenko, Miklosich), others again as Slavs (Dashkevich), or Slavs intermixed with " Black Caps " (Hrushevsky), etc. Shakhmatov linked the Bolokhovtsians with the Ulichians. Conjectures that the Bolokhovtsian princes were members of the Rurik dynasty can claim little probability. For general remarks on the subject of Bolokhovo, cf. M. Hrushevsky, *Istoriya Ukraini-Rusi* III, 1905, pp. 155—9; O. Andriyashev, Litopisne Bolokhovo i Bolokhovski knyazi, *NZUAN* XXXII, 1929, pp. 20—31; B. Włodarski, Rola Konrada mazowieckiego w stosunkach polsko-ruskich, *ATNL* XIX, 1937, p. 22, etc.

[6] C. Macartney, The Petchenegs, *SEER* VIII, 1929, p. 342; cf. G. Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica I, Die byzantinischen Quellen zur Geschichte der Türkvölker, *Magyar-Görög Tanulmányok* XX, 1942.

By their deep penetration between the Dniester and the Boh, the Pechenegs greatly reduced the region of contact between the "Eastern" and "Western" Slavs. The latter bordered on the Derevlians only in the East, and on the Polyanians only along a short frontier.[1]

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[1] We do not here take into consideration the frontier which existed between the Mazovians and the Dregovichians.

4

THE CROAT TERRITORY

When mentioning the Slavonic tribes which lived in the East of Europe, " Nestor " was in the habit of indicating the territories inhabited by them. The Croats are referred to without such a geographical commentary.[1] But a critical examination of the sources allows us to establish the facts approximately. All students agree, quite rightly, that the Croats dwelt to the West of the Polyanians.[2] As the latter extended to the upper reaches of the Boh, the settlements of the Croats must have been situated to the West of that river. The problem can be restricted if we keep in mind the fact that between the Boh and the Dniester the Ulichians, and later the Pechenegs, held sway.[3] Thus, the territory of the Croats extended in an easterly direction no further than the Dniester.

When speaking of the Croats, " Nestor " enumerates their neighbours : the Dulebians, Ulichians,[4] and Tivertsians. He locates the first on the Bug, a tributary of the Vistula, and the other two on the Dniester, and as far as the Danube and the Black Sea.[5] His reference to the Danube and the Black Sea indicates that he has in mind the middle and especially the lower reaches of that river.

Summing up, we arrive at the following results : the Croats dwelt on the East of the San,[6] on the South of the Bug, on the West of the middle course of the Dniester. This does not mean that they occupied the whole of this very large area. But we are seeking only to establish the broadest outline of the territory in which we can locate this tribe.

The fact that " Nestor " has given us no indications concerning the territories inhabited by the Croats does not authorize us to conclude that

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[1] The White Croats are excluded from this enquiry, as they are ranged in the *Povest* with the Moravo-Czech ethnical group.

[2] This is indicated in the passage of the *Povest* which deals with the six tribes living in peace. The author begins by mentioning the Polyanians and then enumerates : to the North-East of Kiev, the Severians, Radimichians, and Vyatichians; to the North-West, the Derevlians, and finally, to the West, the Croats. Cf. Cross, p. 141. The Croats must also have lived in the near or remote neighbourhood of the Polyanians. Otherwise what would be the meaning of references to the peace they are said to have kept ?

[3] See Appendix : " The Territory of the Ulichians."

[4] The contiguity of Croats and Ulichians is rightly pointed out by R. Jakimowicz, Prehistoria ziem polskich. Okres wczesnohistoryczny, *EPPAU* IV (1), 1939—1948, pp. 416—7.

[5] Cross, p. 141.

[6] A. Żaki, Sprawozdanie z prac badawczych, prowadzonych w Wietrznie-Bóbrce, powiat krośnieński, i okolicy, *PZ* VII (11—12), 1951, pp. 499—509, assumes on the base of the archaeological discoveries that the territory of the Vistulians stretched towards the East to the river San.

he did not know where that tribe lived. If the chronicler represents the Croats as marching against Constantinople at the bidding or desire of Oleg (907), together with the Dulebians and Tivertsians,[1] we must conclude, quite independently of the truthfulness of the report, that it was easier for that prince to force or induce his closer neighbours to take that action than a people living very far to the West of Kiev.

The above considerations confirm us in the conviction that we should locate the Croats somewhere in the south eastern part of the area outlined, and consequently at the foot of the eastern Carpathians.

There exists a source which by a strange coincidence has been overlooked by historical writers and which is essential in regard to the Croat problem. This is the Polish Chronicle of Master Vincent, dating from the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th centuries. Vincent was a native of the Cracow region and, in point of fact, Bishop of that see. Consequently the information contained in his work deserves great attention. Now, when enumerating the peoples dependent on Poland in the reign of Bolesław the Great (992—1025), this chronicler also mentions the Croats.

Vincent drew his information on the conquest of Moravia, Bohemia, and Hungary by the afore-said monarch from the Chronicle of "Gallus", who was many years his senior. But he supplemented his predecessor's text by two particular facts: he included among the tribes conquered by the Poles,[2] the Croats and the Pechenegs.[3] The links of the Croats with Poland find confirmation in the events of 992;[4] that the Pechenegs were also connected with Poland is confirmed by Thietmar. There is therefore no reason to doubt the report of Vincent.

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[1] Cross, p. 149.

[2] ". . ." (Boleslaus) Moraviam, Bohemiam suae subiciens ditioni, suis posteris reliquit vectigales; urbem Pragensem secundariam sui regni sedem constituens, Hunnos seu Hungaros, Cravacios et Mardos gentem validam suo mancipavit imperio." MPH II, p. 279. In Master Vincent the Croats are described by the terms: *Cravacii*, *Carvacii*, *Crovacii*. "Gallus" calls Croatia *Crovacia*, which he mentions beside Dalmatia and Istria.

[3] O. Balzer, Studium o Kadłubku, *Pisma pośmiertne* I, 1934, pp. 250 and 317, makes light of Vincent's quoted narrative, because the Mardi, in the distant past, dwelt on the border of Media and Persia. But we must remember that Vincent was in the habit of calling the pagan neighbours of Poland by the names of powerful peoples known in antiquity. That is why he introduces into his work the Mardi, the Parthians, and others. Literary metaphors of this kind were customary at the time, as can be seen from Emperor Frederick I's description of his victory over the Poles in 1157, where he says that the Poles were helped by their neighbours the Parthians, a name by which the Polovtsians were evidently designated. "Polani . . . auxilio vicinarum gentium Ruthenorum, Parthorum, Pruscorum et Pomeranorum maximum exercitum collegissent." *MGH* XXII, *Script.* XX, p. 418. Or yet another instance of the same literary fashion: Master Gervase of Tilbury, in his work referring to the period, enumerates the peoples living to the South of Kiev: "Inter Graeciam et Russiam sunt Gethae, Plancti (the Polovtsians) et Coralli, paganorum gens ferocissima." S. Kętrzyński, Ze studiów nad Gerwazym z Tilbury, *RPAU* XLVI, 1903, pp. 6—8, added a most pertinent commentary to this text, in which he explained that terms such as "Gethae" and "Coralli" are simply evidence of Gervase's classical scholarship and learning.

There can be no doubt that by the Mardi Vincent means the Pechenegs whom he rightly describes as *gens valida*. A. Przeździecki, *Magistri Vincenti episcopi Cracoviensis Chronica Polonorum*, 1862, p. 76, renders "Mardi" by "Pechenegs". F. Bujak, *Studia geograficzno-historyczne*, p. 80, is of the same opinion.

[4] For details see Chapter IV of this work.

But another detail deserves to be noted. The Polish chronicler mentioned the Croats not when he relates the conquest of Moravia and Bohemia by Bolesław the Great, but when he speaks of the subjection to Poland of the Hungarians and Pechenegs. Geographical considerations must have been decisive here. But if the Croats were neighbours of the Hungarians and Pechenegs, our opinion that they dwelt at the foot of the eastern Carpathians is fully justified.

5

THE DULEBIAN LEAGUE

The opinion is very frequently encountered in historical works that before the rise of the Kievan State, the Eastern Slavs already formed supra-tribal organizations. Those usually mentioned in this connection are the powerful league headed by the Dulebians (6th century), and the later political formations, Slavia, Kuyaba, and Artania, of which Arabic writers speak. The Oriental sources, however, do not refer to the Slavs on this point, but to the Rus, whom they very clearly distinguish from the former. What remains, therefore, is the Dulebian league.

Klyuchevsky, in his time, put forward the hypothesis that the Dulebians subjected a number of East Slavonic tribes.[1] The Dulebian State, in its turn, is supposed to have been destroyed by the Avars about the 7th century. Klyuchevsky's views recently found a champion in B. Grekov,[2] whose opinions in turn were approved by other scholars.[3]

Let us consider what confirmation these facts find in the sources. The hypothesis is erected on the statement of Mas'udi, an Arabic writer of the 10th century, that in the old days the Slavs were subject to the *Valinana* or *Velinana*, a tribe over which ruled *Majak*. This tribe is identified with "Nestor's" Volynians, and on the authority of the same source it is substituted for the Dulebians. Finally, the historians usually quote the "Bavarian Geographer" of the 9th century, who knows a tribe of the *Velunzani*. "Nestor" writes: "The Dulebians dwelt along the Bug, where the Volynians are now found."[4] But the chronicler, who uses the past tense in the first instance, and the present in the second, simply states that, at different times, the Dulebians and the Volynians existed in the same territory, and does not make the slightest allusion to their being identical. It should be added that Mas'udi knows the tribe of the Dulebians quite independently of the *Valinana-Velinana*, and in addition ranges them both among the Western Slavs.

Mas'udi has preserved both truthful and distorted information. He lived far from the lands in which we are interested here, and in the case of the Dulebian league he was reporting on events supposed to have taken

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[1] V. Klyuchevsky, *Kurs russkoi istorii* I, 1918, pp. 124—6. The English translation is by C. Hogarth.

[2] The subject is treated by Grekov in many of his works: Na zare russkogo gosudarstva, *IsZ*, 1942; *Kievskaya Rus*, 1944; *Borba Rusi za sozdanie svoego gosudarstva*, 1945; Obrazovanie russkogo gosudarstva, *IAN* II (3), 1945, etc.

[3] S. Yushkov, *VoI*, 1946 (1), p. 142; V. Picheta, *VDI*, 1946, p. 108; V. Mavrodin, *VoI*, 1950, p. 57, etc.

[4] Cross, p. 141.

place some centuries before his time. Thus, we have no source to confirm the author's opinions, nor do the archaeological findings in Volynia in any way support such a hypothesis.

Finally, a remark concerning the tribal name. Vernadsky rightly observes that Mas'udi's *Velinana* can hardly have any connection with the Volynians. It must be added that the reading *Valinana* (or *Velinana*) in Mas'udi's text is doubtful. In the Leyden manuscript the name is written without diacritical marks; it may be read in several different ways, to suit any commentator's imagination: *Veliamana*, *Veliamata*, *Velinamia*, etc. In the manuscript of Al-Bekri's work, the name is spelt *Velinbaba*.[1] Some scholars—e.g., Lewicki, Widajewicz—adopt the form of *Veletaba* (*Velitaba*, *Vlitaba*) and identify that tribe with the Veletians, settled between the lower reaches of the Odra and the Elbe.[2]

Even if we were to agree that the form *Valinana* was correct, a new difficulty would appear. There were Volynians not only on the Bug, but also in Bohemia,[3] and at the mouth of the Odra, where the town of Wolin was situated.[4] It cannot be assumed that Mas'udi's mention refers exclusively to the people on the Bug, especially in view of the fact that he wrote about the Western Slavs.

Three inferences result from the preceding enquiry:

1. The *Povest* does not authorize us to identify the Dulebians with the Volynians.

2. There is no certainty as to whether Mas'udi's text does or does not contain the word "*Velinana*."

3. In the sources, diverse ethnic groups of Volynians appear, and there is no reason to connect them exclusively with the Bug region.

Further arguments may be adduced. "Nestor" very clearly implies that the term "Volynians" belonged to his own time, and was of relatively recent origin. It is doubtful whether Mas'udi could have known the appellation and still less the "Bavarian Geographer" of the 9th century, who mentions the "Velunzani."[5] Klyuchevsky, Grekov, and others assume that the State of the Dulebians in Volynia included several East Slavonic tribes, but it is difficult to affirm that a distinction between "Eastern" and "Western" Slavs already existed in the 6th and 7th centuries of the Christian era. The *Povest* does not consider the Bug region in historical times an East Slavonic territory, as is explained at greater length in Chapter III.

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[1] G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, p. 322.

[2] T. Lewicki, Państwo Wiślan-Chorwatów w opisie al-Mas'udi'ego, *SPAU* XLIX, 1948, p. 25; *idem*, Świat słowiański w oczach pisarzy arabskich, *SA* II (2), 1949—50, p. 356; *idem*, Jeszcze o Wieletach, *PS* II, 1951, pp. 107—20; J. Widajewicz, Studia nad relacją o Słowianach Ibrahima ibn Jakuba, *RPAU* XLVI, 1946, pp. 18—27; *idem*, *Weleci*, 1946, p. 15; *idem*, *Początki Polski*, 1948, p. 29; *idem*, Mas'udi o Wieletach, *PS* I, 1949, pp. 55—82. On the other hand, W. Hensel, Szkice wczesnodziejowe, *SA* II (2), 1950, pp. 286—94, relates Mas'udi's information to the State of the Venedi which, in the 4th century, existed on Polish territory.

[3] E. Simek, Dúdlebi, *SA* I, 1948, p. 349.

[4] Cf. "Vuloini" in the Chronicle of Widukind, *Rerum Gestarum Saxonicarum libri tres*, 1935, p. 143; cf. R. Kiersnowski, Kamień i Wolin, *SPAU* LII, 1951 (5), pp. 338—40.

[5] Those Velunzani should be connected with the locality of Welunecz on the Odra, mentioned by the Chronicle of Poland Major (*Kronika Wielkopolska*).

While mentioning Dulebians and Avars, "Nestor" never writes a word indicating the role attributed to the Dulebians by certain historians, though this passage would have offered him a special opportunity of recording facts of this kind. Elsewhere in his work he enumerates a series of East Slavonic tribes who produced fairly strong organizations,[1] but the Dulebians and Volynians do not figure among them.

The hypothesis of the existence of a Dulebian league of tribes cannot be regarded as probable.[2]

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[1] Cross, p. 140.

[2] V. Dovzhenok—M. Braichevsky, O vremeni slozheniya feodalizma v drevnei Rusi, *VoI*, 1950 (8), pp. 75—6, identify the alleged Dulebian State with that of the Antes. But in the sources there is no foundation whatever for such a conjecture.

6

THE LYAKHS AND THE ORIGIN OF THE RADIMICHIANS AND VYATICHIANS

The present enquiry is divided into two parts, of which the first is of a more general nature, and deals with the name of Lyakhs, with the people that bore that name and with the State that they created. A number of observations made on this subject serve as a kind of introduction to the second part, which treats of the origin of the Radimichians and Vyatichians.

The name " Poland " (*Polonia*) appears in the sources at the end of the 10th century. But this country and people also figure under another name. Among the Eastern Slavs the Poles were called Lyakhs (*Lyakhove*, *Lyakhy*).[1] The Hungarians spoke of the *Lengyel* (*Lengyelek*), the Lithuanians of the *Lenkas* (plur. *Lenkai*), the Serbo-Croats, chiefly in their popular epic poetry, of the *Ledyanin*; and in the Mohammedan East, Poland was known as *Lekhistan*.

The name " Lyakhs " is also met with though less frequently in Poland itself. The first to use it was the Polish chronicler Master Vincent writing at the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century. Again and again, he speaks of the *Lechitae*, meaning the Poles.[2] This appellation appears also in later Polish chronicles[3] as well as in a letter written by Casimir the Great to the Patriarch of Constantinople about 1370.[4] Many chroniclers made unsuccessful attempts to explain the term.[5] At the present time, the

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[1] In his English translation of " Nestor ", Cross begins by using the term " the Lyakhs ", but later, as from the year 1030 (p. 225), he speaks of " Poland " and " the Poles ". Sometimes, even before 1030, he introduces the name " Poland " (cf. pp. 210 and 222). If the reader is not conversant with " Nestor " in the original, he will be under the impression that the chronicler was using different terms for different subjects. However, from the beginning to the end of the *Povest*, there occurs only the one appellation: " the Lyakhs ". Therefore, the translator should consistently use this term, only indicating in brackets or in footnotes that what is meant is Poland and the Poles.

[2] *MPH* II, 1872, passim. In former times, it used to be thought that this term was invented by Vincent himself. Yet this has been proved incorrect, as at an earlier date the Byzantine writer Kinnamos (1118—1173) already knew the *Lechitae* under the form *Lechoi*.

[3] For instance, the 13th—14th cent. Chronicle of Poland Major (*Kronika Wielkopolska*): . . . " cum tota gente Lechitarum seu polonica " (*MPH* II, p. 482); . . . " totius regni Poloniae seu Lechitarum " (*ibid.*, p. 472), etc.

[4] *MPH* II, pp. 626—7; cf. O. Halecki, La Pologne et l'Empire Byzantin, *B* VII, 1932, p. 46.

[5] The Hungaro-Polish Chronicle derives the name of *Lengyel* from the Hungarian word "*legeny*" which signifies a companion, a warrior. See T. Lehr-Spławiński, Zagadnienie Chorwatów nadwiślańskich, *PS* II, 1951, p. 27; R. Jamka, Uwagi o badaniach lingwistycznych nad przeszłością Słowian w świetle archeologii protohistorycznej, *PS* III, 1952, pp. 33—6. Master Vincent derives the *Lechitae* from the lengendary Lech. In the 14th century, in Czech and Polish sources, we find the legend of the three brothers—Lech, Czech, and Rus. Much importance is attached to this legend by I. Yanushevsky, *Otkuda proiskhodit slavyanskoe plemya Rus*, 1923. This work, however, met with no favourable reception by writers dealing with the subject. See A. Florovsky, *S* IV, 1925—6, pp. 605—7; *idem*, *Sbornik praci I sjezdu slovanskych filologu* II, 1932, pp. 52—3 and 868—9; *idem*, *Chekhi i vostochnye slavyane* I, 1935, pp. 3—4; A. Solovev, Zametki o dogovorakh Rusi z Grekami, *S* XV, 1938, p. 403.

opinion is held by scholars that the name of the Lyakhs (*Lechitae*) is derived from *lęch*. This was the abbreviation of a fuller form containing the root *lęd*, which appears in the Proto-Slavonic word *lęda*. Among the Eastern Slavs we have *lyada*,[1] among the Czechs *lada*, words which designated uncultivated land lying waste.[2] The appellation, therefore, was of a topographical character, which indirectly proves the antiquity of its origin. A man living on a *lęda* was originally called *Lędzianin* or *Lędzanin*.[3]

Constantine Porphyrogenitus twice mentions the *Lenzanines-Lenzenines*.[4] Many scholars have pertinently remarked that this appellation is an older form of the name Lyaks, and means the Poles.[5] Linguistic considerations find full confirmation in data of a geographical character. Constantine Porphyrogenitus relates that one of the four groups of the Pechenegs, living on the right bank of the Dnieper (the province of *Iabdiertim*), adjoined the Ulichians, the Derevlians, and the *Lenzenines*, and that all these tribes were paying tribute to Rus. The Ulichians were at the time occupying the territory between the upper Boh and the middle Dnieper,[6] while the Derevlians stretched as far as the Horyn and the Sluch. The *Lenzenines*, therefore, if they were the vassals of Rus, could have occupied only the lands extending westward of the Derevlians. In short, the Byzantine Emperor enumerated the neighbours of the Pechenegs in a strictly geographical order, i.e. according to the territories they occupied. In Chapters III and IV of the present work, we analyse a number of sources which indicate that the Lyakhs-Poles were neighbours of the Derevlians and Pechenegs. This corroborates the evidence that the name of the *Lenzenines* refers to the Lyakhs.

In another passage of his work, Constantine mentions that the *Lenzanines* settled on the upper Dnieper in the proximity of the Krivichans. At an unascertained distance from the latter were living the Radimichians

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[1] The adjective *lyad-skii* which occurred in the language of the Eastern Slavs comes from the earlier name given the Lyakhs, namely *Lęd*. In Hungarian the "g" is pronounced like a softened "d" (*Lengyel*).

[2] K. Potkański, Lachowie i lechici, *RPAUF* XII, 1898, p. 214; L. Krzywicki, Nazwy plemienne, *RSo* III, 1935, pp. 404—5; G. Kochin, *Materialy dlya terminologicheskogo slovarya drevnei Rossii*, 1937, p. 184; A. Brückner, *Encyklopedia Staropolska*, 1937—9, pp. 753—4; T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Język polski. Pochodzenie. Powstanie. Rozwój*, 1947, pp. 58—9; R. *Trautmann, Die slavischen Völker und Sprachen*, 1947, pp. 120—1.

[3] "The Bavarian Geographer" of the 9th century speaks of a tribe named *Lendizi*. See S. Zakrzewski, Opis grodów i terytoriów z północnej strony Dunaju czyli t. zw. Geograf bawarski, *ATNL* IX (1), 1917, pp. 3—5.

[4] G. Moravcsik—R. Jenkins, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus. De Administrando Imperio*, 1949, pp. 56—7, 168—9.

[5] G. Ilinsky, Kto byli, *S* IV, 1925—6, pp. 314—9; N. Durnovo, Vvedenie v istoriyu russkogo yazyka, *SFFMU*, 1927, p. 206; K. Moszyński, *Kultura ludowa Słowian* II (2), 1939, pp. 1542—4; W. Taszycki, Słowiańskie nazwy miejscowe, *PKJ* XXIX, 1946, pp. 30—1; T. Lewicki, Państwo Wiślan-Chorwatów w opisie al-Mas'udi'ego, *SPAU* XLIX, 1948, p. 32; W. Hensel, *Słowiańszczyzna wczesnośredniowieczna*, 1952, p. 25. The name of the *Lenzanines—Lenzenines* is erroneously interpreted by V. Mavrodin, Osnovnye etapy etnicheskogo razvitiya russkogo naroda, *Vol*, 1950 (4), p. 58; D. Likhachev, *Povest Vremennykh Let* II, 1950, p. 215; B. Rybakov, Ulichi, *KSDPI* XXXV, 1950, pp. 8—9; J. Widajewicz, Pierwotna nazwa Polaków, *PS* III, 1952, pp. 37—57; *idem*, Pierwotne dzieje Polski, *PZ* VIII (11—12), 1952, pp. 380—85, and others.

[6] See Appendix: "The Territory of the Ulichians."

(and Vyatichians) who were, according to the *Povest*, of Polish descent. This astonishing congruence between Constantine Porphyrogenitus and "Nestor" makes indisputable the facts stated by them.[1]

In support of our point of view I should like to draw attention to a very late source, dating from the end of the 17th or the beginning of the 18th century, for whose preservation we have to thank Tatishchev, who incorporated it in his work. This is the so-called *Ioakimovskaya letopis*.[2] This Chronicle contains many facts which are misleading and utterly improbable; at the same time, however, it gives certain details concerning the 10th century which occur nowhere else and are more than likely, as we show in Chapter IV of this work. These more reliable parts of the Chronicle must have been drawn from other sources, which are now lost.[3]

The Chronicle has preserved a detail of considerable interest: Mieszko is alluded to as "Prince of the Lyakhs and Lenchans (*Lenchane*)." It is out of the question that in the second half of the 10th century a country and a tribe *Lenchane* otherwise unknown could have existed and that Mieszko should have ruled over it. On the contrary, it is plainly manifest that this appellation is identical with the *Lenzenines-Lenzanines*, *Lędzianie* (Lyakhs).

In the quoted title of the Polish Prince the *Lenchane* figure beside the broad supra-tribal community of the Lyakhs; their name, therefore, must also have implied something important. Evidently the late chronicler did not any more understand the old source on which he was drawing, so that he distorted its sense. The original text must have read: "Prince of the Lyakhs or Lenchans", and the copyist put *i* (and) in place of *ili* (or).[4] The most important fact remains that this source points to the link existing between this tribal name and the person of Mieszko.

It is as yet an unresolved problem with which part of Poland the Lyakhs should be connected. In the most recent writings touching on the subject this tribe is often identified with the Polyanians (*Polanie*) on the Warta,[5]

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[1] The hypothesis of Rybakov, *Ulichi*, p. 8, that the name "*Lenzanines*" refers to the Polochians, advanced in a purely arbitrary fashion and unsupported by the sources, is unacceptable.

[2] V. Tatishchev, *Istoriya rossiiskaya s samykh drevneishikh vremen* I (1), 1768, p. 38. See S. Bakhrushin, "Derzhava Ryurikovichei," *VDI* II, 1938, p. 90; M. Gorlin, La Chronique de Joachim, *RES* XIX, 1939, pp. 40—51; S. Shambinago, Ioakimovskaya letopis, *IZ* XXI, 1947, pp. 254—270.

[3] A. Shakhmatov, K voprosu o kriticheskom izdanii Istorii Rossiiskoi V. N. Tatishcheva, *DD* I, 1920, pp. 80—95.

[4] It may be that the author of the *Ioakimovskaya letopis* had two sources of information in one of which Mieszko figured as a ruler of the Lyakhs, and in the other, of the *Lenchane*. Seeing that in both cases the same person was mentioned, the chronicler combined the two names in one definition, without being aware that both these terms referred to the same subject. Sometimes, the very errors committed have their own significance.

[5] F. Bujak, Ustrój Polski w XI w., *SPAU* XLV, 1945, p. 70; K. Tymieniecki, Lędzicze (Lechici) czyli Wielkopolska w IX w., *PW*, 1946, pp. 161—72; *idem*, O państwie polskim w wiekach średnich, *RH* XVI, 1947, p. 40; *idem*, *Ziemie polskie w starożytności. Ludy i kultury najdawniejsze*, 1951, p. 49; Z. Wojciechowski, Bolesław Chrobry i rok 1000, *PZ*, 1948 (3), p. 239; *idem*, Polityczne znaczenie Odry w czasach historycznych, in the work by several hands entitled: *Monografia Odry*, 1948, p. 1; *idem*, *Państwo polskie w wiekach średnich. Dzieje ustroju*, 2nd ed., 1948, pp. 4—5, 14, etc.

and it is assumed that Polyanians is an appellation of the Lyakhs of later origin. Changes of the tribal names fixed by long tradition are not of frequent occurrence, and in attempting to reconstruct the distant past it is risky to assume happenings of an exceptional character.[1] "Nestor" knows the Polyanians on the Warta, and affirms that it was only in the course of time that they were included under the name of the Lyakhs, in the same way as were the Mazovians, Pomeranians, etc. The origin and extension of the name "Lyakhs" had a history directly opposed to that which is assumed by those who identify the Polyanians with the Lyakhs.

The *Povest* is a source of fundamental importance for this subject, and the passage which concerns it reads as follows: "For when the Vlakhs attacked the Danubian Slavs, settled among them, and did them violence, the latter came and made their homes by the Vistula, and were then called Lyakhs. Of these same Lyakhs some were called Polyanians, some Lutichians, some Mazovians, and still others Pomeranians (*sloveni zhe ovi prishedshe sedosha na Wisle, i prozvashasya lyakhove, a ot tekh lyakhov prozvashasya polyane, lyakhove druzii lutichi, ini mazovshane, ini pomoryane*)."[2]

Thus "Nestor" states, as does the "Bavarian Geographer", when writing about the tribe of the *Lendizi*, that there existed a distinct tribe of the Lyakhs, which in the course of time extended its name to its neighbours, near and far. We may infer that this happened as a consequence of conquest, as was the case in many other instances of similar developments.

Where, now, was the land of the Lyakhs in the strict sense of the word? It follows unequivocally from the *Povest* that the valleys of the Warta, of the lower Odra, of the middle and lower Vistula, were inhabited by the Polyanians, Lutichians, Mazovians, and Pomeranians respectively, and came only in a later period to be looked upon as Lyakh territory.

In the passage just examined, "Nestor" did not enumerate all the tribes which were comprised in the Polish State in the 10th century. Of some of them he may well have had no knowledge. Of others, such as the Buzhians and Croats, he was certainly aware, but he passed them over in silence, for reasons explained elsewhere in this study.[3]

Besides the four tribes mentioned by the chronicler, we might enumerate some others who were not called Lyakhs. These were the Silesians of the upper Odra valley, the Vistulians on the upper reaches of the Vistula, the Cuiavians (who were neighbours of the Mazovians, Polyanians, and Pomeranians), the Buzhians on the Bug, and the Croats who inhabited the foot-hills of the eastern Carpathians. All these territories we must therefore exclude from our consideration. What remains of Poland are the regions of Sieradz, Łęczyca,[4] Sandomierz, Lublin, and Przemyśl. These lands did not preserve the ancient tribal terminology. In later times, they

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[1] Z. Wojciechowski, Północna granica plemienna Wielkopolski i dalsze uwagi nad kształtowaniem się państwa Polan, *PZ* VIII (7—8), 1952, pp. 776—8.

[2] Cross, p. 138.

[3] Cf. Appendix: "A Polish Metropolitan See of the Slavonic Rite."

[4] A. Nadolski, Prace wykopaliskowe na grodzisku w Tumie pod Łęczycą w latach 1948—1949, in *Studia wczesnośredniowieczne*, by several hands, I, 1952, pp. 186—7.

bear distinctly provincial names, derived from those of their chief cities. This whole vast expanse of country, or some part of it, was inhabited by the tribe of the Lyakhs. This thesis finds support in two arguments.

In the first place, we must consider the directions in which the Lyakh State expanded. The passage of "Nestor" already quoted indicates a northerly direction, to the regions where the Mazovians and Pomeranians were settled, and also to the North-West, involving the Polyanians and Lutichians. In Chapters III and IV of the present work we have quoted several sources which show that the name of the Lyakhs was applied at this time to the territories situated on the Bug and the upper Dniester. In short, the Lyakhs extended their name to many tribes, and conducted their expansion toward all points of the compass. This confirms our conviction that the Lyakh territory was situated approximately in the centre of Poland.

"Nestor" relates that the Lyakhs settled on the Vistula (not on the Odra, the Warta, the Dniester, or the Bug). Here again we have evidence of the central position of the Lyakh territory. The chronicler of Kiev gives us an even more precise indication when he mentions the Mazovians and Pomeranians as tribes who assumed the name of Lyakhs only in the course of time. The Pomeranians occupied the land that lay along the lower reaches of the Vistula, the Mazovians were established on a part of its middle course. However, the whole upper course of the Vistula was not in the hands of the Lyakhs. We must remember that in the South, they bordered on the Vistulians.[1] The "Bavarian Geographer", writing in the 9th century, testifies to the existence of two distinct tribes, *Vuislane* and *Lendizi*.

The territory of the Lyakhs, situated between the lands of the Vistulians and the Mazovians, must have had a vast extension on both sides of the Vistula.[2] Constantine Porphyrogenitus calls the Vistula a Lyakh

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[1] How far the Vistulian territory stretched towards the North cannot be accurately indicated. Probably its border corresponded to the limits of the diocese of Cracow, and of the palatinate of Cracow as they existed in the Middle Ages. It would appear that on a certain sector it ran along the river Nida. See J. Widajewicz, *Początki Polski*, 1948, pp. 67—9; S. Kętrzyński, O zaginionej metropolii czasów Bolesława Chrobrego, *PIHUW* I, 1947, pp. 16—7. Scholars have not succeeded so far in fixing the capital of the Vistulians. Opinions remain divided between Cracow (with the Wawel hill), Tyniec, and Wiślica. Archaeological research conducted on the Wawel has not confirmed the conjectures to Cracow's character as a capital. See A. Żaki, Pradzieje Małopolski w świetle wykopalisk i opracowań, *ZOW* XIX, 1950, pp. 120—30; *idem*, Sprawozdanie z prac wykopaliskowych, prowadzonych na Wawelu w 1950r., *SPAU* LII, 1951, pp. 56—62; *idem*, Z pradziejów wzgórza wawelskiego, *ZOW* XX, 1951, pp. 75—86; Z. Wojciechowski, Gniezno-Poznań-Kraków na tle kształtowania się państwa Piastów, *PZ* VII, 1951, p. 357. Details of the archaeological studies carried on in various towns can be found in reports concerning excavations recently undertaken in connection with the millenium of the Polish State, *KH* LVII, 1949, pp. 346—53; *PZ* VI (3—4), 1950, pp. 169—95; *PH* XLIX, 1950, pp. 226—52; *PZ* VIII (5—6), 1952, pp. 299—365, etc.

[2] Scholars, when attempting to fix the outline of the Lyakh territory, generally concentrate on the names of towns and rivers which show some connection with the tribal name of the Lyakhs (e.g. the town, in later times the monastery, of Lenda—Landa, today known as Ląd, to the South-East of Gniezno; the city of Łęczyca on the Bzura; the little river Lada or Lyada, flowing into the Tanew, mentioned by the Chronicle of Halicz—Volynia, etc.). I do not consider this method appropriate, for it is not at all proved that the name of a tribe was echoed in the place-names of its territory. This can be seen both in Poland and among the Eastern Slavs.

river,[1] and this is fully borne out by "Nestor." In my opinion, Sandomierz was one of the chief cities of this tribe, and had a very old tradition, still clearly discernable in the 11th century.[2]

Many historians are of the opinion that in the latter half of the 9th century there existed a powerful Vistulian State.[3] But the one and only foundation for such a hypothesis to be discovered in the sources is a passage in the Life of St. Methodius, which relates how a pagan prince (in the second half of the 9th century) was forced by violent means to receive baptism. This prince resided "on the Vistula" (*w Wisle*) or, according to another version, "among the Vistulians" (*w Wislech*). This text can be understood to mean that his domain stretched along the Vistula, or that he ruled over the Vistulians.[4] It is the former interpretation that would appear to be the more convincing. "Nestor" asserts that the Lyakhs lived on the banks of the Vistula. According to the Life, the prince was "very powerful", and the chronicler of Kiev, when relating that the Lyakhs extended their name to other tribes, implicitly indicates that they must have represented a considerable power. It is most improbable that two political structures of a supra-tribal character could have existed on the banks of the same river, to the South of the Mazovians. In my opinion, both sources reflect the same reality, and the prince of which the Life of St. Methodius speaks, was a ruler not of the Vistulians, but of the Lyakhs. The fact that the name of the latter was preserved in the languages of a number of peoples can only be explained by the strength of the political tradition which was linked with the history of this tribe. Compared with that of the Lyakhs, the name of the Vistulians is met very rarely.[5] It is quite probable that the Vistulians

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[1] Constantine called the tribe on the Vistula *Dicyke*. But the text of the source has been spoilt by its editor, Meursius. P. Skok, Ortsnamenstudien zu De administrando imperio des Kaisers Constantin Porphyrogennetus, *ZO* IV, 1928 (unavailable to me), has corrected *Dicyke* and substituted *Licyke*. H. Grégoire, L'origine et le nom des Croates et des Serbes, *B* XVII, 1944—5, pp. 98—9, regards this correction to be well-founded. In the new edition of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (G. Moravcsik and R. Jenkins, 1949) the error has been amended, and in the Index the name *Liciki* has been connected with the Lyakhs (*Lenzenines*). For proof that the tribe of the *Liciki* is no other than the Lyakhs, see G. Labuda, *Pierwsze państwo słowiańskie. Państwo Samona*, 1949, pp. 212—3; T. Lehr-Spławiński, Z rozważań nad zagadnieniem Chorwatów nadwiślańskich, *SPAU* LI (1), 1950, pp. 18—20; K. Tymieniecki's review of the work of Labuda, *PH* XLIX, 1950, p. 267; J. Czekanowski, Z badań nad genezą państwowości polskiej, *ZM* II, 1951, pp. 746—7.

[2] See Appendix: "A Polish Metropolitan See of the Slavonic Rite."

[3] Recently this subject was treated in the most detailed manner by J. Widajewicz, Państwo Wiślan, *BSSUJ* II, 1947, pp. 1—110; *idem*, *Początki Polski*, 1948, pp. 65—72.

[4] The author of the Life tells us that St. Methodius had the gift of prophecy, and quotes this instance: "A very powerful pagan prince, who resided on the Vistula, mocked the Christians and did them damage. Methodius sent him the following message: 'It will benefit thee, my son, to be baptized of thy own free will and on thy own soil, so that thou art not baptized under constraint in a foreign land' . . . , as did actually happen." T. Lehr-Spławiński, Misja słowiańska św. Metodego a Polska, *CT*, 1932, pp. 4—5; Z. Wojciechowski, *Polska nad Wisłą i Odrą w X* w., 1939, p. 16; P. David, The Church in Poland from its Origin to 1250, in *The Cambridge History of Poland from the Origins to Sobieski*, 1950, p. 60; T. Dobrowolski, *Sztuka Krakowa*, 1950, p. 22, and others. J. Widajewicz, T. Lehr-Spławiński jako historyk, *PS* III, 1952, p. 14, thinks that the letter of the German Bishops to the Pope John IX of the year 900 (*CDERB* I, p. 31) supports to a certain degree the information of the Life of St. Methodius.

[5] J. Widajewicz, *Państwo Wiślan*, p. 13 writes: "The Vistulians are mentioned only once by

were incorporated in the Lyakh State.[1] Lewicki, who has recently advanced the hypothesis that it was the Vistulian State which was known by the name of Croat, believes he has found the confirmation of this theory in the work of al-Mas'udi, which dates from the second quarter of the 10th century.[2] The Arabic writer relates that the first Slavonic ruler is King *'l.d.j.r.*, whose neighbour is King *Ifr(a)g.* I share Lewicki's opinion that the name just quoted designates Prague (and Bohemia), but I differ from him on the subject of the first name. Lewicki deduces the word *l.d.j.r.* from the language of the Iranian Alans, preserved in that of the Caucasian tribe of the As-Yas.[3] In my opinion, *l.d.j.r.* designates, in a more or less distorted form, the Lyakhs, *L(ę)d(ʒ)j(anie)*. Mas'udi rightly considers *l.d.j.r.* as the first Slavonic State, starting from the South-East. The Kievan State was a structure of the Norse Rus and, furthermore, it arose later than the Lyakh State.

Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub (966) states that, in point of size, Poland, in the days of Mieszko, took pride of place among the Slavonic countries. We scarcely can suppose Mas'udi to have been ignorant of this fact, since he wrote about the Slavs settled in the West. It is true, Ibrahim did not hand down to us the name of Mieszko's domain ; but this was done by the Saxon chronicler Widukind of Corvey, a contemporary of both the authors just mentioned. Under A.D. 963, he relates how one of the German margraves, named Wichmann, defeated Mieszko, who reigned over Slavs known as *Licicaviki*.[4] It has been the habit to relate this appellation to some small and unknown Pomeranian tribe, supposed to have resided in the northern fork formed by the Odra and Warta rivers (cf. J. Widajewicz, A. Brückner, Z. Wojciechowski, etc.). It is hard to believe that a Polish-German conflict was fought out over the territory of only one tribe, or that Mieszko arrayed against the Germans the forces of only a single tribe, and a small one at that. In my opinion, the Lyakhs on the Vistula, the *Liciki* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and the *Licicaviki* of Widukind, are all one and the same

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the Bavarian Geographer. The terms used by Alfred and the Life of St. Methodius refer to the land situated on the Vistula and not to its inhabitants." But this pertinent opinion does not confirm the author's thesis on the existence of the Vistulian State. The two mentions of the lands on the Vistula (in King Alfred's work, we read of *Visle lond*; K. Malone, King Alfred's North, *Sp* V, 1930, p. 153. The Life of St. Methodius has already been discussed) need not necessarily refer to the Vistulians. There remains only the name of the tribe *Vuislane*, which occurs solely in the Bavarian Geographer's work. But the assumption of the existence of a Vistulian State cannot be based on that one tribal appellation. T. Lewicki, Najdawniejsza wzmianka źródłowa o Wiślanach, *PZ* VII (11—12), 1951, pp. 988—98, supposes that the Vistulians appear in the sources for the first time about the end of the 6th century (*MPH* I, pp. 5—10), but this conjecture seems to me not convincing.

[1] There is no reason to suppose that the Lyakhs were one of the clans of which the tribe of the Vistulians was composed ; such is the hypothesis of T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Język Polski*, 1947, p. 59.

[2] T. Lewicki, Państwo Wiślan-Chorwatów w opisie al-Mas'udi'ego, *SPAU* XLIX (1), 1948, pp. 24—34 ; *idem*, Świat słowiański w oczach pisarzów arabskich, *SA* II (2), 1949—50, p. 356.

[3] References by Arabo-Persian writers, such as Ibn-Rusta, the anonymous *Hudud al-Alam*, Marvazi, etc., quoted by Lewicki, to a city or country called Hrvat, could apply to the Croats, but do not prove that this tribe lived on the upper Vistula.

[4] " Misacam regem, cuius potestatis erant Sclavi, qui dicuntur Licicaviki, duabus vicibus superavit." III, 56.

people.[1] In one word, the Slavs over whom Mieszko reigned were no other than the Lyakhs, and the domain of the Piasts was the country of the Lyakhs.[2] This conviction is confirmed by "Nestor" who knows quite well that the Polyanians from the banks of the Warta, the Pomeranians, etc., are all embraced by the name "Lyakhs." The analysis of several sources originating about the middle of the 10th century, clearly shows that Mas'udi, too, must have had the Lyakhs in mind.

In the course of time, the chief political centre shifted from the land of the Lyakhs to that of the Polyanians, who were subject to them. I am inclined to think that this important change in Polish internal affairs must have been brought about in the 9th century by the pressure of the Great Moravian Empire on Cracow and other lands.

Historians continue to discuss the question as to whether Gniezno or Poznań should be regarded as the capital of the Piast State in the second half of the 10th century.[3] The Polyanians had no city of paramount importance, possessing the character of a capital of a supra-tribal State, and rooted in tradition. It would appear that the shifting of political life to the North-West was a comparatively recent event. But the Polyanians did not long succeed in retaining the foremost rank. In the 11th century, Mazovia, with Płock, takes pride of place in Poland for a time, and from the end of the 11th century onwards it is Cracow which holds that position. All these moves and transformations, however, did not bring about any noteworthy changes in the nature, the continuity, and ethnical character of the Polish State. It is, therefore, surely permissible to assume that in the earlier period, when the Lyakhs were pushed into the background to the benefit of the Polyanians, no profound changes occurred either. Poland's neighbours—the Germans,[4] Czechs,[5] Hungarians, Rus, Lithu-

[1] G. Labuda, J. Czekanowski, and T. Lehr-Spławiński have declared for this identification.

[2] "Gallus" relates that the dynasty of the Popiels reigned in Poland before the Piasts (in the 9th century). The last ruler of the Popiels had his seat in Gniezno, but the chronicler did not mention the tribe and land from which this dynasty had originated.

[3] Potkański suggested that Mieszko had two capitals, Gniezno and Poznań. Balzer did not share this opinion, and considered that Gniezno and Poznań competed with one another for the leading position; see O. Balzer, *Stolice Polski*, 1916, pp. 8—9. Widajewicz is of the opinion that in the first part of Mieszko's reign, the capital was at Poznań and later at Gniezno; cf. J. Widajewicz, *Początki Polski*, pp. 94—5. Hensel maintains that Poznań was the capital of Mieszko's realm, and Kostrzewski follows suit. See W. Hensel, Na śladach Mieszkowej stolicy, *PZ* III, 1947, pp. 121—32; *idem*, Najdawniejsze dzieje Gniezna w świetle wykopalisk, in *Święty Wojciech*, by several hands, 1947, pp. 218, 228; J. Kostrzewski, Gród Mieszka w Poznaniu, *ZOW* XVII, 1948, pp. 131—41; Z. Kępiński—K. Józefowicz, Grobowiec Mieszka I i najstarsze budowle poznańskiego grodu, *PZ* VIII (5—8), 1952, pp. 370—97; Z. Wojciechowski, Znaczenie Giecza w Polsce Chrobrego, *PZ* VIII (11—12), 1952, pp. 410—1, 416.

[4] According to "Nestor," the Polish tribes resident on the Warta and the Odra were comprised in the name Lyakhs, consequently the Germans were bound to know this supra-tribal name. This is borne out by the Chronicle of Widukind which, under the year 963, speaks of the *Licicaviki*—Lyakhs.

[5] The Hebrew source known as the Book *Yosippon*, originating in Italy in the latter half of the 10th century, in so far as the text has been correctly deciphered, mentions the Lyakhs. See M. Gaster, The Chronicles of Jerahmeel, *Oriental Translation Fund*, New Series IV 1899, p. 77; G. Flusser, Zprava o Slavanech v hebrejské kronice z konce X stol., *CCH*, 1949, pp. 239—40. The author drew his information on the Slavs from Bohemia.

J. Czekanowski, *Z badań nad genezą państwowości polskiej*, p. 748, makes the remark that there remained outside the later Polish frontier what was termed *Moravské Lassko* which was gradually absorbed into the sphere of Czech language.

anians—kept the old name to designate the country, which in their eyes was always the same, and preserved the name of the tribe which was that country's first and foremost founder.

And yet, since the end of the 10th century, the name of the Lyakhs disappeared from the pages of the sources among the western neighbours of Poland, more especially from German chronicles in a characteristic fashion.[1] It is supplanted by *Polonia* and *Poloni*.[2] The question is to whom this change is attributable. In my opinion, the Latin clergy must have played a decisive part in this respect. Its missionary activities started from the land of the Polyanians where the Bishopric of Poznań and later the Metropolitan see of Gniezno were erected. Therefore, the Latin clergy, from religious motives, deliberately obliterated the older political tradition and with it the entire Lyakh period of Polish history. The Lyakh State was pagan, later Christian in part but according to the " false Christianity " of Cyril and Methodius. The name of Poland in its supra-tribal sense was to inaugurate a new period in the history of the country and to stress the importance of the tribe in whose midst the focus of the new faith was situated.

A similar situation developed in the European East. We have more than once pointed to the double meaning of the term " Rus." The older one was connected with the region of Kiev ; the second, of a later date, originated after the baptism of Vladimir the Great, i.e., after 988, and related to religion. Only the Greek clergy was capable of spreading and perpetuating the name of Rus in the vast expanses of eastern Europe in the 11th century and later.

" Nestor " distinguishes two stages in the formation of the concept " Lyakhs." In the first phase, the Lyakhs formed a single tribe ; the second phase followed when, in the course of time, this tribe gave its name to the near and remote kinsmen. The *Povest* uses the term exclusively in the broad supra-tribal sense ; by Lyakhs it understands a political entity with a determined territory, a State with which other States could fight[3] or live in peace and amity.[4] In addition to this, the chronicler, when he speaks of the Lyakhs, also has in mind a certain ethnical reality, and this appears more specially when he is dealing with the origin of the Radimichians and Vyatichians.

We now pass to this last problem.

The *Povest* touches several times on the descent of these two tribes, a circumstance which shows that it aroused " Nestor's " interest. Here is what the author has to say on the subject :

1. " The Polyanians . . . are descended from the Slavs (*sushchim ot roda slovenska*) . . . The Derevlians also from the Slavs (*a derevlyane ot*

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[1] The Hungarian chronicles, written in Latin, use the appellation *Polonia*, *Poloni*, although the Hungarian language contains the term "*Lengyel*" to designate a Pole.

[2] The name of the Polyanians (*Polanie*) existed from the most remote past simultaneously with, and independently of, that of the Lyakhs.

[3] Cross, pp. 182, 220—1, etc.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 210.

sloven zhe) . . . But the Radimichians and Vyatichians from the Lyakhs (*ot lyakhov*). There were in fact among the Lyakhs two brothers, one named Radim and the other Vyatko. Radim settled on the Sozh, where the people are known as Radimichians, and Vyatko, with his family, settled on the Oka. The people there were named Vyatichians after him."[1]

2. " The Radimichians were descended from the Lyakhs (*Bysha zhe radimichi ot roda lyakhov*)."[2]

The first statement opposes the Radimichians and Vyatichians to the Polyanians and Derevlians in order to stress with greater emphasis that the Radimichians and Vyatichians were not of " Slavonic " descent, i.e., according to present-day conceptions they were not of " Eastern Slavonic " but of Polish origin. The second statement only repeats what has already been said before.

3. Taking this view consistently, the chronicler does not mention the Radimichians and Vyatichians when listing the " Slavonic " (i.e., the " Eastern Slavonic ") tribes.[3]

4. Nor does he enumerate within this group such " Eastern Slavs " as produced strong tribal organizations.[4] It should be noted that the Vyatichians have been omitted here, although they were a powerful tribe, who, of all their nearer and more distant neighbours, were the longest able to preserve their distinctness and independence.

We have to deal with four facts which are consistent and complementary.[5] We can add another point, namely, that both these tribes certainly existed in the days of " Nestor."

Why should the chronicler have recorded these facts if they were not common knowledge, and did not correspond to reality ? " Nestor " had

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[1] Cross, p. 141. M. Tikhomirov, Slavyane v " Istorii Rossii " prof. G. Vernadskogo, *Vol*, 1946, p. 124, and F. Bujak, Skąd przyszli Radymicze i Wiatycze na Ruś, *Sw.* XX, 1948, p. 97, both regard these two tribal chiefs as real personalities, although each author has recourse to other arguments. " Nestor " has not given us a single detail concerning Radim and Vyatko, with the exception of the one assertion that the two tribes took the name of their chiefs. Similarly Kiev derived its name from a legendary hero named Kii, Cracow from Krak, the *Lechitae* from Lech, etc.

[2] Cross, p. 183. Some authors admit the Polish descent of the Radimichians, but call in question that of the Vyatichians, because " Nestor " in the passage quoted speaks only of the former. Now, "Nestor", in this place, describes the Kievan expedition against the Radimichians, and solely against them ; he therefore has no reason to mention the Vyatichians. The latter were not connected with the story he had to tell.

[3] Cross, p. 138.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 140.

[5] In connection with these observations should be considered the name of *Golyad* under which the population on the river Protva was known in the 12th century (1147, and probably 1058). There is a river Golyada, a left hand tributary of the Moskva. Both the Protva and the Moskva are tributaries of the Oka. According to " Nestor's " testimony, the Vyatichians lived on the Oka. The adjective derived from the name of the Lyakhs is *lyad-skii*, and this root seems to recur in Go-lyad, Go-lyada. Cf. J. Otrębski, *Słowianie*, 1947, pp. 133—43. I do not deny that such deductions based, as they are, exclusively on linguistic premises, have to be treated with caution. This reservation also refers to the hypothesis which identifies the above-mentioned population on the banks of the Protva with Prussian *Galindia*. See : M. Vasmer, Beiträge zur historischen Völkerkunde Osteuropas. Die Ostgrenze der baltischen Stämme, *SPAW* XXII, 1932, pp. 642—62 ; H. Paszkiewicz, *Jagiellonowie a Moskwa* I, 1933, pp. 17—20 ; M. Korduba, in *ZOG* IX, 1935, pp. 110—1 ; V. Kiparsky, Baltische Sprachen und Völker, in *Baltische Lande* I, 1939, p. 54 ; C. Jurgela, *History of the Lithuanian Nation*, 1948, p. 16 ; W. Matthews, Mediaeval Baltic Tribes, *ASEER* VIII, 1949, p. 127, and others.

many reasons, chiefly of a religious character, for not being partial to the Poles. One almost wonders that the copyists of the *Povest* did not obliterate such details.[1]

Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De Administrando Imperio*), when describing conditions in eastern Europe in the first half of the 10th century, twice mentions the Lyakhs (the *Lenzenines* or *Lenzanines*) among the Slavs. He describes them once as neighbours of the Derevlians and Pechenegs, and again as a people living close to the Krivichians. "Nestor" states that the Krivichians settled on the upper reaches of the Dnieper, the Radimichians on the Sozh, and the Vyatichians on the Oka. All the three tribes, therefore, lived near to one another. As the other neighbours of the Krivichians, such as the Polochians, Dregovichians, and the Finnish Merya, were certainly not of Polish descent, Constantine Porphyrogenitus' information concerning the Lyakhs (*Lenzanines*) as neighbours of the Krivichians, undoubtedly relates in the first place to the Radimichians and also to the Vyatichians.

Thus, two sources completely independent of one another, and originating in different times and countries, point to the same facts. The exactness of the information handed down by them is shown in particulars such as this: the Byzantine Emperor calls the tribes we are concerned with "Lyakhs." "Nestor" only speaks of their Polish descent (*ot roda Lyakhov*). And this is quite natural, since the former wrote in the middle of the 10th century, the latter in the 12th. This lapse of time was sufficiently long for the ethnical links to have loosened in the absence of any political connections between the Radimichians-Vyatichians and the other Polish tribes.

In spite of the obvious evidence of the sources, many historians simply deny the Polish origin of the two tribes. Thus, Gote (Gautier) writes: "The origin of the Radimichians and Vyatichians is not clear, as it is only based on two bare statements of the Chronicle."[2] Hrushevsky considers the entire tradition, as given by "Nestor", a fable.[3] I shall not quote others who reason in a similar fashion, as it is difficult to regard arbitrary opinions as having greater weight than the texts of the sources.

Some scholars have added to the text of "Nestor" their own commentaries, which, however, are strikingly out of touch with probability. Karsky considers that the chronicler's expression relating to the Radimichians and Vyatichians as coming "from the Lyakhs" should not be interpreted in an ethnical but in a geographical sense, i.e., that these tribes lived on the borders of Poland, and had come from the West in order to occupy new lands.[4] Now, it follows quite clearly from the text of the Chronicle that the expression "from the Lyakhs" is an abbreviation, as the author has

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[1] Both tribes existed till the end of the 12th century at the least, that is to say, long after "Nestor." The Radimichians appear in the sources for the last time under the year 1169, the Vyatichians under the date of 1197. On the basis of findings in Vyatichian tombs we can assert that this tribe preserved its ethnical particularities down to the 14th century.

[2] Y. Gote, Shakhmatov istorik, *IORYS* XXV, 1922, p. 280.

[3] M. Hrushevsky, *Istoriya Ukraini-Rusi* I, p. 152.

[4] E. Karsky, *Belorussy* I, 1903, pp. 71—2.

just spoken of the Polyanians as descended from the Slavs. The Derevlians are also mentioned in an abbreviated form as having issued " from the Slavs ", and, according to Karsky, this should be taken to mean that the Derevlians dwelt in the neighbourhood of the Slavs. The question is completely clarified in another passage of the *Povest*, where it is stated that the Radimichians " are descended from the Lyakhs (*ot roda Lyakhov*)."

Vernadsky is of the opinion that the text of the source should be changed, and the expression *v lyasekh*[1] should read : *v yasekh*. In that case, the Radimichians and Vyatichians could be said to have come from the Crimea or the Caucasus. If we applied such a method we might consider e.g. Russia as Prussia or vice versa. The expression : *v lyasekh* occurs in the *Povest* over and over again, and always relates to Poland.[2] In another sentence of the same passage, " Nestor " says : *ot Lyakhov* (from the Lyakhs), and here it is impossible even to suggest a similar distortion of the text as the chronicler obviously has the Poles in mind.

Likhachev considers that the words : *ot roda Lyakhov* which refer to the Radimichians and Vyatichians in " Nestor's " text should be understood to mean that Radim and Vyatko, who subdued the two tribes, were Poles, while these tribes themselves were not Polish.[3] If such an interpretation is applied to the text, the whole passage in the *Povest* becomes unintelligible, where not Radim and Vyatko, but the Radimichians and Vyatichians are opposed to the Polyanians and Derevlians.

When describing, under the year 984, the expedition of Vladimir the Great against the Radimichians, in a passage in which Radim is not even mentioned, " Nestor " says : " Now the Radimichians belong to the Lyakhs (*Bysha zhe radimichi ot roda Lyakhov*).[4] If we were to follow Likhachev's reasoning we would have to believe that the expression : *ot roda* connected with a tribal name, does not refer to the origin of the tribe, but only to the descent of its rulers ; and thus " Nestor's " assertion that the Polyanians on the banks of the Dnieper were *ot roda slovenska*[5] would not mean that the Polyanians were Slavs, but that their rulers were descended from Slavs. We would come to a similarly absurd conclusion when reading the agreements between the Greeks and the Rus, in which the envoys *ot roda ruskago* are enumerated by name.

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[1] " There were in fact among the Lyakhs two brothers, one named Radim and the other Vyatko " (*Byasta bo 2 brata v lyasekh—Radim a drugii Vyatko*)." Cross, p. 141, G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, 1946, pp. 319—20.

[2] Under thy years 1030, 1097, etc.

[3] D. Likhachev, *Povest Vremennykh Let* II, 1950, p. 225—6. Likhachev bases his argument on the passage of the *Povest* where, under the year 862, it is related how Rurik and his Varangian warriors were called in and established at Novgorod : " The present inhabitants of Novgorod are descended from the Varangian race, but afore-time they were Slavs (*ti sut lyude nougorodtsi od roda varyazhska, prezhe bo besha sloveni*). Cross, p. 145. In order to render the call to the Varangians more plausible, the chronicler remarks that the population of Varangian descent living on Lake Ilmen in his time, settled there together with Rurik. Before that, Slavs lived only at Novgorod. We have to insert the word " only " to render the text of the Chronicle fully clear. It was necessary for " Nestor " to add the words concerning the Slavs because on a former occasion he described the Slavs settling in Novgorod (Cross, p. 138).

[4] Cross, p. 183.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

Rybakov doubts the possibility of the two tribes having migrated from Poland to the banks of the Sozh and Oka on account of the distance,[1] although, obviously, at different periods many peoples accomplished much longer marches.

In view of the weight attaching to such written sources as Constantine Porphyrogenitus and "Nestor", the investigations of the philologists and archaeologists are of only secondary importance, although in this field also some noteworthy observations have been made.

Shakhmatov considers that the language of the population on the Sozh and Oka constitutes the southern Great Rus dialect, which is distinct from the tongue of the northern Great Rus, and approaches were ready to the White Rus and Polish languages. That is the reason why the said scholar declares for the Polish origin of the Radimichians and Vyatichians.[2]

Zelenin is of the opinion that the dialectal and ethnical differences between the northern and southern branches of the Great Rus were so important that the southern group should naturally have formed a distinct nation. Political factors, such as the power of the Muscovite State, hindered this natural development.[3]

Jakimowicz, basing his judgement on several archaeological discoveries of typically "West-Slavonic" character from the region of Kaluga, gives his support to the idea that the Radimichians and Vyatichians had special links with Poland.[4] This scholar remarks that the archaeological material hitherto made available, and referring to the aforesaid problem, is on the whole poor and that further investigations on the spot are necessary. The opinion of Jakimowicz is shared by Kostrzewski.[5]

When did the Radimichians arrive on the banks of the Sozh, and the Vyatichians on those of the Oka ?

Niederle considers that this migration may have been caused by the Goths in the 3rd century of our era, or by the Avars either in the 6th or 7th century.[6] Tretyakov declares himself for the 4th or 5th century.[7] Shakhmatov proposes the 7th—8th century as the time when both tribes

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[1] B. Rybakov, Radzimichi, *PSA* III, 1932, pp. 81—152.

[2] A. Shakhmatov, Drevnie lyashskie poseleniya v Rossii, *Slavyanstvo*, 1911 (not available to me); *idem*, K voprosu o polskom vliyanii na drevne-russkie govory, *RFV*, 1913, pp. 9—10; *idem*, *Vvedenie v kurs istorii russkogo yazyka. Istoricheskii protses obrazovaniya russkich plemen i narechii*, 1916 p. 57; *idem*, *Drevneishie sudby russkogo plemeni*, 1919, pp. 37—9. T. Milewski, *Zarys językoznawstwa ogólnego*, 1950 (?) (not available to me), in accordance with Shakhmatov, distinguishes the southern Great Rus from the northern. Shakhmatov's opinion raised objections on the part of W. Porzeziński, Rzekome pierwiastki lechickie w językach wschodnio-słowiańskich, *PF* X, 1926, pp. 92—100; A. Brückner, *KH*, 1927, p. 305; W. Taszycki, and others.

[3] D. Zelenin, Russische (ostslavische) Volkskunde, *Grundriss der slavischen Philologie und Kulturgeschichte* III, 1927, pp. 1—2.

[4] R. Jakimowicz, Wschodnia granica osadnictwa mazowieckiego w X—XI w. *PVIZHP* I, 1935, p. 250. Contrary opinions are expressed by B. Rybakov in his work on the Radimichians (1932), and Artsikhovsky in his on the Vyatichians (1930).

[5] J. Kostrzewski, *Pradzieje Polski*, 1949, p. 281.

[6] L. Niederle, *Manuel de l'antiquité slave* I, 1923, pp. 222—4.

[7] P. Tretyakov, Vostochnoslavyanskie plemena nakanune obrazovaniya Kievskogo gosudarstva, *IAN* II, 1945, p. 161.

moved to the East. Potkański speaks in favour of the 8th century at the very latest,[1] and more recently, Bujak supports the same date.[2] Both these scholars based their opinion on " Nestor's " Chronicle, where the Radimichians appear in their new territory as early as the latter half of the 9th century (885).[3] But this oldest part of the Chronicle, unless confronted with other sources, cannot serve as a basis for any definite conclusion concerning the time of the migration of the two tribes with which we are dealing. The author of the *Povest* was in the habit of transferring to earlier periods facts which he knew from later times, and then told the same story in more general terms. But this point is dealt with in a further part of our study (Chapter VI). It is noteworthy that in a passage of his Chronicle, " Nestor ", when speaking of the Krivichians' neighbours, mentions the Polochians, the Merians, the Severians,[4] but omits the Radimichians and Vyatichians. It is probable that he has in mind a period when the two people were not yet settled on the territories which, later, they are known to have occupied.

One thing is certain : both the tribes we are considering migrated to the East before the middle of the 10th century. Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus finds them already in the Dnieper region, in the neighbourhood of the Krivichians.

In the broader version of the letter of Kagan Joseph (10th century), we find mentioned a tribe dependent on the Khazars and described as *V. n. tit*,[5] which in all probability should be identified with the Vyatichians, as " Nestor " speaks of the Vyatichians' dependence on the Khazars. The anonymous Decription of Eastern and Central Europe (which has been handed down, among others, by Ibn-Rusta, who wrote between 903 and 913) says that at the limit of Slavonic possessions there lay a " city "; this city was called *Wantit*, according to al-Gardizi's Persian tradition of the 11th century. In short, the oldest indications in the sources showing the Vyatichians already on their new territories come from the second half of the 9th century and from the first half of the 10th.

If, in the 10th century, it was known even in Byzantium that the Radimichians (and Vyatichians) were Lyakhs ; if vivid recollections of this fact still existed in Kiev at the beginning of the 12th century, it shows that the further beyond the 9th century we assume that migration of the Radimichians and Vyatichians to have taken place, the further our conjecture is removed from probability.

It should be pointed out that Constantine Porphyrogenitus does not call the new-comers to the banks of the Sozh and the Oka by their tribal names, as he does when speaking of the Derevlians, Dregovichians, and others, but uses the broader conception of Lyakhs. This shows that the said migration could only have taken place after the name of Lyakhs had assumed a supra-tribal meaning, after a certain internal consolidation had

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[1] K. Potkański, *Lachowie i lechici*, p. 247.
[2] F. Bujak, *Skąd przyszli*, p. 103.
[3] Cross, p. 147.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 140.
[5] P. Kokovtsov, *Evreisko-khazarskaya perepiska v X veke*, 1932, p. 98.

taken place among the Poles. All this proves that the migration of the two tribes to the East took place most probably in the 9th century.

Ilinsky says, not without good reason: "Our hypothesis demonstrates that in the 10th century, the Radimichians were not only called . . . Lyakhs by their neighbours, but that they called themselves by the same name. This shows that at this time their feeling of national identity was Polish."[1]

In the years 981—4, Vladimir the Great undertook a series of expeditions against the Radimichians and Vyatichians and against the State of Mieszko I.[2] It has already been justly remarked in historical works that in Vladimir's military undertakings, at this period, one common plan is discernible, and that it was directed against the Lyakhs, against those living to the North as well as against those living to the West of Kiev.[3] This is so characteristic that it cannot escape our attention.

From what part of Poland did the two tribes come?

The answer to this question is very difficult. Potkański supposes that it was from Podlachia and Mazovia.[4] Czekanowski considers the point that in these parts there are names of localities which resemble those of Vyatichian towns.[5] The same method is applied by Bujak.[6]

We know that conclusions based only on the similarity of place-names are very often misleading. How many false conjectures have been built up on them! The conjectures of Czekanowski, concerning the Radimichians and Vyatichians, have met with objections on the part of the philologists.[7] Łowmiański shows that a number of towns which former investigators regarded as Vyatichian probably belonged to the Severians. Many place-names among the Severians, and not only these but also others among the Dregovichians, Polochians, etc., have their counterpart in Polish lands. It is not without reason that this author concludes: "This is the alternative: either we must, on the basis of names, trace the descent of all Rus from Poland, or else we must explain these common appellations by assuming that they were derived from closely related linguistic roots."[8] Obviously, of the two possibilities pointed out by Łowmiański, only the second can be taken seriously.

We can try to determine the original territory of the Radimichians and Vyatichians by inquiring into the reasons which caused the two tribes to migrate and fixing the time when this event occurred. The 9th century saw a great movement in the southern steppes. A number of tribes pushed the Pechenegs to the West, while the Pechenegs, in turn, pushed the Hungarians in the direction of Pannonia. If these events, which took place over vast

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[1] G. Ilinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 319.
[2] Cross, pp. 182—3.
[3] V. Lebedev—V. Panov, *Drevnerusskie letopisi*, 1936, Commentary 177.
[4] K. Potkański, *Lachowie i lechici*, pp. 246—7.
[5] J. Czekanowski, *Wstęp do historii Słowian*, pp. 113—4.
[6] F. Bujak, *Skąd przyszli*, p. 88. This scholar dealt with the same subject in *STNW* XXV, 1932 (1933), pp. 141—3.
[7] A. Brückner, Początki słowiaństwa i Polski, *KH* XLI, 1927, p. 307.
[8] H. Łowmiański, Kilka uwag krytycznych o początkach Polski, *RH* XVIII, 1949, pp. 357—9.

expanses of territory, compelled the Radimichians and Vyatichians to abandon their old settlements, the latter could only have been inhabitants of the south-eastern region of Poland.

There is still another possibility. The military and religious expansion of Great Moravia, which was a serious threat to the Lyakh State, and which reached the Styr and the Boh, may well have forced the Radimichians and Vyatichians to migrate eastwards.[1] If this was the case, we should have once more to assume that the two tribes inhabited the south-eastern region of Poland.[2] Thus, both alternatives lead us to the same conclusion.[3]

But it is quite possible that entirely different reasons, independent of political events, may have influenced the migration of the Radimichians-Vyatichians. We allude to the climatic factor. Developments of this kind are known to have taken place in many countries; the catastrophic failure of crops resulted in famines, and these forced people to seek other lands, offering better conditions of maintenance.[4]

Much that relates to the Radimichians and Vyatichians cannot be established incontestably. Two things only are certain, their Polish origin and their relatively late migration.

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[1] "Nestor" stressses the outstanding attachment of the Vyatichians to their pagan tradition and creed. Cross, pp. 141—2.

[2] The following observation can serve to support this supposition: the *Povest* mentions a number of localities on the territory of the Buzhians, but none at all to the South of this region. On the map attached to the translation of Cross we find a complete blank there.

[3] If we assume that the Radimichians and Vyatichians came from Podlachia and Mazovia, it becomes more difficult to discover the reasons which prompted them to abandon their ancient homes. J. Widajewicz, *Początki Polski*, p. 94, thinks that the two tribes withdrew to the East under pressure from the Polyanians. But both the Radimichians and the Vyatichians were part of the Lyakh State, of which the State of the Polyanians was only a continuation. J. Czekanowski, *Polska—Słowiańszczyzna*, 1948, p. 123, asserts that the migration of the aforementioned tribes took place because the Prussians were pressing southwards. But of such matters we know nothing definite.

[4] M. Bogolepov, Kolebaniya klimata i istoricheskaya zhizn, *COID*, 1911, pp. 1—22; W. Semkowicz, Zagadnienie klimatu w czasach historycznych, *PGe* III, 1922, pp. 18—41.

7

A POLISH METROPOLITAN SEE OF THE SLAVONIC RITE

The sources have preserved the information that in the reign of Bolesław the Great (992—1025) there existed in Poland two Metropolitan sees. This little known fact was the subject of a recent study by S. Kętrzyński,[1] and his arguments were accepted as convincing by F. Dvornik.[2]

The oldest Polish chronicle, dating from the beginning of the 12th century and known by the name of Gallus, states: "*suo tempore* (i.e., in the lifetime of Bolesław the Great) *Polonia duos metropolitanos cum suis suffraganeis continebat.*"[3] "Gallus" is seconded by Master Vincent,[4] and the Capitular Year-book of Cracow (*Rocznik Kapitulny Krakowski*) indirectly confirms the information.[5]

Kętrzyński does not go into the reasons which may have brought about the founding of two ecclesiastical organizations, independent of one another. I think that a full explanation of the problem is given by the said "Gallus" in another passage of his work, where in the form of a funeral hymn he depicts the great grief and sorrow of the Poles after the death of Bolesław:

> "*Tanti viri funus mecum omnis homo recole,*
> *Dives, pauper, miles, clerus, insuper agricole.*
> *Latinorum et Slavorum quotquot estis incole . . .*"[6]

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[1] S. Kętrzyński, O zaginionej metropolii czasów Bolesława Chrobrego, *PIHUW* I , 1947, pp. 5—46.

[2] In a review of Kętrzyński's work, *TH* II, 1947, pp. 140—4, and in his book *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*, 1949, pp. 198—9.

[3] K. Maleczyński, Galli Anonymi Cronica, *MPHNS* II, 1952, p. 30.

[4] ". . . (Bolesław the Great) adhuc tenellas fidei primitias, adhuc in cunis vagientem ecclesiam tam tenero amplexu, tam adulta fovit teneritudine, ut geminam metropolim instituerit." *MPH* II, p. 276, P. David, The Church in Poland from its Origin to 1250, in *The Cambridge History of Poland from the Origins to Sobieski*, 1950, pp. 65—6, is of the opinion that "Gallus'" information on the two Metropolitan sees is an interpolation of the 14th — 15th century. That conjecture is untenable, as it is in contradiction with Master Vincent's text.

[5] In the Cracow Capitular Year-book we find two notes: "1027. Ypolitus archiepiscopus obiit, Bossuta successit." "1028. Stephanus archiepiscopus obiit." *MPH* II, p. 794. In the years indicated by the Year-book no known Archiepiscopal see was filled by an Archbishop named Hippolytus, nor yet by a Stephen. These Archbishops, mentioned by a Polish source, could have been only Poles, all the more so since *Bossuta* is identical with the Polish name of *Bożęta*. It is difficult to imagine how in the course of two years, or perhaps only a little over twelve months, a three-fold change could have taken place in the Metropolitan see of Gniezno, that there should have been enough time for two vacancies to occur and for two successors of Hippolytus to be appointed and consecrated and to hold office.

This information becomes intelligible if we assume that one note concerns the see of Gniezno, and the other, another see existing in Poland at the same period.

[6] *MPHNS* II, p. 39. See F. Dvornik, *The Making*, p. 253.

"*Latini*" generally meant members of the Roman Church of the Latin rite. Therefore, the term "*Slavi*" should be taken in the same religious sense.[1] "Gallus" comprised in it all those who remained faithful to the rite of S. S. Cyril and Methodius. Although attempts were made to interpret the text of the Chronicle differently — and that not very convincingly[2] —and even to question altogether the existence of the Slavonic rite in Poland,[3] the fact remains that this rite spread over considerable areas and found many adherents in Poland.[4]

Apart from "Gallus," this thesis is evidently confirmed by "Nestor." The Kievan chronicler states that conversion was effected by the two missionary brothers and their disciples among the Slavs on the Danube, the Moravians, the Czechs, the Lyakhs, and the Polyanians on the Dnieper.[5] This fact is in agreement with the call by Matthew, Bishop of Cracow, in the middle of the 12th century, to St. Bernard of Clairvaux to visit the East in order to convert not only Rus, but also Poland and Bohemia.[6] The juxtaposition of these three countries could occur only in view of their common religious tradition, and more especially of their common use of

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[1] It may be pointed out that B. Paprocki, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, 1586, writes *sectarum* instead of *Slavorum*, which would seem to indicate that, as late as the 16th century, it was understood that the term "*Slavi*" had a religious connotation.

[2] W. Abraham, *Organizacja Kościoła w Polsce do połowy XII* w., 2nd ed., 1893, pp. 110, 113, is of the opinion that what the chronicler had in mind was a difference not of religion, but of nationality, that he wanted to stress the fact that not only did his Slavonic countrymen lament at the grave of Bolesław, but also foreigners who spoke Latin. Such an interpretation is undoubtedly false, as there was at that time no question of a Slavonic or Latin nationality. "Gallus" knew the terms "*Polonia*," "*Poloni*", and would not have hesitated to use them in the sense indicated by Abraham. It is difficult to imagine the chronicler mentioning, among the mourners of Bolesław, foreigners before the Poles, suggesting that all foreigners knew Latin, and that those who did not know it, did not mourn him. It is difficult to admit that aliens in Poland should have been so deeply moved by the death of Bolesław, and that they should have been numerous enough to be thus mentioned. On the contrary, "Gallus" says that Poland was a country little known and little visited by foreigners: "Sed quia regio Polonorum ab itineribus peregrinorum est remota, et nisi transeuntibus in Rusiam pro mercimonio paucis nota . . . " (p. 6).

The conjecture of M. Plezia, Kronika Galla na tle historiografii XII w., *RPAU* XLVI, 1947, pp. 154—5, according to which "*Latini*" should be understood as designating only foreigners of French or Italian origin, is likewise improbable. Why should not other foreigners also have mourned Bolesław? It should be added that the same objections concerning the foreigners in Abraham's conjecture apply also in the latter case.

[3] W. Szcześniak, *Obrządek słowiański w Polsce pierwotnej*, 1904; T. Lehr—Spławiński, Misja słowiańska św. Metodego a Polska, *CT*, 1932, pp. 3—12; J. Widajewicz, Chrzest Polski, *ZM*, 1951 (11—12), pp. 443—69, and others.

[4] The Life of St. Methodius relates how a powerful prince who resided on the Vistula was compelled (by Great Moravia in the second half of the 9th century) to receive baptism. See Appendix: "The Lyakhs and the Origin of the Radimichians and Vyatichians."

[5] The translation by Cross, p. 147, is not accurate.

[6] "Ita (Ruthenia) . . . imo vere haeretica pravitate a primordio suae conversionis imbuta, Christum solo quidem nomine confitetur, factis autem penitus abnegat. Neque enim vel latinae vel graecae vult esse conformis ecclesiae, sed seorsum ab utraque divisa, neutri gens praefata sacramentorum participatione communicat. Hoc autem, Domine, totum penetrabilior omni gladio ancipiti vestra praedicatio amputaret, si, ut eam visitaretis, vobis spiritus sanctus inspiraret. Nec modo in Ruthenia, quae quasi est alter orbis, verum etiam in Polonia et Boemia, vel communi appelatione Slavonia, quae plures provincias continet, talem ac tantum fructum, tamque Deo acceptabilem faceretis, ut ab ipso postmodum audiretis: Euge serve bone et fidelis." *MPH* II, pp. 15—6; Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Repertorium polskich dokumentów doby piastowskiej* I, 1937, pp. 49—50.

the Slavonic language in liturgy. The study of Old-Polish ecclesiastical terms reveals a marked influence of Czech on Polish Christian terminology.[1] According to Birkenmajer, Greek influences are apparent in the oldest Polish hymn in honour of the Virgin, called *Bogurodzica*.[2] Jakobson discovers in *Bogurodzica* three linguistic layers, the Old-Slavonic as a basis, the Czech, and the later Polish.[3] The church of St. Mary's (today S. S. Felix and Adauctus), built on the Wawel in Cracow, shows characteristic features of contemporary Czech rotundas, belonging to the traditions of Cyril and Methodius.[4]

Before the foundation of a Latin Bishopric in Cracow (A.D. 1000), a Bishop of the Slavonic rite, Prohorius (Prochoros), had already been resident in that city, and very probably his successor Proculphus (Proculos, Proclos) followed the same rite.[5] In the ancient breviaries of the Polish clergy there appears a prayer to S. S. Cyril and Methodius.[6] In Silesia, in the Cracow region, and in the Carpathian foot-hills, many churches were erected in honour of St. Clement, who was the object of particular devotion on the part of the " Apostles of the Slavs ".[7]

The fragment of a calendar discovered recently, which comes from Wiślica on the river Nida, is of great significance for the problem we are dealing with.[8] It is the only extant calendar of this time written in Polish. It may be that this calendar dating from the 14th century was copied from an older Wiślica calendar. Among the saints who, according to it, were objects of worship there figures St. Gorazd, a Moravian by birth who, in 885, was designated by St. Methodius to be his successor as Archbishop of Moravia and Pannonia.[9]

Zakrzewski proves that a Benedictine abbey existed at Wiślica in the

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[1] E. Klich, *Polska terminologia chrześcijańska*, 1927, pp. 146—7; B. Havranek, and others.

[2] J. Birkenmajer, Wzory greckie " Bogurodzicy ", *PL* XXXI, 1934, pp. 249—66 and other works of this author. Cf. M. Dłuska, Studia z historii i teorii wersyfikacji polskiej, *PKJ* XXXIII, 1948, pp. 79—89; F. Dvornik, *The Making*, pp. 124—5.

[3] R. Jakobson, Ceske prvky v polske kulture, *SAS* I, 1935 (unavailable to me); *idem*, Polska literatura średniowieczna a Czesi. Obrządek słowiański w Polsce, *Ku*, 1953 (6), pp. 30—1.

[4] See Chapter II of the present work.

[5] J. Widajewicz, Prohor i Prokulf, najdawniejsi biskupi krakowscy, *NP* IV, 1948, pp. 17—32, considers Prohorius alone as a Bishop of the Slavonic rite, while F. Dvornik, *The Making*, p. 251, attributes this character to both Church dignitaries. A discussion on this subject has recently taken place between Gumowski and Widajewicz; cf. M. Gumowski, W sprawie Prohora i Prokulfa, *KH* LVII, 1949, p. 308. The answer of Widajewicz, *ibidem*, pp. 308—12. The problem of Prohorius and Proculphus has been discussed already by Abraham, Buczek, Gumplowicz, Parczewski, Potkański, etc.

[6] *MPH* I, pp. 88—9.

[7] M. Niechaj, De cultu S. S. Cyrilli et Methodii in Polonia, in *Acta VII Conventus Velehradensis*, 1937, pp. 153—9.

[8] J. Zathey O, kilku przepadłych zabytkach rękopiśmiennych Biblioteki Narodowej w Warszawie, in *Studia z dziejów kultury polskiej*, by several hands, 1949, pp. 74—86.

[9] The original Romanesque collegiate church at Wiślica was most likely adorned with numerous wall-paintings in Byzantine style, like the gothic church erected later (14th cent.) by Casimir the Great on the same site. Dlugossius relates that Casimir, after he had built the church, regretted not to have erected it in another place. As Dlugossius also criticizes the original construction of the church ("anguste tamem et obscure cum cripta subterranea in priscorum et praesertim Grecorum more"), we are justified in supposing that the King's dissatisfaction was caused by too many elements of the old church having passed into the new one. Bishop Zadzik, who visited the church in the 17th century, wrote that " Greek " paintings covered the whole interior of the church. J. Zathey, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

11th century and that it remained in close relations with another Benedictine abbey at Tyniec, near Cracow.[1] The Calendar of the Tyniec Benedictines was published in the 17th century[2] and thus luckily survived the fire which destroyed the archives of the Tyniec abbey in the 19th century. Modern historians have used fragments of this Calendar, reprinted by Zakrzewski,[3] but failed to note the fact that certain elements in it indicate that the Slavonic rite was followed in Tyniec.[4]

We have more proofs in support of our thesis. Bolesław the Great coined denarii with his name inscribed in Slavonic.[5] In her letter to Mieszko II, son of Bolesław the Great, the Swabian princess Mathilde stated that that King prayed not only in his own (Slavonic) language, but also in Latin and Greek.[6] " The Monk of Braunweiler " relates that one of the reasons for the said Mieszko's divorce from his German wife Richesa was " the barbaric rite of the Slavs."[7] We have evidence that there existed in Poland liturgic books in Slavonic and Greek, adorned with miniatures in the Byzantine style.[8] It is difficult to suppose that they were only intended for the use of those consorts of the Piasts who adhered to the Eastern Church. Towards the end of the 15th century Church books were printed in Cracow in Slavonic.[9] Religious writings in Slavonic were preserved in Cracow as late as the 17th century.[10]

The existence in the Kingdom of the Piasts of two rites, the Latin and the Slavonic,[11] explains the foundation of two different Metropolitan sees. Thus, beside that of Gniezno, there existed another which was Slavonic.

There is no doubt that when Mieszko, in 966, received baptism, the

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1 S. Zakrzewski, Źródła podań tyniecko—wiślickich, *KH* XXVIII, 1914, pp. 385, 481—4.

2 S. Szczygielski, *Calendarium benedictinum e Menologio sanctorum atque illustrium ejusdem ordinis virorum excerptum*, 1663. Cf. *idem*, *Aquila polono benedictina*, 1663; *idem*, *Tinecia*, 1668.

3 S. Zakrzewski, Analecta Cisterciensia, *RPAU* XLIX, 1907, pp. 1—52.

4 The case of the abbeys of Tyniec and Wiślica proves how indispensible would be a study of the history of the Benedictines of the Slavonic rite, subordinated to Rome (*ritus romano-slavicus*). M. Gumplowicz, *Zur Geschichte Polens im Mittelater*, 1898, pp. 135—6, asserted that this rite existed in Tyniec, though he made no use of the Calendar.

5 M. Gumowski, Język na monetach polskich, *SO* V, 1926, pp. 101—2; *idem*, Monety X i XI wieku, *Corpus Nummorum Poloniae* I, 1939, pp. 45—7. T. Lehr-Spławiński, Misja słowiańska św. Metodego a Polska, *CT* XIII, 1932, pp. 8—9, thinks that the denarii of Bolesław the Great were coined in Rus, as they bear inscriptions in Cyrillic lettering. According to this scholar, the alphabet called *Cyrillitsa* originated in the Balkans, most probably in Bulgaria, in the 10th century, and from there was taken over by Rus. Lehr-Spławiński doubts whether any contacts existed between Poland and the Balkan countries, and this opinion is shared by J. Widajewicz, T. Lehr-Spławiński jako historyk, *PS* III, 1952, p. 14. St. Gorazd, after being expelled from Moravia, found refuge in Bulgaria, where he remained till the end of his life. The Wiślica Calendar proves, therefore, that the cult of this Saint existed in Poland, and the Tyniec Calendar equally mentions relations between Poland and Bulgaria. There is no reason to doubt that the denarii of Bolesław the Great were coined in Poland.

6 " . . . Quis in laudem dei totidem coadunavit linguas ? Cum in propria et in latina Deum digne venerari posses, in hoc tibi non satis, graecam superaddere maluisti." *MPH* I, p. 323.

7 . . . " barbaros Sclavorum pertaesa ritus " . . . , Brunwilarensis Monasterii Fundatio, *MGH* XIII, *Script.* XI, p. 403.

8 W. Semkowicz, *Paleografia łacińska*, 1951, pp. 103—4, 134, 157, 301—3.

9 W. Semkowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 436.

10 *MPH* I, p. 92.

11 F. Dvornik, *op. cit.*, pp. 61, 239—43, shows that in the 10th century Bohemia and Poland were biritual. Cf. M. Gumplowicz, Początki biskupstwa krakowskiego, *PH* V, 1907.

problem of co-ordinating the two rites immediately appeared. Plans for the organization of the Church in Poland must have existed in the lifetime of Mieszko I, and as Bolesław the Great followed his father's example in many of his decisions concerning affairs of State, this continuity of plans and intentions is clearly discernible in the ecclesiastical sphere, too.

It is well known that the Latin clergy was ill disposed and even hostile towards the " Slavonic faith " propagated by S. S. Cyril and Methodius and their disciples.[1] The foundation of a Metropolitan see of that rite in Poland was a delicate and difficult operation. It is not surprising that Mieszko, in laying his plans for the future, tended to enter into especially close relations with the Pope. In my opinion, this is why Mieszko decided to place the realm of the Piasts under the direct protection of the Apostolic See (the document " *Dagome iudex* ").[2] The outward sign of this vassalage was tribute. Bolesław the Great continued to meet his financial obligations,[3] and in this way demonstrated his solidarity with his father's policy.

" Gallus " rightly remarks that Bolesław " held the dignity of the Church and the welfare of his country in the highest esteem ". The Metropolitan see of the Slavonic rite was created in response to religious and also political needs. Behind its missionary activity political aims of the greatest consequence were concealed, in a manner reminiscent of the ecclesiastical plans of Vladimir the Great. There is a striking synchrony of the events with which we are concerned. The Metropolitan see of Kiev was founded about the year 988, and Mieszko's document (*Dagome iudex*) originated in 988—992. In 992, a Bishopric of the Rus Church was founded at Vladimir in Volynia, which was destined to threaten the most vital interests of Poland. The Polish Metropolitan see of the Slavonic rite came into existence after 992,[4] in the years 999—1000, in connection with the creation of the Latin Archbishopric at Gniezno. It seems unlikely that Rome should have given priority of foundation to the former.

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[1] T. Lehr-Spławiński, Konstantyn i Metodiusz w walce o liturgię słowiańską, *PZ* V, 1949, pp. 626—38.

[2] Despite numerous works on the problem, the reasons for this subjection of Poland to Rome remain confused. It is difficult to admit that it was fear of German expansion in the East that influenced Mieszko's decision. The subjection of Poland to the Pope occurred in a period when Polish-German relations were by no means especially tense, and when both countries were inclined to cooperate. Moreover, German influences in the Curia were very strong at this time, and would have rendered impossible any understanding of the Piasts with the Holy See directed against Germany (cf. G. Labuda, Znaczenie prawno-polityczne dokumentu " Dagome iudex " *NP* IV, 1948, pp. 36—9; S. Kętrzyński, W sprawie pierwszych biskupstw polskich, *PH* XXXIX, 1949, p. 57). Rome could seriously oppose the Empire only from the middle of the 11th century, when the Papacy was freed from German ascendancy.

It is generally accepted that Mieszko submitted to the sovereignty of the Pope in order to protect himself against prospective annexations of Polish lands by his neighbours. But serious doubts occur as to whether the Apostolic See was practically in a position to help the Piasts in case the territorial integrity of their State was threatened. For this reason the hypothesis of G. Labuda, *op. cit.*, p. 54, according to which Mieszko made this decision in view of a Czech menace, is untenable.

[3] E. Maschke, *Der Peterspfennig in Polen*, 1933, p. 17; S. Kętrzyński, Dagome iudex, *PH* XLI, 1950, pp. 150—1.

[4] " Gallus " intimates that the foundation of the two Metropolitan sees was the work of Bolesław the Great. The accession of this ruler took place in 992.

It was necessary to effect a territorial partition between them, and later changes would not have been an easy thing. The question is finally settled by Master Vincent, overlooked by historians. He considers both Metropolitan sees in Poland as " twin "[1]. This indicates not only that they were equal in status, but also that they were founded simultaneously.

What areas did the Slavonic Archbishopric include ? The sources do not give us any distinct and direct answer ; nevertheless, we can attain positive results by indirect inferences. There is no doubt that all those lands, which were not subordinated to Gniezno, were part of this second ecclesiastical province. Many scholars are in agreement with Thietmar's account when he assumes that the province of Gniezno included the following dioceses : Gniezno, Poznań (which was subordinated to Gniezno),[2] Cracow, Wrocław in Silesia, and Kołobrzeg in Pomerania.[3]

It is evident that the Latin rite spread chiefly in the western part of Poland ;[4] the eastern part must have belonged to the Slavonic Metropolitan see.[5] This corresponds with another fact : the Christianity brought by Cyril and Methodius spread chiefly in that part of Poland which once belonged to Great Moravia, and the Moravian Empire included the southern and eastern territories, up to the rivers Boh and Styr.

Kętrzyński supposes that both ecclesiastical provinces must have been more or less equal in size. This was by no means necessary. We can state only that they consisted of a series of dioceses (" . . . *duos metropolitanos cum suis suffraganeis* . . . "). The sources do not contain any data which would allow us to determine the seats of the Slavonic Bishops. We can only speak of an expanse of territory sufficiently large to justify the

[1] . . . " qui (Boleslaus) . . . tam adulta fovit teneritudine, ut geminam metropolim instituerit, ut debitas suffraganeorum dioceses utrique deputaverit, ipsarumque dioecesium distinctiones certis limitibus insculpserit." Master Vincent, *MPH* II, p. 276.

[2] W. Abraham, Jedyne biskupstwo polskie przed 1000 r., *ZM* I, 1950, pp. 33—44; J. Umiński, Powstanie biskupstwa poznańskiego i zależnego odeń archidiakonatu czerskiego, *SWTN* III, 1948, pp. 244—5 (*PWTN*, N 36 — unavailable to me).

[3] S. Kętrzyński, *O zaginionej metropolii*, p. 13 ; A. Czajkowski, The Congress of Gniezno in the Year 1000, *Sp* XXIV, 1949, pp. 348—50 ; P. David, *The Church in Poland*, p. 64 ; Z. Wojciechowski, Początki chrześcijaństwa w Polsce na tle stosunków niemiecko-wieleckich, *ZM* I, 1950, p. 218, and others. Among the older works, one still of great importance is W. Abraham, *Organizacja Kościoła w Polsce do połowy XII wieku*, 1893, pp. 56—7, 60—1, 87—8.

[4] The Chronicle of Poland Major (*Kronika Wielkopolska*), dating from the 13th—14th cent., relates that Bolesław the Great founded a Bishopric at Lubusz situated on the Odra. *MPH* II, p. 482. The geographical position of this episcopal see indicates that it was destined to propagate Christianity chiefly in the territory of the Lutichians. Cf. T. Silnicki, Początki chrześcijaństwa i organizacji Kościoła na Pomorzu, *ZM* II, 1951, pp. 593—4. The *Annales Hildesheimenses* speak of seven Bishoprics but do not give the names of the sees. *MGH. Script* III, p. 92.

[5] Z. Wojciechowski, Początki chrześcijaństwa w Polsce, *ZM* I, 1950, p. 219 ; J. Widajewicz, Chrzest Polski, *ZM* II, 1951, pp. 443—69, arbitrarily assume that all those Polish territories, which did not belong to the ecclesiastical province of Gniezno, remained pagan. The conjecture that the pagan reaction, after the death of Mieszko II, also involved the " Slavonic " parts of Poland is without foundation. Christian traditions were much older there than in the West of that country. If of all the Bishoprics of the province of Gniezno, Cracow was the one which emerged from the catastrophe the least weakened (although, like Gniezno and Poznań, it had to suffer the tragic consequence of the Czech invasion of 1038), the explanation is that Christianity, introduced by Cyril and Methodius, was by then firmly established on the upper Vistula.

creation of a Metropolitan see. It may have contained the regions of Sandomierz, Przemyśl, Halicz, Lublin, Mazovia, and later the land of the Buzhians recovered by Bolesław the Great in 1018.[1] The future role of this Metropolis depended not only on the size of the territory which it already possessed, but just as much on that which it was destined to acquire. The territorial status of the Polish Metropolitan see of the Slavonic rite would grow or shrink not only in proportion to the intensity of the missionary activities of the clergy, but would depend even more on the military and political successess or reverses of the Piast Kingdom in the East.

Where then was the seat of the Metropolitan of the Slavonic rite ?

It should be sought in the southern or eastern part of Poland, i.e., in the territories which formerly belonged to Great Moravia. Cracow is the first place that suggests itself in this connection. Yet the subsequent political vicissitudes of Cracow, after the fall of the Great Moravian Empire, its dependence on Bohemia in the latter part of the 10th century, its reconquest by Mieszko I only towards the end of his reign, did not remain without influence on further events. A series of sources which are independent of one another state concordantly that from A.D. 1000 the Bishopric of Cracow was under the Metropolis of Gniezno.[2] Thus, it could not well be the seat of another Metropolitan, and one of a different rite. This observation does not conflict with the fact that the Slavonic rite, rooted in tradition, continued to exist in the land of Cracow, and that it was still strong and alive in the 11th century.[3]

The seat of the Metropolitan must have been in some other town which

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[1] S. Runciman, Byzantium and the Slavs, in *Byzantium*, ed. by N. Baynes and H. Moss, 1948, p. 357, supposes that Bolesław, after the conquest of Kiev in 1018, attempted to introduce Latin Christianity into Rus. In my opinion, this hypothesis is not convincing.

[2] All the studies on the subject with which we are dealing start from the false assumption that both the Metropolitan sees which existed in Poland were of the Latin rite. It is often presumed that a second Metropolitan see was created in Cracow, B. Natoński, in his review of Kętrzyński's work, *NP* III, 1947, p. 256; Z. Wojciechowski, Rola św. Wojciecha w dziejach narodu polskiego, in *Św. Wojciech*, by several hands, 1947, p. 81, and others express the opinion that the son of Mieszo II, Casimir the Restorer (d. 1058), after having returned from exile and quelled the rebellion of the pagans, restored the Metropolitan see not at Gniezno, but for the time being at Cracow, whither he also transferred his capital. Aaron, at that time Bishop of Cracow, who according to a later and not very credible tradition, is supposed to have had the title of Archbishop, was, according to the opinion of these scholars, the first and only Archbishop of this see. This episode is thought to have been the cause of the erroneous information in " Gallus " concerning the existence of two Metropolitan sees in Poland. This hypothesis is quite untenable. Casimir the Restorer had no need to resuscitate the Metropolitan dignity, because the destruction of the Gniezno cathedral during the pagan reaction did not involve the collapse of the organization of the Church. Both " Gallus " and Master Vincent mention two Metropolitan sees. Both chroniclers connect them with Bolesław the Great and not Casimir, and Vincent mentions that the two Metropolitan sees were founded simultaneously.

Kętrzyński's arguments also deserve attention when he proves that, legally and canonically, the Bishopric of Cracow was never raised to the dignity of an Archbishopric. See S. Kętrzyński, O *zaginionej metropolii*, p. 26.

[3] It is noteworthy that the sources originating in Cracow treat the Slavonic rite as the equal of the Latin. The list of the Bishops of Cracow mentions Prohorius and Proculphus as predecessors of the later Latin Bishops. The Cracow Capitular Year-book gives the names, in the year 1027—28, of three Archbishops, one or two of whom were of the Slavonic rite, etc. This equal treatment of the two rites contrasts strikingly with other sources, not originating from Cracow, which adopt a hostile attitude towards the " Slavonic faith."

had also belonged to Great Moravia, but was politically more strongly linked with the realm of the Piasts than was Cracow in the 10th century. There was a city fitted for that role, and I share the opinion of Kętrzyński that it was probably Sandomierz.[1]

The so-called Gallus, when enumerating *sedes regni principales*, places Sandomierz on the same level with Cracow, with Wrocław in Silesia, and with Płock in Mazovia.[2] The Arabian geographer of the 12th century, al-Idrisi, when speaking of the most important cities of Poland, names Sandomierz.[3]

Sandomierz must have played an important role. This follows from the title borne by the rulers of Poland—*dux Cracoviae et Sandomiriae*. After Bolesław III Wrymouth (d. 1139) had, towards the end of his life, finally raised Cracow to the paramount position of capital, the land of Sandomierz remained one of the component provinces of the country, such as were Silesia, Mazovia, Poland Major, etc. Master Vincent and the Chronicle of Halicz—Volynia distinguish between the *Cracovitae* and *Sandomiritae*, between *Krakovlyany* and *Sudimirtsy*.

The course of Polish history in the 12th and 13th centuries confirms us in the conviction that the country round Sandomierz had a political life distinct from that of Cracow. And as, at least after the middle of the 11th century, there are no facts to justify the unusual political position of Sandomierz, we must conclude that the importance of its position was based on earlier traditions. It is probable that Sandomierz was one of the chief cities of the tribe and country of the Lyakhs,[4] and that this predestined it to become the see of the Metropolitan.

What is the attitude taken by the sources toward the Polish Metropolitan see of the Slavonic rite ?

" Gallus " harbours mixed feelings. In the quoted passage on the two Metropolitan sees, he stresses the equality of the two rites. He does this out of consideration for the Piasts, whom he served and extolled, and who, for political interests, were the defenders of that denomination. On the other hand, under the influence of the Latin clergy to which he belonged, he shows ill-feeling and even hostility towards the Slavonic rite. This appears from his attitude towards Mieszko II,[5] Masław, etc. The opposing interests of the dynasty, and of the Latin clergy in Poland, led to considerable reticence in the Chronicle.

" Gallus " shows his complete awareness of Poland's unity.[6] He divides the population of the country according to the Latin and Slavonic rites, though he is interested almost exclusively in the Latin part of Poland.

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[1] S. Kętrzyński, *op. cit.*, pp. 16—7, 20.
[2] *MPHNS* II, pp. 75, 83.
[3] T. Lewicki, Polska i kraje sąsiednie w świetle " Księgi Rogera " geografa arabskiego z XII w. al-Idrisi'ego, *PKO*, 1945, p. 326.
[4] See Appendix : " The Lyakhs and the Origin of the Radimichians and Vyatichians."
[5] J. Adamus, O zwartości kroniki Galla, *KHW* IV, 1947, p. 31.
[6] " Igitur ab aquilone Polonia septemtrionalis pars est Sclavonie, que habet ab oriente Rusiam, ab austro Ungariam, a subsolano Moraviam et Bohemiam, ab occidente Daciam et Saxoniam collaterales." *MPHNS* II, pp. 6—7.

The chronicler omits the legends relating to Cracow, of which we hear through Master Vincent. He does not mention the powerful prince who lived on the banks of the Vistula, and who, according to the Life of St. Methodius, was forced to receive baptism in a foreign land. He never says a word of the Great Moravian domination of parts of Poland. He places the garrisons of Bolesław the Great in Poznań, Gniezno, Włocławek, and Giecz, but omits Wrocław, Cracow, Przemyśl, Halicz, Wołyń, and other towns. " Gallus " speaks of the Czech invasion in 1038—39 of Gniezno and Poznań, but never mentions the plundering of Cracow and Wrocław, a fact that we learn from Cosmas' Chronicle, etc. For " Gallus " Cracow might not have existed up to the last quarter of the 11th century.[1] And yet, by virtue of Bolesław's III testament, that city definitely became the capital of Poland (about 1138) for many centuries. There must have been important reasons, not such as arise in a day, which predestined it for that outstanding position.[2] " Gallus " dedicated his work among others to the Latin Bishop of Cracow, but he remained suggestively silent on the subject of Cracow's " Slavonic " past.

Such being the author's attitude, it is unreasonable to expect from him any detailed information on the Polish Metropolitan see of the Slavonic rite. He mentions neither the reasons for its creation, nor its character and territorial limits, nor its downfall. Master Vincent's attitude is very similar. It is evident that the Latin clergy was anxious to obliterate rather than to preserve in the memory of the nation the old traditions connected with S. S. Cyril and Methodius. If the two Metropolitan sees were mentioned, it was only in deference to the name of their founder, Bolesław the Great.

This unequal treatment by the chroniclers of different parts of Poland has been attributed by historians to " Gallus' " alleged residence in Poland Major and Mazovia.[3] A conjecture of such a purely circumstantial nature is never very convincing. The author undertakes in his work to describe the past of the entire Kingdom of the Piasts. We know what he understood

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[1] Cracow appears in the Chronicle only once, and that in connection with an insignificant episode in the reign of Bolesław the Bold.

[2] Cracow's position in the forefront of Polish life did not originate in the 12th century. Its importance as early as the 9th and 10th centuries is stressed by the Emperor Henry IV's charter granted to the Bishopric of Prague, Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub, Yosippon, Cosmas, and others.

[3] Nearly all historians who have dealt with the personality of " Gallus " are agreed, quite rightly, that he came to Poland from Hungary. He must, therefore, have visited southern Poland before going northwards. Moreover, the conjecture that he resided exclusively in the northern parts of Poland finds no confirmation in the source. " Gallus " describes events in regard to which the interests of the Piast Kingdom and those of the Latin clergy were identical, as was the case with Pomerania, Prussia, etc., or when he cannot disregard the state of mind of the whole nation (e.g., its hostility towards the Germans), or leave without mention important military achievements of the Poles, such as Bolesław the Great's march to Kiev in 1018. The strongly anti-Czech attitude of the chronicler is perhaps explained by the fact that Moravia (at that time united with Bohemia) was the cradle of the Slavonic rite. On " Gallus " and his Chronicle see among the recent publications : M. Plezia, Kronika Galla na the historiografii XII w., *SPAU* XLVII, 1946, pp. 356—8 ; K. Maleczyński, Gall-Anonim, *PSB* VII (3), 1948, pp. 227—30 ; J. Zathey, Kim był Anonim-Gall ? *SPAU* XLIX, 1948, pp. 289—93; T. Grudziński, Ze studiów nad Kroniką Galla. Rozbiór krytyczny pierwszej części, *ZTNT* XVII (3—4), 1952, pp. 73—4 ; K. Maleczyński in *MPHNS* II, 1952, preface.

by the term "*Polonia*," and the interests of this realm were at stake as much on the banks of the Odra as on those of the Dniester or the Styr.

"Nestor", too, does not treat the two parts of Poland in an equal manner. It is noteworthy that he has relatively much to say about the "Latin" Lyakhs.[1] He knows that they lived on the Baltic coast; he can even name such tribes as the Lutichians and Pomeranians. Under the year 1030 he narrates the history of the pagan reaction which, as we gather from "Gallus", spread chiefly to the western domains of the Piasts. "Nestor" is correctly informed when he speaks of a wilderness dividing Poles and Czechs, etc.[2] He sometimes mentions the "Slavonic" part of Poland, but only when this is necessary for the description of events connected with the Kievan State.[3]

Thus, "Nestor" and "Gallus" were almost completely silent on the subject of the southern and eastern lands of Poland and their past. It is striking that both contemporary writers took the same line, though they started from two quite different points of view. This is the fundamental cause of the scarcity of information on the Polish Metropolitan see of the Slavonic rite.

A community of interests between Gniezno and Kiev, though inspired by entirely different motives and serving different aims, decided the tragic fate of Sandomierz. The Polish Metropolitan see of the Slavonic rite was directed against that of Kiev, and Kiev passed to the offensive when the Polish Kingdom, after the downfall of Mieszko II, found itself in a state of chaos and disintegration.[4]

"Nestor" stresses on the one hand the strength of the armed forces of Kiev and Chernihov mobilized for the campaign of 1031, and on the other, the weakness of Poland at the time. This explains the success of Vladimir the Great's sons. The armies of Rus occupied the Cities of Czerwień, which were incorporated with Kiev.[5] It seems likely that Yaroslaw and Mstislav penetrated further afield, especially as they encountered no serious opposition, and sacked Sandomierz, which was only two days' march distant from Czerwień. In any case, the loss of the region of the Bug was a grievous blow to the Polish Slavonic Metropolis.

Poland was brought out of internal and external peril by the grandson of Bolesław the Great, Casimir, who later was to be called the Restorer in acknowledgement of the part he played. He returned from exile to his

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1 There can be no doubt that the chronicler was better informed on the southern and eastern parts than on the western part of Poland. This follows from geographical considerations.

2 Cross, p. 137, 138, 222, 225.

3 "Nestor" makes no secret of the ethnical character of the population inhabiting eastern Poland, but is not inclined to say much on the subject.

4 On the tragic events of the years 1030—1038 in Poland see S. Kętrzyński, The Introduction of Christianity and the Early Kings of Poland, in *The Cambridge History of Poland from the Origins to Sobieski*, 1950, pp. 34—6.

5 "1030. Yaroslav captured Belz . . . At the same time Boleslav the Great died in Poland, and there was a revolt in the Polish country. The people arose and killed the bishops, the priests, and the *boyars*, and there was rebellion among them. 1031. Yaroslav and Mstislav collected a large force and marched into Poland. They recaptured the Cities of Cherven and ravaged the Polish countryside. They also captured many Poles and distributed them as colonists in various districts." Cross, p. 225.

country with German help (1038), as the Emperor feared too great an accretion to Czech power at the expense of Poland. Between Casimir and Yaroslav an agreement was soon reached, which found expression in intermarriages. About 1038—1039, Casimir married Yaroslav's sister, Maria Dobronega.[1] Some time later, Yaroslav arranged a marriage between his son Izyaslav and Casimir's sister.

In the difficult situation in which he was placed (especially at the beginning of his reign), the Restorer sacrificed a part of eastern Poland;[2] he renounced, in favour of his brother-in-law, Bełz and the Cities of Czerwień; he consented to the abduction, far away to the East, of parts of the Polish population, and he restored to Yaroslav the prisoners of war whom Bolesław the Great had taken on the banks of the Dnieper.[3] But his greatest concession must have concerned the Polish Metropolitan see of the Slavonic rite.

Since Casimir returned to Poland with a large German retinue, in which there were doubtlessly many priests besides the warriors, it is not difficult to see that their influence—in addition to that of his mother—weighed with the Restorer when he proceeded to supplant the "barbarous Slavonic rite," as the German clergy considered Christianity of Cyril and Methodius. Moreover, not only religious prejudices but also political calculations inspired the attitude of the Germans, and Casimir, at any rate, was supported both by the Emperor and by Kiev.[4]

The question arises whether this policy, comprehensible as it may have been in a prince acting under the stress of circumstances, met with any opposition on the Polish side. There are a number of facts which, when put together, lead to conclusions more convincing than mere conjectures generally are. I think that Mazovia was a centre of such an opposition. Here, Masław, who at the time held power in Mazovia, appears in the forefront of events.[5] In my opinion, it was he who took up the defence of the policy of Bolesław the Great and Mieszko II in relation to the Slavonic rite.

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[1] O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, 1895, pp. 87—90, 93; S. Kuczyński, Nieznany traktat polsko-ruski z r. 1039, *SPAU* LII (4), 1951, pp. 320—2; D. Likhachev, *Povest* II, pp. 380—1. N. Baumgarten, Le dernier mariage de Saint Vladimir, *OC* XVIII (2), 1930, pp. 156—8, supposes that after the death of the Greek Anna (1011) Vladimir the Great married again, and that Maria Dobronega was the issue of that marriage.

[2] With the exception of the Dniester region. In Halicz, Casimir established his brother-in-law, Bela of Hungary. See Appendix: "Origins of Halicz."

[3] "Yaroslav married his sister to Casimir, and as a wedding gift Casimir surrendered eight hundred captives whom Boleslav had taken when he overcame Yaroslav." Cross, p. 228.

[4] The Metropolis of Sandomierz, when propagating the Christian faith in the East, automatically extended and fortified Poland's political ascendancy. Now, the growth in strength of the Piast Kingdom was contrary to the interests of the Western Empire. In the reign of Mieszko II (1025—34), German policy persistently pursued the aim of dividing Poland between Mieszko and his brothers and kinsmen. The same aim and object were cherished by Yaroslav the Wise in 1031, when he gave his support against Mieszko to the latter's half-brother, Bezprym. Cf. A. Pośpieszyńska, Mieszko II a Niemcy, *RH* XIV, 1938, pp. 239—95.

[5] I adhere to the traditional name of this man, Masław, given by Master Vincent. But according to certain students, his name was Miecisław, Mietsław, Miesław, etc. See S. Urbańczyk, *Jak było na imię t. zw. Masławowi*, 1946 (unavailable to me); S. Kętrzyński, O imionach piastowskich do końca XI w., *ZM* II, 1951, pp. 729—31.

Most historians assume that the pagan reaction, which was especially violent in Poland Major, spread also to Mazovia. An argument usually quoted in support of this thesis is that, according to the Chronicle of "Gallus", Masław concluded an alliance with the Pomeranians. Students of the period consider that this applies also to the Yatvingians and Lithuanians.[1] In the years 1038—47, Yaroslav of Kiev undertook expeditions against the Mazovians and Yatvingians, and against the Lithuanians. It is probable, though by no means certain, that all these undertakings were connected with one another. But all this does not prove that the Mazovians relapsed into paganism.[2] The Rurikides, in their internal struggles, often had recourse to the help of Lithuanians, Pechenegs, and Polovtsians, without ceasing to be Christians.

There can be no doubt that Masław was a Christian, since he held some high dignity at the court of Mieszko II. Furthermore, "Gallus" relates that the population of Poland Major fled in great numbers across the Vistula into Mazovia, on account of the pagan rising (and for other reasons).[3] If in Mazovia there was a pagan uprising and anarchy prevailed, these escapes would be not comprehensible. What is more, the chronicler stresses the fact that in consequence of a strong influx of population (in my opinion, not only from the West, but also from the South, in connection with the Kievan expedition of 1031), Mazovia increased greatly in strength, and became a densely populated and flourishing country.[4] This information is confirmed by the fact that Casimir the Restorer's younger son, Władysław (1079—1102), resided chiefly in Mazovia, fixed his capital there, and was buried at Płock, together with his son Bolesław III surnamed "Wrymouth" (*Krzywousty*).

When describing Casimir the Restorer's struggles with Mazovia, "Gallus" indicates that the forces of Masław were tenfold those of Casimir. Even if this is an exaggeration, the fact remains that, in this region, contrary to the rest of the country, there was order and well organized power. We are confirmed in this conviction by "Nestor", who, when speaking of Yaroslav's expedition against Mazovia in 1041, does not say a single word that might be taken to imply victory.[5] And as the said prince, but a few years later, undertook a second expedition, this surely means that he did not attain the desired results during the first.

"Gallus" relates that after his victory over Masław, and before opening hostilities against the Pomeranians—against the "pagans," as the author says with considerable emphasis—Casimir the Restorer encouraged his

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[1] J. Jodkowski, Pieczęcie ruskie z XI—XIII w, znalezione w Grodnie i Drohiczynie, *PH* XXVII, 1948, p. 173; H. Łowmiański, Stosunki polsko-pruskie za pierwszych Piastów, *PH* XLI, 1950, p. 160.

[2] Z. Wojciechowski, W sprawie rewolucji pogańskiej w Polsce w r. 1037, *ZM* I, 1950, pp. 609—10.

[3] "Illi (the inhabitants of Poland Major) vero, qui de manibus hostium evadebant, vel qui suorum sedicionem devitabant, ultra flumen Wysla in Mazoviam fugiebant." *Galli Anonymi Cronica*, p. 43.

[4] "Erat enim eo tempore Mazovia Polonis illuc antea fugientibus, ut dictum, in tantum populosa, quod agricolis rura, animalibus pascua, habitatoribus loca (non satis) erant spaciosa." *Ibidem*, p. 45.

[5] "1041. Yaroslav attacked the Mazovians by boat." Cross, p. 227.

warriors to be as brave as they had been previously when fighting against the " false Christians ".[1] As " Gallus " had previously spoken only of the bloody combat with Mazovia,[2] it seems clear whom he designates by that appellation. Similar epithets were often used by Latin writers when describing the followers of the Slavonic rite.

Everything speaks in favour of the supposition that Masław opposed the " Latin " orientation of Casimir, and that he endeavoured to gather around him the " Slavonic " Poles. This was a large-scale policy, which constituted a serious menace to the young ruler. It was not without reason that " Gallus " wrote of " great damage and peril " threatening Casimir from Masław.[3]

It may well be asked, if this was true only of Casimir ? Mazovia was a good base for operations directed against the land of the Buzhians, and, thus, Yaroslav's territorial conquests could be endangered, and his plans of Church policy thwarted. This explains why the Prince of Kiev undertook two expeditions against Mazovia in the years with which we are concerned, and why he simultaneously fought Masław's allies, the Yatvingians and Lithuanians.

One characteristic detail deserves to be retained. " Gallus " states that Masław was killed by Casimir, and says nothing of any Kievan forces having taken part in the battle ; for this, to a certain extent, exposed Casimir to blame.[4]

According to " Nestor," the victory was won by Yaroslav, and there is in his record no mention of a participation by Casimir's forces. These different versions show how strongly both parties were engaged against Mazovia, and what importance they attributed to the overthrow of their dangerous adversary, each one ascribing the final success to himself.

There is no doubt that Yaroslav had made an agreement with his brother-in-law, Casimir, as to the future destiny of Mazovia, before Masław was vanquished. When victory had been finally attained, the Restorer

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[1] " Superatis tot falsis christicolis, iam securi pugnate cum discolis." *Galli Anonymi Cronica*, p. 47. We have said before that "Gallus" harboured mixed feelings towards the Slavonic rite. When it came to a conflict between the " Latin " and " Slavonic " Poles, he did not fail to give expression to his hostility towards the latter.

[2] The chronicler relates, in a general way, that Casimir " liberated all Poland which had been occupied by the Pomeranians, Czechs, and other neighbouring tribes " (*ibid.*, p. 44), but gives no exact information as to any fighting with them. The detailed decription of Casimir's armed conflict relates only to Masław. Moreover, we have to keep in mind that in the opinion of the Latin writers, the Czechs were Christians, and the Pomeranians pagans ; therefore, the expression " false Christians " could not refer to either of them. J. Adamus, O zwartości kroniki Galla, *KHW* IV, 1947, p. 32, is also of the opinion that the allusion to " false Christians " can relate only to the Mazovians.

[3] " . . . grave dampum existimans et periculum." *Ibid.*, p. 45.

[4] That Masław was backed by the Rus is testified by Master Vincent : " . . . ac Ruthenorum larga asciscens suffragia ", *MPH* II, p. 286, and also by other sources, such as the Chronicle of Poland Major, *MPH*, II, p. 486: "(Masław) Ruthenos sibi in auxilium contra Kazimirum invocavit." There could be two motives for handing down such information ; either it was a question of discrediting Masław by mentioning his alliance with Kiev, or else—and I consider this alternative as the more probable—the " Latin " Poles, from the 12th to the 14th century, signified by " Rus " the followers of the Slavonic rite. We must not forget that, on account of the language of the liturgy, both " Nestor " and Cosmas considered that the " Slavonic " and the " Rus " faith were one and the same.

regained possession of the Mazovian country, in my opinion, at the price of uniting it ecclesiastically with the Latin rite.[1]

"Gallus" says that after the defeat of Masław, Casimir "triumphantly" united the whole of Poland. But the nature of this triumph appears somewhat doubtful. Hrushevsky, in his "History of the Ukraine-Rus," censures Yaroslav for his collaboration with Casimir, which he considers difficult to understand, aimless, and even harmful to the interests of Kiev. We can state, on the contrary, that this agreement was concluded at the expense of the Slavonic rite in Poland.

The question whether after the death of Bolesław the Great and Mieszko II the Slavonic rite in Poland had other protectors, should in my opinion be answered in the affirmative. The part was played by the son and successor of Casimir the Restorer, Bolesław the Bold (1058—c. 1079). During his reign, important changes occurred within the Kievan State. Struggles broke out between the sons of Yaroslav the Wise. Izyaslav, who was married to a princess of the Piast dynasty (a sister of Casimir), was expelled by his younger brother, and sought refuge and help in Poland. He found both at the court of Bolesław. In defence of Izyaslav, Bolesław the Bold undertook two expeditions against Kiev. These events are strongly reminiscent of those of 1018, when Bolesław the Great established Svyatopolk on the banks of the Dnieper.

"Gallus" was right when he saw similarities between the reign of Bolesław the Bold and the days of Bolesław the Great.[2] This similarity can be illustrated by a long series of instances, not necessarily connected with eastern affairs. Since the first Bolesław become a protector of the "Slavonic" Poles, the force of cirumstances led the second one along the same path.

We possess a source of great importance which fully bears out this opinion. It is the letter of Pope Gregory VII to Bolesław the Bold, dated April, 1075, which up to the present has not been rightly interpreted. It follows from this letter that there existed at the time close relations between the Apostolic See and Bolesław.[3] Confirming his obligations, the Pope took Poland under his protection, and endeavoured to support her in all "necessary and laudable" matters.[4] In response to Bolesław's desire,

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[1] On the beginnings of the Church organization in Mazovia see M. Gębarowicz, Mogilno, Płock, Czerwińsk. Studia nad organizacją Kościoła na Mazowszu w XI i XII w., in *Prace historyczne ku czci S. Zakrzewskiego*, 1934 (unavailable to me); J. Umiński, Powstanie biskupstwa poznańskiego i zależnego odeń archidiakonatu czerskiego, *SWTN* III, 1948, pp. 244—5; *PWTN* XXXVI, 1949; Z. Wojciechowski, *Państwo polskie w wiekach średnich*, 2nd ed., 1948, p. 58.

[2] "Igitur rex Bolezlavus secundus audax fuit miles et strennuus, hospitum susceptor benignus, datorque largorum largissimus. Ipse quoque sicut primus Bolezlavus magnus Ruthenorum regni caput, urbem Kyow precipuam hostiliter intravit." *Galli Anonymi Cronica*, p. 48.

[3] ". . . excellentia vestra beatum Petrum apostolorum principem sinceris affectibus diligit . . ., debitorem vobis fieri desiderastis et, sicut in Deo confidimus, promeruistis." *MPH* I, p. 367.

[4] "Unde et nos . . . vestrae caritati in Christo connexi sumus, et curam ministerii, ad quod sub obedientia apostolici principatus occulta Dei dispensatio nos licet indignos ordinavit atque constituit, in ea parte, qua vobis necessarium et honestum fore cognoverimus . . ." *Ibidem*, p. 367.

the Pope sent special legates to Poland who would carry out important tasks, while the final decisions remained reserved to himself.[1]

The matter in hand was the increase of the number of Bishoprics and the fixing of a Metropolitan see.[2] The hypothesis of Abraham that the Papal letter related to the restoration of the Metropolitan see of Gniezno, although accepted by many historians, seems unlikely.[3] The following arguments may be advanced against this conjecture :

A. The destruction of many churches and the massacre of clergy during the pagan revolt were not sufficient to bring about the suppression of the Church organization. Such a decision would depend on the Pope alone.

B. The lack of information about the Archbishops of Gniezno in the years 1029—75 has no relation to the alleged abolition of the Metropolitan see, because these Archbishops do also not figure in the sources after 1075.[4]

C. According to Adam of Bremen, a Polish Archbishop consecrated one of the Swedish Bishops before 1050.[5]

D. When Casimir regained possession of Silesia in 1050, he immediately proceeded to restore the Bishopric of Wrocław. By analogy, there is no reason to suppose that in the case of Gniezno he would have acted differently ; all the more so, as he became master of that city immediately after his return from exile (1038). The sources stress the particular care of Church matters shown by both Casimir the Restorer and Bolesław the Bold. It would have been in contradiction to this attitude to allow a 40 years' period to pass without the existence of a Metropolitan see, the prime political importance of which must not be forgotten.

E. Gniezno enjoyed an unchanged status before and after the pagan revolt. Had it not been for the uninterrupted existence of this Metropolitan see, and for an already strongly rooted tradition, it is doubtful whether, in 1075, a Metropolitan see would have been restored at Gniezno, in view of

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[1] " . . . ipsi juxta sanctorum patrum statuta diffiniant aut nobis diffinienda referant."

[2] ". . . quod episcopi terre vestre non habentes certum metropolitane sedis locum, nec sub aliquo positi magisterio, huc et illuc pro sua quisque ordinatione vagantes, ultra regulas et decreta sanctorum patrum liberi sunt et absoluti. Deinde vero quod inter tantam hominum multitudinem adeo pauci sunt episcopi et amplae singulorum parochiae, ut in subjectis plebibus curam episcopalis officii nullatenus exequi aut rite administrare valeant." *Ibid.*, p. 368.

[3] W. Abraham, *Organizacja Kościoła w Polsce do połowy XII w.*, 1890, 87—91.

[4] The first mention of a Gniezno Archbishop occurrs in the second half of the 11th century, namely in 1092, and concerns the death of Archbishop Bogumił of whom we know so little, *MPH* II, p. 773 ; T. Wojciechowski, *Szkice*, pp. 356—7 ; Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, Bogumił, *PSB* II, pp. 200—1. The existence at the same period of another Archbishop, Henry (cf. T. Wojciechowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 196—220), is purely hypothetical. It should be emphasized that the sources contain no definite mention of the Archbishops of Gniezno, not even in connection with facts, when one would expect it, such as the consecration of the new cathedral at Gniezno (1064), the coronation of Bolesław the Bold (1076), or the violent death of the Bishop of Cracow, St. Stanisław. A. Małecki, *Z dziejów i literatury*, 1896, p. 216, rightly observed that more reliable information concerning the Archbishops of Gniezno begins with Archbishop Martin (1092—1118). Polish sources of the 11th century have very little to say about the Bishops in other dioceses, and there is nothing exceptional in the fact that information about the Archbishops of Gniezno is lacking.

[5] S. Kętrzyński, *O zaginionej metropolii*, p. 25 ; J. Arne, L'évêque Osmund et la Polonia d'Adam de Brême, *SA* I, 1948, pp. 560—2.

the fact that the political centre of Poland at this time was shifting from Poland Major into Mazovia, and later to Cracow.

Such considerations lead to the conclusion that the paragraph in the letter of Gregory VII, concerning the need of organizing a Metropolitan see in Poland, referred not to Gniezno, but rather to the other Metropolitan, i.e. that of the Slavonic rite. No proofs are available on the liquidation of the latter by the Pope; its existence was threatened or undermined only by political circumstances, after the downfall of Mieszko II. The initiative, therefore, taken by Bolesław the Bold was fully justified by past events, and Gregory VII appreciated the importance of it for the Church. This observation is confirmed by a characteristic fact, namely that Vratislav II, after 1075, sent a petition to the Pope requesting that the Slavonic liturgy should be re-introduced in Bohemia. It is known that questions concerning the rite of Cyril and Methodius formed a link between the Czechs and Poles. The success achieved by Bolesław the Bold may have influenced Vratislav and encouraged him to take similar action.[1]

The ecclesiastical plans of Bolesław the Bold were affected by Izyaslav, a son of Yaroslav the Wise, who, being in exile, sided with Rome, and therefore would necessarily be a supporter of the Slavonic rite under Papal supremacy.[2] This explains why Gregory, while approving, in the just quoted letter, the Church policy of Bolesław, endeavoured at the same time to bring about a reconciliation between him and Izyaslav, treating them both as supporters and as representatives of the same idea.[3]

It is difficult to say, with any degree of exactness, how far the project of organizing a Metropolitan see of the Slavonic rite in Poland materialized in the years 1075—9. The fragmentary sources we possess would tend to prove that serious progress was achieved in this direction. An entry in the Cracow Capitular Calendar, bearing the characteristics of an obituary note on Bolesław the Bold, states that the deceased ruler "*constituit episcopatus per Poloniam.*"[4] The coronation of the King (1076) shows that Bolesław continued to be in close contact with Gregory VII. The German chronicler speaks of fifteen Bishops who took part in this ceremony.[5]

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[1] Gregory VII refused the Czech's request. Its fulfilment would have taken place at the expense of the Latin rite. The problem of the Slavonic rite in Poland presented an entirely different aspect. Moreover, Gregory VII was keen on gaining the support of the Latin clergy in Bohemia, for the most part German, in his struggle against the Emperor Henry IV. G. Hoffmann, Papst Gregor VII und der christliche Osten, in *Studi Gregoriani* I, 1947, p. 179, rightly observed that Gregory VII conducted in different countries a different policy, with regard to the Slavonic rite.

[2] A. Ziegler, Gregor VII und der Kiever Grossfürst Izjaslav, in *Studi Gregoriani* I, 1947, pp. 387—411, where the literature on the subject is given.

[3] Under the year 1069, "Nestor" has preserved a noteworthy detail relating to the first Polish intervention in favour of Izyaslav and his Church policy: the population of Kiev was prepared to burn down its city and to migrate to Greece. Cross, p. 239. One wonders if this desperate decision was not inspired by the Metropolitan of Kiev, whose position was in danger, as were Byzantine interests.

[4] *MPH* II, p. 918. Cf. T. Wojciechowski, *Szkice.*, p. 135.

[5] "Dux Polenorum . . . regiam dignitatem regiumque nomen sibi usurpavit, diadema imposuit, atque ipso die natalis Domini a 15 episcopis in regem est consecratus." Lamberti Hersfeldensis Annales, *MGH. Script* V, p. 255.

Possibly, this number was an exaggeration, but it is scarcely to be admitted that at the end of A.D. 1076 there were " only a few Bishops " in Poland, as stated by the Pope in his letter of 1075. We must suppose, therefore, that Bolesław was successful in building up the Church organization profiting by the sojourn of the Papal legates in his country. Considering that in the early 12th century there were in Poland only four Latin Bishops under the Archbishop of Gniezno (" Gallus " dedicated his Chronicle to them all),[1] it may be assumed that the considerable number of Bishops during the reign of Bolesław the Bold comprised dignitaries of the Slavonic rite. These Slavonic Bishops no doubt also participated in the King's coronation.

However, Bolesław the Bold did not bring his plans to fruition, though he was on the point of doing so ; the Kievan State was at the time weakened by internal strife, so that Bolesław was able to regain his ancestors' possessions in the East.[2] He enjoyed the full support of the Pope. The King's plans were opposed by the Latin clergy in Poland, who were certainly not interested in the restoration of Church conditions as they existed during the time of Bolesław the Great. Moreover, that clergy derived considerable advantages from the tragic turn of fortune suffered by the Metropolitan see of the Slavonic rite. It may be assumed that the " Slavonic " lands of Poland—or at least a large part of them—were placed under the administration of the Latin dioceses, that of Cracow in the first instance.[3] This is the origin of the unusual size of the diocese of Cracow in later centuries.[4] Consequent upon the new situation and the uncommon elevation of Cracow, a characteristic fact may be noted : Aaron, Bishop of Cracow in the reign of Casimir the Restorer,[5] received the pallium from Pope Leo IX, a dis-

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[1] The same number must have existed during the reign of Bolesław the Bold. There is no reason to suppose that this King increased the number of Latin Bishops in Poland, and that only as a result of a subsequent crisis through which the Latin rite passed, their number was again reduced.

[2] H. Łowmiański, Problematyka historyczna Grodów Czerwieńskich, *KH* LX, 1953, pp. 60, 66, without adequate justification questions in this respect the information given by Długosius, based on a lost source.

[3] This was decided by the fact that the Slavonic rite had many adherents in the land of Cracow, although the Cracow Bishopric was formally within the Gniezno Metropolitan see.

[4] The Polish Bishoprics founded about the year 1000 were rather narrowly spaced in relatively small areas, and the episcopal residences were fixed more or less in the centre of the dioceses. Therefore, it is probable that, at that time, the Bishopric of Cracow included only the Cracow region. Here Cracow was really the centre. In the following centuries, this Bishopric comprised an unusally large expanse, and extended from the Vistula to the Bug, thus forming the largest diocese in Europe. This state of things must have developed under conditions subsequent to the year 1000. Obviously, the Cracow Bishopric had extended its supremacy over new territories.

[5] Before his appointment as Bishop of Cracow, Aaron was abbot of Tyniec. Polish chronicles of the 13th century mention that Casimir the Restorer settled the Benedictines in Tyniec, having brought them over from Leodium (Liége). *MPH* III, p. 621. There are no grounds for supposing—as is frequently done—that the monastery was founded only then ; cf. F. Pohorecki, Kilka słów o Aronie, pierwszym opacie tynieckim, *KH* XXXVI, 1922, pp. 1—10. The monastery undoubtedly existed at an earlier time, as may be deduced from the Benedictine traditions of the Slavonic rite in Tyniec. This fact is disregarded by P. David, *Les Bénédictins et l'Ordre de Cluny dans la Pologne médiévale*, 1939, pp. 44—6. However, the Latin rite of Tyniec dates from the time of Casimir the Restorer. Tyniec was one of the oldest abbeys in Poland—and some abbeys must have existed during the reign of Bolesław the Great, since " Gallus " mentions that abbots (*abbates*) took part in the funeral of this King.

tinction which was usually conferred only on Archbishops-Metropolitans. Bishops sometimes received the pallium as a mark of special honour.[1]

As is well known, a tragic conflict broke out between the King, a man of great ambition, energy, and initiative but of violent temper, and the Bishop of Cracow (since 1072), St. Stanisław. It lasted some years[2] and reached its end with the death of the Bishop (1079). Kętrzyński assumes that St. Stanisław refused to return the lands which formerly belonged to the Metropolitan see of Sandomierz nor Sandomierz itself.[3] This surmise is confirmed by the already mentioned letter of Gregory VII, in which the Pope states that the Metropolitan see in Poland had no fixed domicile (*episcopi terrae vestrae non habentes certum metropolitanae sedis locum . . .*) The existence of the Slavonic Metropolitan see, therefore, was not questioned and the conflict rather concerned territorial affairs.

I am of the opinion that the famous conflict between the King and the Bishop arose from the rivalry and antagonism between two rites in Poland, the Latin and the Slavonic one. Symptoms of these mutual animosities can be observed in earlier years.[4] Of course, there is no evidence on which to pronounce a final judgement in the matter; nevertheless, we have noted a number of facts which, taken together, enable us to make deductions amounting to more than a mere hypothesis.

Despite the existence of ample literature on the subject, the problem under discussion remains, for many reasons, difficult to solve. One man, "Gallus", knew the facts, but did not want, or perhaps could not write about them. In his Chronicle, he devoted to these events a few vague sentences only, thereby exciting rather than satisfying the curiosity of posterity. I admit that the rivalry between two rites could not, by itself, lead to such a sanguinary occurrence as the execution of the Bishop, a man of great piety and force of character, and bring about the downfall of one of the most outstanding Polish Kings.

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[1] S. Kętrzyński, O paliuszu biskupów polskich XI w. *RPAU* XLIII, 1902; *idem*, *O zaginionej metropolii*, pp. 24—5; W. Semkowicz, *Paleografia łacińska*, 1951, pp. 157, 305, 308.

[2] When Gregory VII, in the already quoted letter to Bolesław the Bold, wrote about Bishops in Poland, whose dioceses were too extensive for them to be able to discharge their duties, this must have referred, in the first instance, to the Bishopric of Cracow. As the Pope's letter was written in answer to the King's intervention with the Apostolic See (this is pointed out by T. Wojciechowski, *Szkice historyczne XI wieku*, 3rd ed., 1951 p. 175), it may be assumed that the beginnings of the conflict discussed go back to the period before 1075. It may be that the Bishop of Cracow Lambertus (1061—1071), under the influence or pressure of the King, "*neglexit pallium petere*". It we accept this hypothesis, it would seem that from the beginning of his reign Bolesław the Bold was opposed to an excessive elevation of the Bishopric of Cracow at the expense of Polish "Slavonic" lands, thereby reversing the policy of Casimir the Restorer and Aaron.

[3] S. Kętrzyński, *O zaginionej metropolii*, pp. 43—5.

[4] The Kiev *Paterikon* mentions that during the reign of Bolesław the Great, Greek clergy were being expelled from Poland. Cosmas notes briefly under the year 1022: "In Polonia facta est persecutio christianorum". It may be that the interdict placed on Poland by Radim-Gaudentius, the Archbishop of Gniezno, was caused by some disturbances of a religious nature. "Gallus" hints at it but vaguely. The commentaries of V. Korolyuk, O poslednem periode pravleniya Boleslava Khrabrogo, *IZ* XIX, 1946, pp. 142—8, on the above subject cannot be accepted.

The conflict arising from Church affairs must have been rendered more acute by political and—may be—personal factors, which exacerbated it and led to irrevocable decisions.[1] The action undertaken by the Bishop called forth reprisals on the part of the King. It would be useless to discuss details, which owing to lack of source material would inevitably be hypothetical. But it is a fact that " Gallus ", though a clergyman himself, did not hesitate to call Stanisław a " traitor " and to qualify his conduct as a " sin ". The chronicler applies the same qualification to the King's revenge,[2] but he says that the fate meted out to Bolesław was a " wrong ".[3] " Gallus " attempted to remain neutral in the conflict, although, on the whole, he inclined to the King's side.[4]

There is a distinct probability that the Bishop of Cracow was tried before a court, in which the Archbishop of Gniezno sat,[5] and this court passed the sentence of dismemberment (*truncatio membrorum*).[6] The primary duty of the Metropolitan of Gniezno was to defend the Latin rite in Poland, but on the other hand it may be that he was not directly interested, as was the Bishop of Cracow, in the loss of territories in favour of the Slavonic Metropolitan

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[1] I do not discuss these events in detail because it is not the conflict between the King and Bishop with which I am here concerned, but only the history of the Slavonic rite in Poland.

[2] " Qualiter autem rex Bolezlavus de Polonia sit eiectus longum existit enarrare, sed hoc dicere licet, quia non debuit christus in christum (cf. S. Krzyżanowski, Na marginesie Galla, *KH* XXIV, 1909) peccatum quodlibet corporaliter vindicare. Illud enim multum sibi nocuit, cum peccato peccatum adhibuit, cum pro traditione pontificem truncacioni membrorum adhibuit. Neque enim traditorem episcopum excusamus, neque regem vindicantem sic se turpiter commendamus . . . " *Galli Anonymi Cronica*, pp. 52—3. Master Vincent knew of the accusation of treason made against the Bishop (astruit illum proditionis originem). Cf. D. Borawska, Z dziejów jednej legendy. W sprawie genezy kultu św. Stanisława, *PIHUW* IV, 1950, p. 86.

[3] " . . . ne patris iniuriam vindicaret . . . " *MPHNS* II, p. 55.

[4] J. Adamus, *O monarchii Gallowej*, 1952, pp. 132—4; J. Grudziński, Ze studiów nad kroniką Galla, *ZTNT* XVII (3—4), 1952, pp. 78—82.

[5] The letter written by Pascal II (1099—1118) to the Archbishop (of Gniezno) mentions the sentence passed, without the Pope's knowledge, on one of the Bishops by an Archbishop, the predecessor of the recipient of this letter (" Nonne predecessor tuus, preter Romani pontificis conscientiam dampnavit episcopum?"). M. Gębarowicz, Polska, Węgry czy Sycylia odbiorcą listu Paschalisa II, *KH* LI, 1937, pp. 513—53, establishes, in my opinion convincingly, that the letter concerned Poland, and was written to the Archbishop of Gniezno. Gębarowicz's opinion is shared by K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław Krzywousty*, (1946), p. 191; K. Górski, O sprawie św. Stanisława, *NP* IV, 1948, p. 74; on the other hand, it is opposed by Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Repertorium polskich dokumentów doby piastowskiej* I, 1937, N 22, p. 25; J. Umiński, W sprawie zatargu św. Stanisława z Bolesławem Szczodrym, *PH*, 1948. Długossius, on the basis of an unknown source, states that St. Stanisław at first gave precedence to the Archbishop of Gniezno (whom Długossius calls Peter) in reprimanding the King. When, however, the Archbishop recoiled from doing so, he took the initiative on himself. The information concerning the attitude of the Archbishop of Gniezno towards Bolesław the Bold coincides, to a large degree, with the letter of Paschalis II. (" Huic Petro Archiepiscopo, cum vir sanctus Stanislaus primas reprehendendi in Boleslaum partes reliquisset, et ille metu tyranni aggredi illum non auderet: officium illius beatus Stanislaus intrepide subiens, usque ad mortem pro fide . . . animam suam ponere beatissimus pastor non dubitavit." Catalogus archiepiscoporum Gnesnensium, *Joannis Dlugossii Opera* I, 1887, p. 347).

[6] The death of the Bishop of Cracow has been commemorated—it seems—by sculptures on a font in Tryde, Sweden. W. Semkowicz, Sprawa św. Stanisława, in *Księga pamiątkowa ku czci O. Balzera*, by several hands, II, 1925, pp. 389—439, thinks that this font originated in the 12th century. On the other hand, M. Gębarowicz, Początki kultu św. Stanisława i jego średniowieczny zabytek w Szwecji, *RZO*, 1927, p. 10, declares for the 13th century, and assumes that the font is of importance only for the history of the cult of St. Stanisław.

see. The surmise cannot be excluded that the Archbishop acted from fear of the King's anger, or that he was convinced that Stanisław's action, his "sin" (according to "Gallus") was harmful to the country.

After the death of the Bishop, Bolesław was expelled (*eiectus*) from Poland, and went to Hungary. In the circumstances existing at the time in Poland and in some other countries (Bohemia, Hungary, Rus), there was nothing extraordinary in the expulsion of a member of the reigning dynasty. What was extraordinary, was the removal of a powerful monarch, who for more than twenty years wielded the sceptre and who recently had been crowned (1076). The sudden death of Bolesław in exile, while in full vigour and strength, added further to the extraordinary character of these events.

It may be assumed that the success of the plot was due to surprise and treachery.[1] However, this circumstance permits the surmise that the return of the exile would not have been difficult, especially as the King was by no means broken or defeated, as may be gauged from the behaviour of Bolesław after his arrival in Hungary.[2] This opinion finds support in the fact that, already in 1086, Bolesław's son, Mieszko, returned to Poland.

An indication of the popularity of Bolesław the Bold among the Poles may be found in the attitude of the people towards the son of the exiled King. "Gallus" states that the death of Mieszko was mourned by "the whole of Poland",[3] though, owing to his youth and short sojourn in his native country (1086—1089), he could hardly have earned personal merit or performed outstanding deeds.

A later tradition preserved the information that Bolesław was excommunicated and appeared as a pilgrim in Ossiach (Carinthia), where he remained in the Benedictine monastery, doing service and penance. He was supposed to have died there, and his grave is still presumed to be at Ossiach.[4]

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[1] The existence of a conspiracy is supported by the circumstance that those who participated in the action against the King subsequently were said to have poisoned his son (1089). "Aiunt enim quosdam emulos timentes, ne patris iniuriam vindicaret, veneno puerum bone indolis peremisse." *MPHNS* II, pp. 55. This detail sheds some light on the methods and means employed by the conspirators against Bolesław as well. Master Vincent also mentions a conspiracy (quod in regis denique coniuratum est excidium). Cf. A. Semkowicz, *Krytyczny rozbiór Dziejów Polski Jana Długosza*, 1887, p. 134.

[2] "(Ladislas, King of Hungary) non eum (Bolezlavum) recipit velud extraneum vel hospitem, vel par parem recipere quisque solet, sed quasi miles principem, vel dux regem, vel rex imperatorem recipere iure debet . . . Nam cum regnum alienum fugitivus introiret, cumque nullus rusticorum fugitivo obediret, obviam ire Bolezlavo Vladislavus, ut vir humilis properabat, eumque propinquantem eminus equo descendens ob reverentiam expectabat. At contra Bolezlavus humilitatem regis mansueti non respexit, sed in pestifere fastum superbie cor erexit. Hunc, inquit, alumpnum in Polonia educavi, hunc regem in Ungaria collocavi. Non decet eum me ut equalem venerari, sed equo sedentem ut quemlibet de principibus osculari. Quod intendens Wladislavus aliquantulum egre tulit et ab itinere declinavit, ei tamen servicium per totam terram fieri satis magnifice commendavit. Postea vero concorditer et amicabiliter inter se sicut fratres convenerunt." *MPHNS* II, pp. 53—4.

[3] "Mortuo autem puero Meschone tota Polonia sic lugebat, sicut mater unici mortem filii. Nec illi solummodo, quibus notus erat, lamentabantur, verum etiam illi, qui nunquam eum viderant, lamentando feretrum mortui sequebantur. Rustici quippe aratra, pastores pecora deserabant, artifices studia, operatores opera pre dolore Meschonis postponebant. Parvi quoque pueri et puelle, servi insuper et ancille Meschonis exequias lacrimis et suspiriis celebrabant." *MPHNS* II, pp. 55—6.

[4] S. Zakrzewski, Ossyak i Wilten, *RPAU* XLVI, 1903, pp. 265—340.

An analysis of the sources excludes the possibility of excommunication. Suffice it to mention the fact that after the violent death of the Bishop of Cracow, Bolesław the Bold was being received with regal honours by the King of Hungary St. Ladislas, who treated him like a brother (" Gallus "). There is little ground to assume that the King was doing penance in cloistral retreat. The bearing of Bolesław at his meeting with the King of Hungary, full of assurance and dignity, does not agree with a man seeking comfort behind the walls of a monastery. Moreover, the chronology of events should be taken into account. St. Stanisław died on April 11, 1079. There are no grounds to assume that the downfall of the King immediately followed the death of the Bishop. Bolesław's departure from Poland might have taken place in the second half of the year 1079, and even in 1080.[1] Early in 1081, the King was dead.[2] If he ever stayed in the monastery of Ossiach, his sojourn there must have been very brief.

The Capitular Calendar of Cracow, which recorded the death of Bolesław and emphasized his services to the Church, does not mention the fact of his having done penance. Neither does " Gallus ". Master Vincent (13th century) mentions that the King took his own life, and the Chronicle of Poland Major (13th—14th cent.) adds that he died with his mind deranged. There cannot be any doubt that of all the sources dealing with the subject the most reliable is the oft-quoted " Gallus ". This chronicler notes that Bolesław's death was caused by the Hungarians.[3] The information has every appearance of being reliable. The age of the King and even more his brief sojourn in Hungary seem to support it. If, therefore, Bolesław ever visited Ossiach—there is no reason to disregard entirely the later tradition—he might have been hiding in the monastery from his assassins.[4]

Ossiach is situated North of the Drava, which river formed the boundary between the territories of the Patriarchate of Aquileia and the Archbishopric of Salzburg, and should have been subordinated to the latter.[5] But Ossiach was dependent on Aquileia, paid dues there, and the Patriarch had to approve the election of the Abbot.[6] The Archbishopric of Salzburg was reputed for its strict " Latinity ". The Slavonic rite was at that period banned throughout the territories subject to the jurisdiction of Rome, except in the Patriarchate of Aquileia.[7] Considering that during the 11th century Carinthia was still almost entirely Slovene, it is not excluded that

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1 S. Kętrzyński, Na marginesie " Genealogii Piastów," *PH* XXIX, 1930—1, p. 177.
2 O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, 1895, p. 97.
3 " Ungari tamen illud (the episode of the meeting of the two Kings) altius et profundius in corde notaverunt. Unde magnam sibi Ungarorum invidiam cumulavit, indeque cicius extrema dies eum, ut aiunt, occupavit." *MPHNS* II, p. 54.
4 It does not seem very likely that the Hungarians should murder a man already harmless as far as they were concerned ; moreover, a man doing penance.
5 There were disputes about Ossiach between Aquileia and Salzburg ; see A. Jaksch, *Geschichte Kärntens* I, 1928, pp. 172, 177.
6 A. Jaksch, Die Kärntner Geschichtsquellen, 811—1202, in *Monumenta Historica Ducatus Carinthiae* III, 1904, N 243 a, p. 102 ; N 876, pp. 340—1.
7 E. Klebel, Zur Geschichte der Pfarren und Kirchen Kärntens. Die kirchliche Organisation im Patriarchat Aquileia, *Carinthia*, 1926, pp. 1—63 (unavailable to me).

there were in Ossiach Benedictines of the Slavonic rite, subordinated to the Apostolic See.[1]

The contacts between Bolesław and the Benedictines are confirmed by the following remarkable facts. Szczygielski, who knew the calendars of ancient Benedictine libraries—both Polish and non-Polish—while enumerating the personalities venerated by the Order, notes: "*Boleslai, Regis Poloniae conversi*".[2] Lanckorońska, in her work now in preparation, draws attention to the information of Bucelin, who under April 11 records: "*Ipsa die commemoratio Ven. viri Boleslai regis.*"[3] In a manuscript of the 16th century, preserved in Rome—as pointed out by Zathey—there is the following item under April 11th: "*Commemoratio venerabilis Boleslai regis.*"[4] *Venerabilis* represents the first of three degrees of sanctity. This indicates that there must have existed a cult of Bolesław the Bold,[5] and that the tragic vicissitudes of the King must have had a religious background. The date itself is important. April 11, as recorded in Polish annals, is the day of St. Stanisław's death. It is probable that if a murdered man had been canonized, the murderer had to be a penitent, if his name was to be preserved in the calendars. Hence, the later legend of the penance of Bolesław which, if it ever took place, can have lasted only a few months.

It should be noted that there is no record of any reaction on the part of Gregory VII to the tragic events of 1079. The canonization of St. Stanisław took place nearly 200 years after the death of the Bishop (1253), and the cult of the martyr dates only from the 13th century. Master Vincent, a warm believer in the saintliness of Stanisław, does not mention the existence of any cult of the Saint, apart from his methaphor about the sun hidden behind a cloud, to shine forth one day. Moreover, Vincent notes that the accusations advanced by the King greatly harmed the reputation of the Bishop.[6] It may be assumed, therefore, that the cult of Bolesław the Bold spread by the Benedictines was older than the cult of St. Stanisław, and that it was supplanted only subsequently by the efforts of the Bishops of Cracow and the Dominicans.[7] "Gallus", who lived in Poland in the

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[1] The study of the Slavonic rite in the Benedictine monastery in Ossiach is rendered difficult, because the archives of this monastery were partly destroyed and partly dispersed in the 18th century. My attention was drawn to the problem of the possible links between the monastery of Ossiach and the Slavonic rite by K. Lanckorońska, to whom I am greatly indebted.

[2] S. Szczygielski, *Calendarium benedictinum e Menologio sanctorum atque illustrium ejusdem ordinis virorum excerptum*, 1663, p. 78; *idem*, *Aquila polono benedictina*, 1663, p. 41. See J. Zathey, *O kilku przepadłych zabytkach rękopiśmiennych*, p. 78. Bolesław the Bold was included among the Venerable by a Cistercian copyist of the 17th century ("Bolesława króla repenitenta"). J. Zathey, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

[3] G. Bucelin, *Menologium Benedictinum sanctorum, beatorum atque illustrium ejusdem ordinis virorum*, 1655. Bucelin adds the following note, indicating the source of his information: "Ex Monim. Osiac. et tumulo, quem illic inspeximus, A.C. 1649. Item Annal. nostr. German. et Benedict., etc."

[4] Bibl. Vallicelliana, Vitae Sanctorum, C 125. Cf. J. Zathey, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

[5] The hypothesis of O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, 1895, p. 88, that the extraordinary elevation of Bolesław was meant to add lustre to the memory of the Bishop of Cracow, does not seem convincing.

[6] D. Borawska, *Z dziejów jednej legendy*, pp. 75, 86. Cf. M. Gębarowicz, *Początki kultu św. Stanisława*, p. 40.

[7] J. Zathey, *op. cit.*, pp. 79—80.

early 12th century, must have been influenced by the opinions prevailing in a large part of the country.[1] This is all the more noteworthy as the chronicler was a foreigner, less susceptible to the emotional reactions of the Poles. " Gallus ", a clergyman of the Latin rite himself, rather ill-disposed towards the " Slavonic faith ", unaffected by the cult of Bolesław, aware of the faults and failings of the King (Gregory VII, in his letter of 1075, refers to Bolesław in more favourable terms than the chronicler), does not indulge in condemning the King, which condemnation emerges so strongly in Polish sources of the 13th century. One can only surmise how much more favourably a follower of the rite of S. S. Cyril and Methodius would have drawn the portrait of Bolesław the Bold !

The conflict between King and Bishop, which for so long excited the protagonists of the one or the other, as witnessed by the cults of both St. Stanisław and Bolesław the Bold, must have produced far-reaching consequences, although the sources have little to say of the turn of events. The conflict must have affected above all the fate of the Slavonic rite in Poland.

The facts which ensued after the death of the King offer sufficient evidence of this. During the closing years of the 11th century the Benedictines of the Slavonic rite in Tyniec were abolished.[2] During the opening years of the 12th century, the Papal legate removed from their sees two Bishops in Poland.[3] Dlugossius adds the characteristic detail that one of these Bishops performed his office without the approval of the Apostolic See.[4] The Bishops of the Slavonic rite in Bohemia, basing themselves on the *privilegium Moraviensis ecclesiae*, did not regard the confirmation of their consecration by the Pope as indispensable. Analogy permits the deduction

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[1] We do not know when and where the cult of Bolesław the Bold arose. Only new sources could throw light on this obscure problem. I suppose that the beginnings of this cult originated some time after 1081, because at first the impact of the martyr's death of the Bishop must have been strongly felt by the local population. I think also that the cult of the King arose in Poland and only subsequently was transferred abroad. The quoted sources of the 16th and 17th centuries do not explain the whole matter.

[2] Similar steps were taken at the same time in the abbey of Sazava, near Prague ; cf. R. Jakobson, Polska literatura średniowieczna a Czesi. Obrządek słowiański w Polsce, *Ku*, 1953, p. 30. This subject is discussed also by S. Sakac in the Latin scripts of his lectures in Rome (Inst. Pont. Orient.), on the history of the Church. (" In monasterio Tyniec prope Cracoviam fere eodem tempore ac in Sazava, 1096, glagolismus Benedictinorum a legato Pontificio suppressus est ").

On the basis of the bull of Gregory IX (1229), it is often assumed (cf. T. Wojciechowski, *Szkice*, pp. 140—2 ; P. David, *Les Bénédictins et l'ordre de Cluny dans la Pologne médiévale*, 1939, pp. 44—6) that Bolesław the Bold founded—I would rather say, generously endowed—the Benedictine monastery in Tyniec (provided, the authenticity of the bull is accepted without reservation). The invitation of " Latin " Benedictines by Casimir the Restorer did not affect the earlier, " Slavonic " character of this monastery, where the monks of both rites may have lived side by side.

[3] *MPHNS* II, p. 94, where the literature on the subject is listed; *MPH* II, p. 796.

[4] Dlugossius relates—though he admits that it is only a supposition based on current rumours—that one of them was the Bishop of Cracow Czasław. Except *MPH* I, p. 376, Czasław does not appear in the catalogues of Bishops or in the Cracow annals. This would be too uncertain a basis for drawing the conclusion that, occasionally, the Bishops of Cracow belonged to the Slavonic rite ; however, this is not inherently improbable, especially as the list of the Bishops of Cracow of the 11th century is rather hypothetical, and there are gaps in chronology between verified personalities. I do not enter into the question of Czasław's origin, as it is not established whether it was he who was removed from office by the Papal legate.

as to the rite to which at least one of these two Polish Bishops belonged. Finally, it should be emphasized as the most important fact of this period that some of the Rurikides, who, supported by the Kievan State, up till then only sporadically held sway over the eastern territories of Poland, proceeded during the years immediately following the death of Boleslaw to establish their rule permanently for about 250 years.

Bolesław the Bold was the last of the Piasts, who, continuing the ecclesiastical plans of his great ancestors, desired to preserve both rites, equally dependent on Rome, in order to maintain the ethnic and political unity of the Poles.[1] After the death of the King, the people inhabiting the regions of the Bug and Dniester, faithful to their Church traditions and eager to preserve the Slavonic language in the liturgy, began to gravitate towards the Metropolitan see of Rus.[2] This trend had weighty consequences not of a religious nature only.

The downfall of Bolesław the Bold and of his ecclesiastical policy resulted in a great victory for Kiev.

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[1] In addition to political interests, the attitude of Bolesław towards the maintenance of the Slavonic idiom in the liturgy, was influenced by personal and family considerations. We must not forget that Bolesław's mother, who survived her son, was Maria Dobronega, sister of Yaroslav the Wise, so that Bolesław the Bold was the grandson of Vladimir the Great. According to Dlugossius, the wife of Bolesław was also a follower of the faith of Rus; unfortunately, we are in no position to verify the assertion. How vivid these family traditions were, follows from the fact that Bolesław the Bold's son Mieszko, who returned to Poland after his father's death, also married a " Ruthena puella ". *MPHNS* II p. 55.

[2] Dlugossius, as mentioned already in Chapter IV, writes on this subject: . . . "terrarum Russiae iusta et continuata possessio . . . a Polonorum ditione subducta est, Ruthenis non tamen ex iniusto et avaro regimine, quam ex ritus in fide disparitate Polonorum imperium quam maxime abhorrentibus . . . " I, pp. 402—3. The Polish Metropolitan see of the Slavonic rite was created before the separation of the Churches. In 1054, the great rift of Christianity was finally accomplished. In course of time, the differences came increasingly into the foreground ; what, at first, was a distinction of rites, developed into a difference of religious creed, and gradually broadened the rift which had arisen among the Poles.

8

ORIGINS OF HALICZ

Halicz (Galich), situated on the Dniester,[1] and known in history as the capital of an independent principality, appears astonishingly late in the Rus sources; in fact, only from the year 1140 on.[2] Evidently, the contacts between Kiev and the region of the upper Dniester were in the beginning only slight; they sprang up sporadically, and were constantly broken off.[3] The complicated ethnical situation existing in the 10th and 11th centuries between the river Boh and the eastern Carpathians was responsible for this. At this time, Ulichians, Norsemen (Rus), Pechenegs, Polovtsians, Poles (with Croats), etc., appear in this territory. When life there began to display a measure of stability, Halicz made its entry into the Kievan chronicles.

There are no reasons for supposing that the city sprang up only in the 12th century. Idrisi, the Arabian geographer of the middle of that century, who drew his information from travellers and merchants arriving at the court of Roger II, King of Sicily,[4] mentions Halicz among the ancient cities of this region.[5] These references to Halicz occurring simultaneously at Kiev and in Sicily show that the lands drained by the upper reaches of the Dniester had connections of long standing with western Europe, not necessarily less stable than with the East.

The question arises whether the sources of information concerning the most distant past of Halicz have been already exhausted. I think the answer to this must be in the negative.

We will begin our investigations with a fact which might, at first sight, appear irrelevant to the subject under consideration. I mean the marriage of Bela I of Hungary to a Polish princess of the Piast dynasty, concluded probably in the fifth decade of the 11th century.

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[1] The old ducal castle, with the cathedral, stood in the village of Kryłos, in the vicinity of present-day Halicz. See I. Pasternak, Galytska katedra u Krylosi, *ZNTIS*, 1937; *idem*, Katedra halicka w Kryłosie, *BHSK* VI, 1938; *idem*, *Staryi Galich*, 1944; I. Kripyakevich, D. Doroshenko, I. Pasternak, *Velika Istoriya Ukraini*, 1948, pp. 939—42.

[2] M. Tikhomirov, *Drevnerusskie goroda*, 1946, p. 118.

[3] I think that the economic connections, especially those of the salt trade, were the most stable and well organized. The Kiev *Paterikon* relates that there was a lack of salt in Rus when none was brought in from Przemyśl and Halicz. Cf. D. Abramovich, *Kievo Pecherskii Paterik*, pp. 151—2. It is probable that this state of affairs existed not only in the 12th century, but also earlier.

[4] As to traders from Poland and Rus in the 11th century reaching Sicily, see S. Inglot, *Historia społeczna i gospodarcza średniowiecza*, 1938, p. 154.

[5] T. Lewicki, Polska i kraje sąsiednie w świetle " Księgi Rogera " geografa arabskiego z XII w. al—Idrisi' ego, *PKO* XXXIV, 1945, pp. 143—4. Idrisi contains many distorted geographical names and much confused information, especially concerning the East of Europe. B. Rybakov, Russkie zemli po karte Idrisi 1154 goda, *KSDPI* XLIII, 1952, pp. 3—44. The work of Rybakov, who is not an Arabist, is most arbitrary in its interpretation of primary texts, and must be read with the utmost reserve. K. Müller, in his *Arabische Welt-und Landkarten*, 1927—31, is equally arbitrary in his comments.

The most important source for this matrimonial alliance is the Chronicle of the so-called Gallus, written about A.D. 1113. Researches concerning the author's identity have shown that "Gallus" resided in Poland as well as in Hungary, and that he was thoroughly conversant with the conditions prevailing in both countries. The chronicler does not directly mention the marriage with which we are concerned, but he gives a number of indications which are of decisive significance in relation to that event.

It is known from many sources that Bela was obliged to leave Hungary for a considerable time, and that he had a son, Ladislas, born of a Polish mother. This detail finds support in "Gallus", who relates that the aforementioned Ladislas, later—between 1077 and 1095—to be King of Hungary, was brought up in Poland, and became polonized in consequence of his long residence in that country.[1]

Who then was this Piast princess, unknown by name?[2] It follows from the Chronicle of "Gallus", that Ladislas was a brother (*frater*) of Bolesław the Bold and of Władysław Herman,[3] but surely not their full brother. If the mother of Ladislas had been a daughter of Casimir the Restorer, Ladislas would have been not the brother but the nephew of the afore-mentioned Polish rulers. Consequently, there is only one possibility: the mother of Ladislas of Hungary was a daughter of Mieszko II[4] and a sister of Casimir the Restorer. Her son Ladislas was therefore the first cousin of Bolesław the Bold.[5]

Starting from the data preserved by "Gallus," one can proceed to analyse the other chronicles; in the first place, that of Simon de Kéza, and the one known as the Hungaro-Polish. They are all more or less spoilt by later additions; they contain errors, but they are, on the whole, easy to interpret. One should not, under any circumstances, treat this material lightly, as it contains many facts which recur in the chronicles independently of one another, and which complement one another, being probably drawn from earlier sources which have been lost.

Two texts deserve our attention as possessing special importance for the problem we are studying:

I. The Chronicle of Simon de Kéza (13th cent.) relates that three Hungarian princes, "*Andreas, Bela et Luenta . . . in Poloniam transeuntes,*

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[1] "Qui Wladislavus ab infancia nutritus in Polonia fuerat, et quasi moribus et vita Polonus factus fuerat." *Galli Anonymi Cronica*, p. 52. And the chronicler puts the following words into the mouth of Bolesław the Bold: "Hunc (Wladislavum), inquit, alumpnum in Polonia educavi . . . ", *ibid.*, p. 54.

[2] Sometimes, erroneously, scholars call her Richesa.

[3] *MPHNS* II, p. 53.

[4] We are confirmed in this opinion by the following fact: One of the sons of Bela's wife bore the name of Lambert, and this was the second name of Mieszko II. It appears that his daughter gave her son her father's name.

[5] The following genealogical table should therefore be adopted:

Mieszko II (†1034)

Casimir the Restorer (†1058)	N.N. wife of Bela of Hungary (†after 1052)
Bolesław the Bold, Władysław Herman	Ladislas

a Misca Polonorum duce amicabiliter sunt recepti; ubi Bela Pomoramiae (Pomeraniae) ducem duello devincens, filiam Miskae sibi datur in uxorem."[1]

Dlugossius (15th cent.), basing his views on the source just quoted and on other Hungarian chronicles, which speak of Bela's endowment in Poland, recounts how Mieszko, King of the Poles, undertook an expedition against the Pomeranians. " *Et quoniam in huiusmodi pugna virtus Belae, ducis Hungarorum, super caeteros enituit, Myeczslaus rex illum, ut dignum erat, praemians, generum eum legit et dans ei filiam suam in uxorem, etiam universum censum Pomeranicum ad tenendum statum ducalem sibi consignat.*"[2]

II. The Hungaro-Polish Chronicle presents the events with which we are concerned quite differently: " *Hunc (Ladislaum) autem dux Rusie Miscizlaus de civitate Galicz in adoptivum filium accepit, et ei cum filia sua, eo quod unicam haberet et filio careret, Galicie regnum perpetuo possidendum tradidit, et iuramento corroboravit.*"[3]

The Hungarian sources have preserved the fact that the wife of Bela was a daughter of Mieszko—i.e., Mieszko II, a son of Bolesław the Great —but they have drawn the false conclusion that it was her father who gave her in marriage.[4] There also arose the erroneous supposition that Bela was endowed in Pomerania because he fought in that land.[5]

We now turn to the Hungaro-Polish Chronicle. Here the marriage of Bela has been transferred to his son Ladislas,[6] but the fundamental pattern of events, preserved in this source, is in accordance with the facts. Thus: a) a Hungarian prince is outside his country; b) he marries the daughter of a foreign ruler; c) he receives from his father-in-law an endowment of land. All this is in conformity with the experiences of Bela. In addition there is a fourth argument, the name of the father-in-law. The Hungaro-Polish Chronicle calls him *Miscizlaus*. In Simon de Kéza's text, there appears the form *Misca*,[7] whence the Latin *Miscizlaus* could easily have derived.[8]

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[1] Simonis de Kéza Gesta Hungarorum, *SRH* I, 1937, p. 177.

[2] *Joannis Dlugossii Historiae Polonicae Libri XII* (A. Przeździecki—I. Żegota Pauli, eds.) I, 1873, pp. 238—9. For remarks on the quoted text of Dlugossius see A. Semkowicz, *Krytyczny rozbiór Dziejów Polskich Jana Długosza*, 1887, p. 107.

[3] Chronicon Hungarico-Polonicum, *SRH* II, 1938, p. 320.

[4] If Mieszko II himself had given his daughter to Bela, this must have been before the year 1031, as the final years of Mieszko's reign (1031—34) were catastrophic for him, and it is difficult to suppose that the marriage would have taken place at that time. If Bela had married before the year 1031, Ladislas might have been born in the following year. Thus, he would have been older than Bolesław the Bold (born about 1039), who, according to " Gallus ", brought up the said Ladislas.

[5] There is no reason to call in question Bela's participation in an expedition against the Pomeranians. Casimir the Restorer's conflicts with them are mentioned by the Chronicle of "Gallus".

[6] Ladislas married neither in Poland nor in Rus. In his childhood he almost became a Pole, as " Gallus " relates, which means that he lived in his mother's country. The marriage with a Polish bride must have been concluded by his father.

[7] The form *Misca* in Simon de Kéza's text can raise no objections. In the oldest sources of Polish origin, such as the *Rocznik Świętokrzyski dawny*, this name appears as *Misko* or *Mysko*; in Widukind's Chronicle (the latter part of the 10th century) as *Misaca*. On the denarii coined at this time in Poland that name figures as *Misico* or *Miesco*; cf. Z. Zakrzewski, Pierwsza moneta polska, *SO* XVII, 1938, pp. 93—5; M. Gumowski, Monety X i XI wieku, *Corpus Nummorum Poloniae* I, 1939, p. 13. Urbańczyk thinks that the name of the ruler just mentioned was Mieszko, while Semkowicz considers it must have been Misacho. See S. Urbańczyk—W. Semkowicz, O imię pierwszego księcia Polski, *SPAU* XLV, 1939—44, p. 30.

[8] Cf. S. Urbańczyk, Dwa zagadkowe imiona, *SA* III, 1951—2, p. 64.

It may be accepted as certain that we are dealing with one and the same name.[1] We must add that the Hungaro-Polish Chronicle shares the same error with other Hungarian sources (although many details are there to show that its origin was independent of them) namely, it represents Mieszko (II) as giving away his daughter instead of Casimir the Restorer giving away his sister.

The foregoing considerations allow us to establish a number of points relating to the earliest history of Halicz. If Casimir the Restorer, after the marriage of Bela to Mieszko II's daughter, bestowed on his brother-in-law an endowment in the upper Dniester valley, this shows that the territory in question belonged at that time to Poland. Such a conclusion finds confirmation in the general political situation as it then existed.

Between 1030 and 1050 a strong Kievan expansion made itself very perceptibly felt on the Bug, a tributary of the Vistula. It is noteworthy that Casimir, who was married to a sister of Yaroslav the Wise, should have played off one of his brothers-in-law, and a "Latin" at that, against the other, on the very point where Poland was most seriously threatened. We cannot forget that in later times the Poles and the Hungarians repeatedly combined against the common danger threatening from the East.

As for Ladislas, son of Bela, he spent his childhood at Halicz. "Gallus" says that he resided *in Polonia*, but the Hungaro-Polish Chronicle describes Halicz as *civitas Russiae*, and designates Mieszko, whom it makes out to be the master of that city, as *dux Russiae*. Does such a view, taken of a member of the Piast dynasty, undermine the credibility of the tradition represented by this source?

We must bear in mind that the Chronicle of Poland Major (*Kronika Wielkopolska*), written in the 13th-14th cent., also calls the Piasts "princes of Rus." This source relates that the wife of Casimir the Restorer was the daughter of Roman, prince of Rus, and a granddaughter of Odo.[2] The name of Odo or Otto[3] does not occur at all among the descendants of Rurik, but was often used among the Piasts. Bolesław the Great had a son who bore that name.

The Chronicle of Poland Major gives a false account of the origin of Casimir the Restorer's wife,[4] but has preserved a detail which is certainly

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[1] Up to the present time it has been usual to consider this prince as Mstislav, consequently a Rurikide. But Mstislav, son of Vladimir the Great, died in 1036, and ruled over Chernihov, not over Halicz. We know of no other descendant of Rurik bearing that name in the years with which we are concerned.

[2] Casimir "duxit uxorem, filiam Romani, principis Russiae, filii Odonis . . . " *MPH* II, p. 485.

[3] That the name occurs in the above alternative form has been shown by O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, p. 109, and M. Gumowski, *Monety X—XI w.*, p. 95.

[4] The author of the Chronicle did not know "Nestor", who elucidates the problem. Cross, p. 228. The source on which the chronicler drew can have given only a general outline of the facts, and limited itself to the indication of the Rus origin of the princess. As for "Gallus," he writes that Casimir had "*de Rusia nobilem . . . uxorem*", and Annalista Saxo says: "*duxit uxorem regis Rusciae filiam.*"

F. Bujak, *Studia geograficzno-historyczne*, 1925, pp. 83—5, affirms, not without justification, that the Chronicle of Poland Major is based on earlier sources, no longer extant. Its author possessed two pieces of information: one concerning the princess of Rus, the wife of Casimir, and the other, the prince of Rus Roman and his father Odo or Otto. The chronicler's error

true. There is no reason to doubt that a " prince of Rus " Roman existed, who was the son of Odo-Otto and thus a grandson of Bolesław the Great. Odo-Otto, expelled from Poland by his brother Mieszko II, sought refuge in Rus.[1] Roman, while residing at Kiev with his father, conformed to the faith of Rus and changed his name. Actually, the name of Roman does not occur among the Piasts. As for the princes of Kiev they bore two names, and the second, being Christian, was generally that of a Byzantine Emperor. The name of Roman should be placed in the same category. While a grandson of Bolesław the Great was living on the banks of the Dnieper, the throne of Constantinople was occupied by Roman III (1028—1034).

This fact shows that in the opinion of the Polish chroniclers one did not have to be a descendant of Rurik in order to belong to Rus. This observation fully bears out the remarks made in the preceding chapters as to the religious meaning of the term " Rus ", from the 10th to the 13th century.

Mieszko II, the ruler of Halicz, mentioned in the Hungaro-Polish Chronicle, could not be a follower of the faith of Rus as Roman was. During his time there existed two Metropolitan sees in Poland; the one of the Latin, the other of the Slavonic rite. It is arguable to which rite this son of Bolesław the Great belonged, but it is not possible to go any further in these conjectures.[2]

The designation of Mieszko II as *dux Russiae* and of Halicz as *civitas Russiae* could be due to diverse causes. In the 12th century and later, the Slavonic rite of Cyril and Methodius, and the faith of Rus, of Kiev, were considered as one and the same thing. " Nestor " took this view, as did the Latin writers, of whom the author of the Hungaro-Polish Chronicle was one. The Slavonic rite followed by Mieszko II could, in the course of time, easily be mistaken for the faith of Rus.

Moreover, there is another possibility: writers may have applied to earlier periods the terms used in later centuries with reference to territories which had meanwhile become linked to Kiev in respect of religion. But whether we choose one alternative or the other the fact remains that the passage relating to Mieszko and Halicz was not written in the 11th century, but later, though undoubtedly it was based on earlier sources.

There remains in the afore-mentioned source, one last point which needs to be examined: namely, the possession by the Piasts between 1030 and 1050 of the region of Halicz. There is not a single objective argument to contradict this supposition. " Nestor " deserves special attention, as

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consists in his having combined the two accounts and formed an imaginary family connection. We can admit as his justification that the dates tally more or less with his thesis, and that the wife of Casimir the Restorer and Roman, son of Otto, were, approximately, contemporaries.

[1] . . . " Filius autem eius (of Bolesław the Great) Misico fratrem suum Ottonem . . . in Ruzziam provinciam pepulit." Wiponis Vita Chuonradi Imperatoris, *MGH* XIII, *Script.* XI, p. 264.

[2] As has been pointed out before, the Hungaro-Polish Chronicle speaks of Mieszko II, instead of his son, Casimir the Restorer. The latter who had a German mother and returned to Poland from exile with German help, was, as regards faith, stronger linked with the Latin rite than his father had been.

he mentions Kievan expeditions which took place in the period under consideration against Mazovia, against the Cities of Czerwień, against Bełz, and against Brześć (Brest), but remains eloquently silent in respect to Halicz. And we should not forget that the fact under investigation corresponds to the territorial status of Poland in the East under Mieszko I and Bolesław the Great.

And one more remark: Scholars taking a hypercritical view might suspect the author of the Hungaro-Polish Chronicle of partiality for Poland in the picture he draws of the events which we are studying. But that author was not a Pole; what is more, he is known to have spoken contemptuously about the Poles, whom he called "*confidentes in stulta potentia sua.*" Therefore, the charge of partiality can be dismissed.

The Hungaro-Polish Chronicle, when relating events anterior to the days of Ladislas of Hungary, three times mentions the locality of Salis or Galis.[1] It is usual to accept this as designating Sóvár in Slovakia, near Presov, although most students forbear to justify this interpretation. In three passages of the afore-said Chronicle the same name occurs, and the place is represented as belonging to Poland. Two references are restricted to such generalities as do not allow us to locate Salis—Galis,[2] but another contains data which deserve our attention, as they relate to the frontier between Poland and Hungary in the reign of Bolesław the Great (992—1025): "*Nam termini Polonorum ad litus Danubii ad civitatem Strigoniensem terminabantur. Deinde in Agriensem* (Agrya-Eger) *civitatem ibant, demum in fluvium qui Tizia nominatur cadentes, regirabant iuxta fluvium qui Cepla* (Topla) *nuncupatur usque ad castrum Salis-Galis ibique inter Ungaros, Ruthenos et Polonos fines dabant.*"

That Polish rule at this time extended to the Danube is, in general terms, confirmed by "Gallus",[3] whose work the author of the Hungaro-Polish Chronicle assuredly did not know. Thietmar also indicates that certain links existed between Poland and Hungary.[4]

To whom did Halicz belong?

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[1] In the older edition of this source—*MPH* I, pp. 505, 506, 512—Salis is mentioned twice and Galis once. In the new edition—*SRH* II, pp. 310—312, 319—the text has been corrected or corrupted and only Salis has remained.

[2] The Chronicle speaks of a meeting between St. Stephen (997—1038) and the ruler of Poland, and erroneously mentions Mieszko (d. 992) instead of his son, Bolesław the Great. "Post haec separantur, dux Polonorum in castrum Salis-Galis porrexit, rex vero Ungarorum in Albam civitatem suam dilectam properavit." *SRH* II, p. 312. Another passage in which the city occurs is the following: "Post conflictum vero, congregatis dux Bolezlaus episcopis et magnatibus Ungarie, descendit in civitatem regiam Albam et coronavit filium regis Stephani, Leventam regio dyademate; Petrum vero et Belam duces constituit. His itaque peractis secessit in terminos suos in castrum Salis-Galis, et ibi delectabatur venationibus," *ibid.*, p. 319. The last detail, concerning the chase, speaks for Halicz. In the region of Halicz bison hunts took place which appear to have been known far and wide, as they are mentioned in Greek sources of the latter half of the 12th century; cf. D. Likhachev, *Povest* II, 1950, p. 542.

[3] "Gallus" says of Bolesław the Great: "Numquid non ipse Ungaros frequencius in certamine superavit, totamque terram eorum usque Danubium suo dominio mancipavit." *Galli Anonymi Cronica*, p. 16. "Gallus" was followed by Master Vincent.

[4] Thietmar relates that the Hungarians sent auxiliaries to Bolesław the Great at the time of his expedition against Kiev in 1018.

The most probable conjecture is that it was the Croats, settled at the foot of the eastern Carpathians, who possessed it. This assumption is general in historical writing. Between the Dniester and the Boh there lived in the 10th century the Pechenegs.[1] Halicz, therefore, was not situated in the centre of the ethnical territory but at its extremity. It was linked to the Dniester, and owed its importance to that river in the same measure as the Polyanian city of Kiev was indebted to the Dnieper, and Dregovichian Turov to the Pripet.

The examination of the sources as carried out in Chapter IV of the present work, leads to the conclusion that in the reigns of Mieszko and Bolesław the Great the land of the Croats was part of the Polish realm. We can therefore state as a fact that in the reign of St. Stephen, King of Hungary—and this is the period covered by the Hungaro-Polish Chronicle in the passage quoted above—the Polish frontier did not end at Presov, but included the basin of the upper Dniester. Consequently, the Polish-Hungarian border also stretched much further.[2] Thus, automatically, the conjecture collapses according to which the Salis-Galis of the quoted source could signify Sóvár in Slovakia.

As we have shown elsewhere in this work (Chapter I), the territory of Halicz, from the 10th to the 13th century, was not Rus in a geographical and political sense. It would deserve that appellation only in the religious sense of the term.

But if Halicz was indeed part of Poland at this time, another consequence follows: In the days of Bolesław the Great there existed within the Piast domains two Metropolitan sees, one of the Latin, the other of the Slavonic rite. This latter must have comprised the region of the upper Dniester, which belonged to Poland. Political reasons exclude the possibility that the population of Halicz should at that time have followed the

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[1] On the eastern tributaries of the Dniester, there are many emplacements which mark the old fortified lines erected against the inroads of the steppe nomads, the Pechenegs, in the period we are concerned with. Striking relics of these invasions are graves and statues, erected on the tumuli, and going under the name of " stone hags " (*baby*), as they generally represent a female figure.

T. Lewicki, Państwo Wiślan-Chorwatów w opisie al-Mas'udi'ego, *SPAU* XLIX, 1948, p. 32, quite rightly points out that the Pechenegs, living between the Dniester and the Boh, penetrated deeply towards the North-West. The author quotes a significant detail: the virgin forest forming the frontier and situated between the river Strwiąż, the upper reaches of the Dniester, and the Łukwa (Halicz lies where the Łukwa flows into the Dniester) was called in later centuries *Silva Pieczyngarum*. Beyond this forest, in the old days, began the territory of the Pechenegs. Cf. E. Kucharski and M. Lewicki, Rzesza pieczyńska a stosunki polsko-ruskie w X—XI w., in *Księga referatów II Międzynarodowego Zjazdu Slawistów*, 1934; E. Kucharski, Wczesnohistoryczne nazwy romańskie na wschodnim pograniczu Polski, *STNL* XVI, 1936. I was not able to obtain these two studies. Constantine Porphyrogenitus had his reasons for writing about Pecheneg raids against the (Eastern) Croats.

[2] That the author of the Chronicle began by determining the Polish-Hungarian frontier with exactitude by citing rivers and towns and then crossed straight over to Halicz, can be explained by the character of the terrain. The two countries bordered on each other across the mountains and the chronicler lacked guiding marks.

It suffices to compare the tracing of the Polish-Hungarian frontier by the author of the quoted Chronicle with other sources such as the Donation of the Piast State to the Holy See by Mieszko I (*Dagome iudex* document) to see that not all frontier lines were described with similar accuracy. The same can be said of Emperor Henry IV's document for the Bishopric of Prague, dating from 1086.

faith of Rus (Kiev),[1] and our way of thinking is in harmony with the fact that a Bishopric of the Eastern Church at Halicz makes its appearance only in the latter half of the 12th century.[2]

Now let us once more direct our attention to the text with which we are concerned. "*Termini Polonorum . . . ibant . . . usque ad castrum Salis-Galis ibique inter Ungaros, Ruthenos et Polonos fines dabant.*" Contrary to the passage examined before, where the Rus character of Halicz was insisted upon, although it was the seat of the Piast ruler, here things have taken a different aspect. The text is limited to a statement that Halicz was within the boundaries of Poland,[3] and to the remark that the region of Halicz in the broadest sense constituted a frontier zone of three States. It would appear, therefore, that the terms "*Ungari*," "*Rutheni*," and "*Poloni*" should be understood in a political meaning.

It is well known that the Pechenegs, a nomadic and fluid element, infiltrated between them. Stressing the stable political factors, the chronicler rightly mentions as neighbours : the Rurikides, the Piasts, and the Arpads. Other sources, quoted in different places of the present study, which regularly mention Rus, Poland, and Hungary simultaneously, prove that this conception was correct.

Our investigations have led us to the conclusion that *Rutheni*, in the passage of the Chronicle analysed by us, designates geographically the area of Kiev, and politicaly the realm of the Rurikides. As to Galis-Salis, it can only mean Halicz on the Dniester.[4]

Finally, a remark of a more general character concerning the Hungaro-Polish Chronicle. Up to the present, a somewhat disparaging appraisal of this source[5] has been the rule in historical writing,[6] although nobody has ever examined it in detail. The above remarks relate only to passages connected with Halicz, but I consider that the Chronicle, as a whole, de-

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[1] Historians have expressed the view that the land of Halicz was never called Rus before the 13th—14th cent. See V. Sichinsky, *Nazva Ukraini*, 1948, p. 20 ; N. Chubaty, The Ukrainian and Russian Conceptions of the History of Eastern Europe, *PSSS* I, 1951, p. 17.

[2] The organization of the Church of Rus originally rested on a tribal base. If, in the years that followed Vladimir the Great's victorious expedition (981), a Bishopric for the Buzhian country was founded at Vladimir in Volynia (992), an analogous Bishopric for the Croats of Halicz would have been a necessity, had that country been in the possession of Kiev. K. Nikolaev, Pamyatniki epokhi svyatogo Vladimira na Volyni, in *Vladimirskii Sbornik*, 1938, p. 212, assumes that the see of Vladimir, in its first phase, also included Halicz, but no argument drawn from the sources can be adduced in support of this conjecture.

[3] If anybody wanted to interpret the words : *usque in castrum Salis-Galis* in an exclusive sense, so that the Polish frontier would be understood as not having extended as far as Halicz itself, we could point to other passages in the Hungaro-Polish Chronicle which refute such a conception.

[4] It is worth mentioning that the name Galis in the Hungaro-Polish Chronicle is identical with G(a)llis(i)ia, several times used by Idrisi, in the middle of the 12th century. See T. Lewicki, *Polska i kraje sąsiednie w świetle "Księgi Rogera" geografa arabskiego z XII w. al-Idrisi'ego*, pp. 143-4.

[5] Cf. O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów* 1895, p. 89 ; F. Bujak, *Studia geograficzno-historyczne*, 1925, pp. 79—80 ; G. Labuda, *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego*, 1946, p. 303, etc.

[6] There is a list of the more important works in the Introduction to the new edition of the Chronicle : Chronicon Hungarico-Polonicum, *SRH* II, 1938, pp. 291—8. See also C. Macartney, *The Medieval Hungarian Historians*, 1953, pp. 173—82. The most favourable view was taken of the Chronicle by W. Kętrzyński, O Kronice Węgiersko-Polskiej, *RPAU* XXXIV, 1897.

serves much more attention than might appear on first sight. It is composed of divers parts, originating in different times, and possessed of varying degrees of credibility, ranging from the reliable to the undoubtedly misleading.

The fragment concerning the Hungaro-Polish border is earlier than the report on the establishment of Ladislas (or rather of the Hungarian Bela) at Halicz. In the first the term "Rus" was used to designate the country round Kiev; in the latter it was employed in a religious sense, a case very frequent in the following centuries. The same may be said of the name of the city. In the first three passages, it figures as Galis, deformed into Salis,[1] a form older than that which appears in the passage relating to Ladislas *Galicia, regnum* (!) *Galiciae*.[2]

It is impossible to deny that all the references to Halicz, whether older or more recent in origin, depict the political destinies of the city with a certain continuity and consistency. The information contained in the Hungaro-Polish Chronicle is in harmony with a number of other sources, which indicate that the region of the upper Dniester belonged to Poland in the 10th and 11th centuries. This fact tallies with Kievan records, which only at the end of the 11th century mention the first Rurikides in this territory. Only half a century later does Halicz itself appear in these chronicles.[3]

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[1] It follows from the above that *castrum Salis* which figures in other Hungarian sources—e.g. P. magistri, qui Anonymus dicitur, Gesta Hungarorum, *SRH* I, 1937, p. 58—refers to Halicz.

[2] This last appellation appears for the first time among the titles of the Kings of Hungary. The term "*regnum Galiciae*" indicates that the entire passage such as we read it could not originate earlier than in the 13th century.

[3] Some historians assert that the population of the Halicz region belonged to the "Rus nation." This assertion is based on an erroneous interpretation of the term "Rus", and it is not simply a matter of coincidence if the protagonists of this opinion gloss over the earlier period and begin their argument in the 13th century; e.g. V. Pashuto, *Ocherki po istorii Galitsko-Volynskoi Rusi*, 1950.

9

SOME COMMENTS ON THE SOURCES RELATING TO THE NORSE DESCENT OF THE RUS

The *Annales Bertiniani*, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub, Luidprand of Cremona, and others testify that in the 9th and 10th centuries, Scandinavians went by the name of Rus. It should be stressed that these testimonies are numerous and quite unanimous, despite the fact that Raudonikas considers them " mostly deficient, contradictory, and enigmatic."[1] A similar point of view has its spokesman in Grekov, when he remarks: " We have at our disposal only scanty or confused and inaccurate information."[2]

Confusions and contradictions certainly do abound, but not so much in the sources as in current writing devoted to the subject, and in the comments of historians who are in the habit of rendering perfectly clear and indubitable texts obscure and distorted by attempting to " correct " them.

I should like to justify this opinion in some detail. Thus, for example, Gote (Gautier) makes the following remark in relation to a passage of the *Annales Bertiniani*: " The ambassadors of the Rhos nation mentioned in the *Annales Bertiniani*, under the year 839, could be none other than the envoys of Rus from Lake Ilmen (i.e., from Great Novgorod) the chief of whom was actually called Khaqan . . . It is understandable that for this reason . . . the envoys were regarded as Swedes."[3]

Artamonov writes: " The Rus mentioned in the *Annales Bertiniani* could only come from Kiev . . . What the *Annales Bertiniani* say of the nationality of the Rus ambassadors whom the Franks, after a careful enquiry, acknowledged as Swedes, is noteworthy. In the fourth decade of the 9th century, the Franks had intimate political relations with the Swedes, and knew them exceedingly well, no less than those other Scandinavians who attacked the west coasts of Europe with particular pertinacity. They could not, therefore, make a mistake in fixing the ethnical origin of their suspect guests. From this it follows that in the first half of the 9th century, in Kiev, Scandinavian Varangians already formed part of the Rus (Slavonic) Kagan's (Khaqan's) retinue."[4]

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[1] W. Raudonikas, *Die Normannen der Wikingerzeit und das Ladogagebiet*, 1930, p. 7.
[2] B. Grekov, Drevneishie sudby slavyanstva v Prikarpatskikh oblastyakh, *VAN*, 1940, p. 36.
[3] Y. Gote, Shakhmatov istorik, *IORYS* XXV, 1922, p. 275.
[4] M. Artamonov, Spornye voprosy drevneishei istorii slavyan i rusi, *KSDPI* VI, 1940, p. 12.

There is, further, the opinion of Tikhomirov: "Had the Rhos nation been completely unknown in Germany, the appearance of its representatives in Ingelheim would not have aroused any suspicion; but this was exactly what they did: the new-comers to Germany were Varangians and not Rus, and so made Louis suspicious."[1]

All these conjectures differ in details. Gote links these Rus of 839 with Novgorod, and Artamonov with Kiev.[2] But they also have a certain feature in common: they both deny the identity of the Rus with the Swedes, although this is exactly how the source presents the case. If we were to follow the opinion of Artamonov, Tikhomirov, and others that the travellers to Ingelheim were not Rus, but Varangians, then the *Annales Bertiniani* would surely have spoken of the latter, which they fail to do. This is how the necessity of "correcting" the text of the *Annales* arises.

I now pass to the frequent misinterpretation of other sources. Tikhomirov writes: "In Byzantium itself, the Varangians were well known as they served in the household formations of the Imperial army. That is why they often acted as chief representatives of the Rus princes in the 10th century. The Rus were often identified by the inhabitants of Byzantium with the Norsemen."[3] In a word, as the Germans were mistaken in looking upon the Rus as Swedes, so the Greek writers were also mistaken through a similar misjudgement. But if in Constantinople the name of Slavonic Rus was erroneously applied to Norse Varangians, this would mean that the Greeks could have known very little about these two races. Tikhomirov says the exact contrary: the Varangians were well known in the capital of the Eastern Empire. It is superfluous to add that a great deal of exact information on the Slavs was also at hand there.

It is known that the Patriarch Photius, in his epistle of 867, mentions the Rus. And here is Tikhomirov's comment on his information: "(Photius') allusion to the Rus as nomads must be treated critically, because the Slavs had a settled mode of life, and agriculture was the chief occupation of most of them."[4] And so again Photius was mistaken.

Tikhomirov, and not he alone, is of the opinion that the names of the Dnieper cataracts, given by Porphyrogenitus in the Rus language and in Slavonic, have no importance because they have been transmitted to us in a completely distorted form.[5] It is striking that the etymological studies of outstanding linguists do not justify any similar conclusions.

We cannot pass over the decisive fact that the Byzantine Emperor, in the passage devoted to the Dnieper cataracts, quite clearly distinguishes the language of the Rus from that of the Slavs; no commentaries can weaken

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[1] M. Tikhomirov, Proiskhozhdenie nazvanii "Rus" i "Russkaya zemlya", *SE* VI—VII, 1947, p. 74.

[2] Certain scholars suppose that the unknown envoys who made their appearance at Ingelheim had come to Constantinople not from Novgorod or Kiev, but from the Khazars. See Y. Brutskus, Varyagi i kolbyagi, *SK* VII, 1935, p. 84. Yushkov shares this opinion up to a certain point; cf. S. Yushkov, *Obshchestvenno politicheskii stroi i pravo Kievskogo gosudarstva*, 1949, p. 47.

[3] M. Tikhomirov, *Proiskhozhdenie nazvanii*, p. 72.

[4] *Idem*, *Istochnikovedenie istorii SSSR s drevneishikh vremen do kontsa XVIII v.* I, 1940, p. 21.

[5] *Idem*, *Proiskhozhdenie nazvanii*, p. 76.

nor change this fact.[1] The efforts of a non-scientific philology, as V. Vasilevsky has defined it, are equally fruitless when it undertakes to prove that the names of the cataracts in the Rus language can be explained as Slavonic.

Here is what Yushkov says on the subject: "We must acknowledge as pertinent the assertion of the Normanists that the Russian names of the Dnieper cataracts can mostly be deduced from Norse bases. But it does not by any means follow that the language of Rus was the Norse language. In actual fact, the Rus (being Slavs), when navigating the Dnieper, could adopt those names of the cataracts which were general among the Varangians . . . As for the Slavonic names (of the cataracts), it appears that they are not names conferred by the Eastern Slavs, but that they are Old-Slavonic or Bulgarian . . . The Eastern Slavs, who took up trade later than the Khazars and Varangians undoubtedly used geographical designations which had originated before their time."[2]

This commentary must raise many objections. It is difficult to admit that the Norsemen navigated the Dnieper earlier than the Slavonic population settled on the banks of that stream, all the more so as the Varangians went southwards by way of the Volga before they ever used the Dnieper. It is also unlikely that the Polyanians, Severians, etc., should have taken over from the Balkan Bulgarians the names of the Dnieper cataracts. Neither the linguistic analysis of these names, nor general probability justifies such an assumption. In the end, we should have to believe that the Slavs of the Balkans knew the Dnieper better than the inhabitants of the territory of Kiev. The only positive feature in Yushkov's argument is his acknowledgement of the Scandinavian roots in the names of the Dnieper cataracts.

This fact is also accepted by Mavrodin, who, however, adds the following comment: "Soviet historians are not at all embarrassed by the circumstance that they encounter . . . traces of Scandinavian languages in the Rus names of the Dnieper cataracts. We have no intention to ignore the real Norsemen mercenaries—warriors and merchants—who played some part in the life of ancient Rus."[3] The same author maintains that Constantine Porphirogenitus made a mistake in identifying Scandinavian names with Rus ones,[4] and proceeds arbitrarily to "correct" the text of the source. The Byzantine Emperor clearly writes that the Slavs were subject to Rus and not vice versa, as does Mavrodin. Constantine places the Rus names of the Dnieper cataracts first and the Slavonic ones second. It would be difficult to assume that the Emperor attached greater importance to the mercenaries than to their masters.

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[1] N. Riasanovsky, The Norman Theory of the Origin of the Russian State, *RRe* VII, 1947, pp. 96—110, calls into question the truthfulness of this information in Porphyrogenitus, because "Nestor" says that the language of the Slavs and of the Rus is one and the same. Now, in Chapter I of the present work, we have shown that the Chronicle uses the term "*yazyk*" not in the sense of speech but of faith. The author of the *Povest* wished to assert that the Kievan (Rus) faith was the continuation of the Slavonic rite of Cyril and Methodius.

[2] S. Yushkov, *Istoriya gosudarstva i prava SSSR* I, 1947, p. 68.

[3] W. Mawrodin, *Walka z "teorią normańską" w rosyjskiej nauce historycznej*; transl. by W. Głuchowski, 1951, p. 32.

[4] Mavrodin, therefore, places the word "Rus" in quotation marks.

Many anti-Normanists seem not to have noticed that Luidprand of Cremona explicitly identifies the Norsemen with the Rus. It is difficult to admit that such inadvertance, continually recurring in relation to so important a source, could be purely accidental. And where this author is quoted, we often meet with commentaries such as Tikhomirov's: "Luidprand of Cremona . . . gives a somewhat confused definition of the Rus . . . The word 'Norsemen' could, in this case, signify not only the inhabitants of Scandinavia, but northern peoples in general, and the Slavs among them."[1] Such opinion cannot be treated seriously unless documentary proof could be provided that the Slavs were, at any time, known under the name of Norsemen.

According to Łowmiański, in the problem relating to the Norsemen two separate questions should be distinguished: namely, onomastic data, such as the names of princes and their retainers, which testify only to the presence of Scandinavians in eastern Europe, and the conquest of the Eastern Slavs by these new-comers. This author asserts that in the new territories "Swedes carried out . . . commercial and diplomatic functions . . . In consequence, there developed in the West the false idea that the Rus were of Norse origin."[2] Thus, we are again faced with arbitrary "correction" of the sources.

Tikhomirov thinks that the Scandinavian names of those envoys of Rus who signed the treaties with the Byzantine Empire in the 10th century are not sufficient proof that the Rus and the Scandinavians were identical. The Norsemen were, in his opinion, only representatives of the Rus prince, and for that reason they were looked upon as men of "Rus descent" (*ot roda ruskago*).[3] But "Nestor" who quotes the treaties just mentioned uses exactly the same expression when alluding to the Slavonic descent of the Polyanians and Derevlians (*sushchim ot roda slovenska*).[4] If we were to accept Tikhomirov's reasoning, we should have to consider both these tribes as non-Slavonic, and being only in the service of Slavonic princes.

But the classic example of the fashion in which the sources may be treated remains the "History of SSSR" published under the editorship of B. Grekov, S. Bakhrushin, and V. Lebedev. In a passage devoted to the sources relating to the subject, not a word is said of the Bertinian Annals, nor of Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub, nor yet of Luidprand of Cremona, etc., just as if these writings had never existed. Constantine Porphyrogenitus is mentioned, but only as an authority in support of the assertion that Rus was not an ethnical conception, but that it only designated a princely retinue.[5] Obviously, such a commentary completely distorts the text of the source. Constantine contrasts the Rus with the Slavs, the Pechenegs, the Bulgarians,

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[1] M. Tikhomirov, *Istochnikovedenie* I, 1940, p. 25. Other authors argue similarly; e.g., N. Riasanovsky, *The Norman Theory*, p. 104; V. Ryazanovsky, *Obzor russkoi kultury* I, 1947, pp. 252—3; S. Yushkov, *op. cit.*, pp. 46—8.

[2] H. Łowmiański, Geneza państwa kijowskiego, *SPAU* L, 1949, pp. 594—7.

[3] M. Tikhomirov, *Proiskhozdenie nazvanii*, p. 72.

[4] Cross, p. 141.

[5] *Istoriya SSSR*, I, *S drevneishikh vremen do kontsa XVIII* v., 2nd ed., 1948, pp. 73—4.

and other nations; he also distinguishes the speech of the Rus from the Slavonic.

Supporters of the theory that the Rus were of Slavonic descent declare that the Normanist thesis is " antiquated ", " fantastic ", " antiscientific ", " antihistorical ", and that " there is nothing more to be said about it, because the problem has been finally solved," etc.[1] One cannot help observing that this great " success ", advertised with such lack of discretion, is simply due to the complete disregard of the sources, and that the tone of triumph merely conceals the absence of objective arguments.

Seventy nine years ago an outstanding Russian historian, V. Vasilevsky, after a thorough examination of the sources, came to the conclusion that the Rus came from Scandinavia. He stated the fact with a certain unwillingness, but was obliged to acknowledge it, as he was conscious of the duties incumbent on the historian. He wrote at that time: " We do not wish to be in disagreement with historical science."[2]

These words deserve to be recalled at the present time.

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[1] " The old point of view concerning the origin of the Russian State (and its foundation by Norsemen) should finally be declared anti-scientific . . . (The Normanist theory) hampers the development of science." B. Grekov, Obrazovanie russkogo gosudarstva, *IAN*, 1945, pp. 134 and 137; " The tendencious Normanist theory concerning the origin of the Russian State has by now lost all scientific value." *Istoriya SSSR* I, 1948, p. 74; " Soviet historians, by studying these problems from the point of view of historical materialism have obtained true successes . . . (Among these we must mention) the antiscientific, Normanist theory of the origin of the Russian State (which has been disproved)." K. Bazilevich, Iz istorii obrazovaniya drevnerusskogo gosudarstva, *Bolshevik*, 1947, Nr. 5, p. 51; " The old theory of a Norse origin of Kievan Russia has been destroyed. Historians have stated the presence of Norse Varangians in the market-places of Novgorod or Pskov, but the foundation by them of Rus is out of the question." P. Tretiakow, Podstawowe zagadnienia historii Rosji i ZSSR w świetle radzieckiej historiografii, *PH* XXXVIII, 1948, pp. 447—8; V. Sichinsky, *Nazva Ukraini*, 1948, pp. 11—14, calls the Normanist theory fantastic. " It is natural that the 'scholars', the lackeys of world reaction, are at all costs trying to denigrate and to slander the historical past of the Russian nation, to diminish the importance of Russian culture in all the stages of its development. Thus they 'deny' to the Russian people the initiative in creating their own State. All such excursions into the sphere of Russian history have an altogether obvious political meaning, and are far removed from an objective study of sources and facts . . . That is why Soviet scholars must energetically combat the ideology of reactionary, bourgeois cosmopolitism, which endeavours to distort the glorious past of the Russian nation." W. Mawrodin, *Walka z teorią normańską*, pp. 3—4; " The Normanist theory falls within the boundaries of conservative scholarship and political pamphleteering. The fascist falsifyers of history in Hitler's Germany, in the USA, and in other imperialistic countries, made the Normanist theory their battle-cry." B. Rybakov, Problema obrazovaniya drevnerusskoi narodnosti v svete trudov I. V. Stalina, *Vol*, 1952 (9), p. 44.

[2] V. Vasilevsky, Varyago-russkaya i varyago-angliiskaya druzhina v Konstantinopole XI—XII vv., *ZMNP*, 1875 (3), p. 152.

10

WAS THE BLACK SEA EVER CALLED THE SEA OF THE RUS?

In the period with which we are dealing, it often happened that seas were given the names of peoples who lived on their shores and ruled over them. If it were possible to establish the fact that the Black Sea went under the name of the Sea of Rus, this would be a strong argument in support of the thesis that the origins of the Rus were in the South. And it has hitherto been considered by most historians as a fact, not subject to doubt, that for a number of centuries the Black Sea bore the name of the Sea of the Rus.

But do the sources justify such an assumption?

In the first place, we must direct our attention to the Arabic writer Mas'udi, who lived in the first half of the 10th century, and who, as is well known, handed down many credible and many completely false pieces of information of various kinds, and among them some relating to geography. The passage of this author which is of interest to us here reads as follows: "The river of the Khazars (the Volga), in its upper reaches, has an outflow which is united to an arm of the Naitas Sea which is the sea of Rus. No one else navigates it, and the Rus inhabit one of its shores."[1]

In connection with the Norse invasion of the Iberian Peninsula and of the Mediterranean,[2] Mas'udi again speaks of a sea navigated by the Rus which was connected with the Ocean (*Okiyanus*). This last detail suggests that the Arabic writer had the Baltic in mind,[3] and we are confirmed in this conviction by Mas'udi himself, when he relates how the Rus, after an unlucky expedition into the Caspian region, sailed home northwards by way of the Volga.

Another Arabic writer, Ibn-Miskawaih (10th—11th cent.) thought that the Caspian and the Baltic were connected with one another.[4] Al-Biruni (973—1048) speaks of the Baltic as if it were a gulf of the Ocean, turning northwards from the country Saqaliba and extending in the direction of the

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[1] Mas'udi's text has been published and translated by Barbier de Meynard, Garkavi, Kunik, Rozen, Marquart, and others.

[2] These expeditions steered their course from the Baltic across the North Sea into the Atlantic and through the Strait of Gibraltar.

[3] Such an interpretation is put on the quoted source by J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, 1903, pp. 151—2; F. Vestberg, K analizu vostochnykh istochnikov o vostochnoi Evrope, *ZMNP*, 1908, pp. 28—30, 380—1; A. Vasiliev, The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860, *MAA* XLVI, 1946, p. 42; T. Lewicki, Świat słowiański w oczach pisarzy arabskich, *SA* II (2), 1949—50, p. 335. We have to keep in mind that the Baltic is called Ocean or Northern Ocean in many sources: Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub, the so-called Gallus, Gervase of Tilbury, etc.

[4] See Chapter V of this work, in which that source is analysed.

Volga Bulgars. The gulf is called the Sea of the Varangians.[1] Similarly fundamental errors were made in the West. Adam of Bremen, Helmoldus, Gervase of Tilbury, Saxo Grammaticus regard the Baltic and the Black Sea as one.[2] The fact that travellers starting from one of these seas could reach the other by boat caused such false ideas to develop.[3] In short, Mas'udi, stating that the Black Sea was called Rus Sea, identified it with the Baltic, and on this point made a mistake common to other authors.

Our way of thinking is confirmed by the *Povest*. At first sight this would seem paradoxical, as those historians who accept the name of the Rus Sea for Black Sea founded their opinion not only on Mas'udi but also on "Nestor." The Kievan chronicler mentions that sea frequently, but apparently only once calls it by the name of the Rus. We allude to the following passage: "The Dnieper flows through various mouths into the Pontus. This sea, beside which taught St. Andrew, Peter's brother, is called the Sea of Rus. When Andrew was teaching in Sinope and came to Kherson . . . , he observed that the mouth of the Dnieper was near by. Conceiving a desire to go to Rome, he thus went to the mouth of the Dnieper; . . . (after a long journey) he came to Rome . . . But Andrew, after his stay in Rome, returned to Sinope."[4]

In many sources, the Black Sea is described as Roman.[5] The Byzantine Empire was generally known under the appellation of Rome. The Greeks of Byzantium used to call themselves Romans.[6] Thus, in the text of "Nestor" there figured the adjective *Rumskii* (Roman), and this was falsely read as *Ruskii* (the adjective derived from Rus). It is from this evident mistake that the opinion arose that the name of Rus was applied in the *Povest* to the Black Sea.

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[1] T. Lewicki, *Świat słowiański*, p. 369. There were diverse opinions among Arabic authors, as to whether the Black Sea was connected with the Baltic or not. See A. Spekke, Wiadomości geografów arabskich o narodach bałtyckich wczesnego średniowiecza, *J* II (2) 1938, p. 76; T. Lewicki, Bałtyk w opisach autorów arabskich IX—X w., *POr* I, 1949 (unavailable to me).

[2] L. Koczy, Sklawania Adama Bremeńskiego, *SO* XII, 1933, p. 207; F. Tschan, The Chronicle of the Slavs by Helmold, *RC* XXI, 1935, pp. 45—6; S. Kętrzyński, Ze studiów nad Gerwazym z Tilbury, *RPAU* XLVI, 1903, pp. 7—8; A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, pp. 26—7, 59. Koczy rightly points out that Adam of Bremen, identifying the two seas, was obliged to transfer to the Baltic Sea various peoples settled on the Black Sea. The itineraries through eastern Europe to be found in 12th—13th cent. French poems are altogether fantastic. See G. Lozinsky, Rossiya w srednevekovoi frantsuzskoi literature, *TSRAO* I, 1929, pp. 55—6.

[3] Other errors in relation to the geography of eastern Europe were also common. Henry of Mainz, in the 12th century, imagines that the Baltic is connected with the Black Sea by the River Tanais. The famous Hereford map of the world (13th cent.) links the Baltic with the Black Sea by way of the *fluvius Meotides et palludes*. See F. Dvornik, The Kiev State and its Relations with Western Europe, *TRHS*, 1947, pp. 43—6.

[4] Cross, pp. 138—9. A. Pogodin, Povest o khozhdenii apostola Andreya v Rus, *BS* VII, 1937—8, p. 142, is of the opinion that this legend must have come into existence before A.D. 1054, i.e., before the final separation of the Churches.

[5] Cf. A. Freiman, Nazvanie Chernogo morya v domusulmanskoi Persii, *ZKV* V, 1930, p. 649 seqq.; A. Yakubovsky, Ibn-Miskaveikh o pokhode Rusov v Berdaa v 322 g = 943/4 g; *VV* XXIV, 1926, pp. 83—4; V. Bartold, Arabskie izvestiya o rusakh, *SV* I, 1940, p. 21; A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.* p. 58, and many others.

[6] F. Dölger, Rom in der Gedankenwelt der Byzantiner, *ZK* LVI, 1937, pp. 1—42; *idem* in *SBN* V, 1939, pp. 152—3.

In the quoted passage, " Nestor " mentions the Roman Sea in connection with ancient accounts of St. Andrew's journeys from the Black Sea to Rome, and from Rome to the Black Sea. It is clear that the author, when connecting this sea with Rome, offers his own religious commentary, which is to explain and justify the name of Roman being applied to the Black Sea.[1]

The *Povest*, which treats at length of the north origins of the Rus, thereby implicitely contradicts the version according to which the name of Rus Sea was applied to the Black Sea. This Chronicle describes one of the territories which was among the earliest to be conquered by the Rus in eastern Europe. This was a vast wooded expanse whence flowed the head waters of three rivers, the Dnieper, the Dvina, and the Volga. Passing from the geographical to the political aspect, " Nestor " indicates that from Rus—for that is how he designates that wooded region—one can, by way of the Volga, reach the Bulgarians ; from Rus again one can sail, by way of the Dvina, to the Varangians, and by way of the Dnieper to the Black Sea.[2] It follows from this passage that the Rus lived on the head waters of the Dnieper and not at the mouth.

A detail which we encounter in the description of the journey of Anthony, Archbishop of Novgorod, to Constantinople at the end of the 12th century, is not without importance for our present considerations. Anthony mentions the numerous clergy belonging to the Eastern Church who live in the vast spaces stretching " from the Greek Sea to the Sea of Rus."[3] Thus, did Anthony's mind follow the direction from the South, from the Black Sea, northwards, as he rightly considered his native Novgorod to be the extreme limit of Christendom.

As the attribution of the name of the Rus to the Black Sea is based on the version of one author, Mas'udi, in contradiction to all other extant sources, we must consider the question whether and, if so, in what character and degree the Rus made their appearance in the South. In this way we might find a justification for the designation " Rus " being bestowed on that sea.

The predatory incursions of the Rus were the object of special attention by their contemporaries. The Rus undertook expeditions into the Caspian region in the years 913—14 and 943—4.[4] In the Black Sea basin, the bold raid against Constantinople in 860 produced a great sensation.

The Life of St. Stephen of Surozh (Sugdaea) relates an attack of the Rus against Surozh in the Crimea in the early years of the 9th century, while the

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[1] The conjecture of G. Laehr, Die Anfänge des russischen Reiches, *HS*, 1930, p. 20, that the Black Sea was originally called Roman, and later Rus Sea, cannot be accepted. Eastern sources often use the name of Roman in reference to it, both before Mas'udi and after him.

[2] Cross, p. 138.

[3] P. Savvaitov, *Puteshestvie novgorodskogo episkopa Antoniya v Tsargrad v kontse XII st.*, 1872, p. 53 ; A. Jelacić, *Les descriptions de voyages russes du moyen-âge à Constantinople*, *SBN* V, 1939, p. 476 ; cf. R. Ekblom, Rus et Varęg dans les noms de lieux de la region de Novgorod, *AEO* XI, 1915, p. 18 ; A. Volkonsky, *Imya Rusi w domongolskuyu poru*, 1929, p. 9.

[4] For details concerning both these events, see A. Yakubovsky, O russko-khazarskikh i russko-kavkazskich otnosheniyakh v IX—X vv., *IAN* III (5), 1946, pp. 461—72.

Life of St. George of Amastris tells of the plundering by the Rus of Amastris, about 835. However, the credibility of both these sources, without mentioning others which are still more uncertain,[1] is subject to serious doubt, especially as regards the dates of the events mentioned. Thus, the sack of Amastris appears to be connected rather with the expedition of Igor in 941. Vasiliev, through a minute analysis of the sources, formed the justified opinion that the expedition of 860 was the first instance of an armed undertaking of the Rus in the Black Sea region.[2] The possibility of earlier raids, which are the object of scholarly discussion,[3] appears to be more than doubtful.

But from where did the expedition of 860 start ? In the writings devoted to the subject, there are two schools of thought. One, including Shakhmatov, Dvornik, Baumgarten, Vasiliev, etc., declares for Kiev, while the other—Parkhomenko, Moshin, Vernadsky—is in favour of Tmutorokan, situated on the eastern side of the Straits of Kerch, which separate the Crimea from the Taman Peninsula. Each group of students of the subject demonstrates the slender likelihood of the conjectures of the opposite party, and these negative observations have undoubted value, although they do not resolve the main problem.[4]

Vernadsky assumes the existence of Rus in Tmutorokan on the basis of an entry in the *Annales Bertiniani* of 839.[5] At that time, an embassy from the Greek Emperor Theophilus arrived at the court of the Western Emperor, Louis the Pious, and was received at Ingelheim, near Mainz. With this embassy men had been sent who belonged to the tribe of Rhos. Previously they had spent some time in Constantinople on a mission, entrusted with the task of entering into or developing peaceful relations between the Empire and Rus. It follows from the text of the source that these unusual envoys were on their way back to their ruler in order to report on their negotiations. It is clear that the Greek Emperor was very much interested in the happy return of the embassy, if he was at such pains to obtain from Louis the Pious facilities for their journey, and if he chose

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1 M. Slabchenko, Prolozhnoe soobshchenie o predletopisnoi Rusi, *IsZ*, 1942 (7), p. 129.

2 A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 71—89, 92, 187.

3 G. Da Costa-Louillet, Y eut-il des invasions russes dans l'Empire Byzantin avant 860 ? *SBN* V, 1939, p. 85 ; *B* XV, 1940—1, pp. 231—49 ; N. Baumgarten, Aux origines de la Russie, *OCA* Nr. 119, 1939, pp. 24—35 seqq. ; E. Honigmann, Studies in Slavic Church History, *B* XVII, 1945, pp. 132—3 ; H. Grégoire, in *B* XV, 1940—41, pp. 231—2 and *BM* I (1), 1946, pp. 259—60, F. Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*, 1949, p. 313, etc., are of the opinion that the Rus did not undertake expeditions in the region of the Black Sea before 860. G. Vernadsky (*Ancient Russia*, 1946, pp. 280, 343 ; the Rus in the Crimea and the Russo-Byzantine Treaty of 945, *BM* I (1), 1946, pp. 249—59 ; The Problem of the Early Russian Campaigns in the Black Sea Area, *ASSER* VIII (1), 1949, pp. 1—9), E. Lipshits (O pokhode Rusi na Vizantiyu ranee 842 goda, *IZ* XXVI, 1948, pp. 312—31), A. Yakobson (Srednevekovyi Khersones, *MIA* XVII, 1950, p. 11), and many others represent the contrary opinion.

4 In order to bring the two opposing theories into harmony, G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, pp. 342—4, supposes that the expedition of 860 was undertaken by the two centres of Rus, that of Tmutorokan and that of Kiev. Unfortunately, the author finds no foundation for his conjecture in the sources. G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des Byzantinischen Staates*, 1940, p. 159, remarked that, in fact, the question of the place whence the expedition of 860 started has not been answered.

5 G. Vernadsky, Byzantium and Southern Russia, *B* XV, 1940—1, p. 73.

the safest route for their progress. The Rus travelled through Germany because other ways were threatened by the invasion of barbarous tribes.[1]

Geographical arguments rule out the possibility of these Rus having lived in the Black Sea basin, for in that case the ambassadors would have returned by the short sea route, far safer for experienced sailors than any journey by land. It would have been fantastic to travel from Constantinople to the shores of the Black Sea by way of Ingelheim. In my opinion, this entry in the *Annales Bertiniani* not only does not confirm, but excludes the existence, in the first half of the 9th century, of Rus in the Tmutorokan or in the Crimea.

Many scholars attach great importance to the title of *chacanus* (khaqan, kagan) given by the *Annales Bertiniani* to the ruler of the Rus. As this title occurs among the Khazars, it is assumed that the Rus had to live in the neighbourhood of the Khazars, i.e., in the Caspian Sea region. This hypothesis seems to me not convincing. In his letter to Emperor Basil I, dated 871, King Louis the German mentions four rulers, bearing the title of *chacanus*, namely of the Avars, the Khazars, the Norsemen, and the Danubian Bulgarians.[2] There is no reason to suppose that this title was Khazarian only and that the other peoples adopted it from the Khazars.[3]

Not wishing to limit ourselves to these negative observations, we are of the opinion that the sources do enable us to fix the region from which the expedition of 860 was undertaken. It is known that the Rus faced the walls of Constantinople on June 18th, 860.[4] The date of this event is of importance to us because it agrees with Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De Administrando Imperio*) who indicates June as the most frequent time for the expeditions of the Rus to the shores of the Black Sea. What is more, the Byzantine Emperor mentions the route followed by the Rus and the

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[1] "Venerunt autem legati Graecorum a Theophilo imperatore directi . . . quos imperator XV kal. Iunii in Ingulenheim honorifice suscepit . . . Misit (Theophilus) etiam cum eis quosdam qui se, id est gentem suam, Rhos vocari dicebant, quod rex illorum, chacanus vocabulo, ad se amicitiae, sicut asserebant, causa direxerat, petens per memoratam epistolam, quatenus benignitate imperatoris redeundi facultatem atque auxilium per imperium suum tuto habere possent, quoniam itinera, per quae ad illum Constantinopolim venerant inter barbaras et nimiae feritatis gentes immanissimas habuerant, quibus eos, ne forte periculum inciderent, redire noluit. Quorum adventus causam imperator diligentius investigans comperit eos gentis esse Sueonum." G. Waitz, 1883, pp. 19—20.

[2] P. Kokovtsov, *Evreisko-khazarskaya perepiska v X veke*, 1932, p. 115; G. Da Costa-Louillet, *op. cit.*, p. 238. The term "*chacanus*" should be connected with the name of Scandinavian kings, Haakon.

[3] The word "*chacanus*" is of Turkish origin. See P. Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, p. 115; A. Zajączkowski, Ze studiów nad zagadnieniem chazarskim, *PKO* XXXVI, 1947. Cf. the relation of Muhammad Aufi: "the king of Turkistan is called Khaqan." R. Frye, Remarks on some new islamic sources of the Rus, *B XVIII*, 1948, pp. 120—1.

It is difficult to say whether khaqan was a native term with the Khazars or a borrowing from neighbours because the origin of the Khazars has in no way been satisfactorily cleared by scholars. While certain authors (A. Zajączkowski, *Ze studiów*, pp. 20—60; *idem*, Problem językowy Chazarów, *STNW*, 1947, pp. 84—92; P. Lyashchenko, *Istoriya narodnogo khozyaistva SSSR* I, 1947, p. 41, etc.) insist on the Turkish character of the Khazarian language, others (M. Artamonov, *Ocherki drevneishei istorii khazar*, 1936, pp. 88—134; *idem*, Sarkel i nekotorye drugie ukrepleniya v severo-zapadnoi Khazarii, *SAr* VI, 1940, p. 161) consider the Khazars as one of the Hunno—Bulgarian tribes.

[4] F. Cumont, Anecdota Bruxellensia. 1. Chroniques Byzantines du Manuscrit 11370, *Recueil des Travaux publiés par la Faculté de Philosophie et des Lettres*, Gand, IX, 1894, p. 33.

places whence these invaders set out, namely: Novgorod, Smolensk, Chernihov, and others. Constantine considers Novgorod as the most important centre of the Rus in eastern Europe, as this was the seat of their prince. In view of the great distance between Lake Ilmen and the Black Sea Kiev, according to this source, played an important but only an auxiliary role. The city was not the starting point of the aggressive enterprises of the Rus, but a stage where boats from various quarters assembled and grouped themselves before proceeding further.[1] Since Kiev was not yet the capital of Rus by the middle of the 10th century, when the Byzantine Emperor wrote his work, still less could it occupy that position a hundred years earlier. The expedition of 860 started neither from Tmutorokan nor from Kiev, but from the far North, and from the region of Smolensk onwards it followed the Dnieper.

Here I venture to point to a fact which completely bears out this conception of events. Simultaneously with the threat to Constantinople on the part of the Rus from the Black Sea, another expedition of Norsemen was taking place through the Mediterranean, the Aegean, and the Sea of Marmara. The latter raid is mentioned by a number of sources, such as Ibn-al-Kutiya, Sebastian of Salamanca, Johannes Diaconus, Saxo Grammaticus, etc. The question occurs whether these two aggressive enterprises, which aimed at the same object though taking different routes, were concerted undertakings or not. Vasiliev declares for the complete independence and separateness of the two expeditions, because there is no source justifying the assumption of a combined operation. But against this point of view we can advance the argument that no writer among those who were in close touch with events in Constantinople at the time, such as the Patriarch Photius or Nicetas Paphlagon, speaks of two Norse expeditions against the capital of the Empire.[2]

On the contrary, we find a number of details which allow us to draw conclusions differing from those of Vasiliev. In the first place, there is the question of time. Unfortunately, we do not know the exact date of the expedition against Constantinople launched across the Mediterranean Sea. It is known that it took place in the years 860 or 861. Now Vasiliev assumes the year 860 as the date of the expedition from the Dnieper and the Black Sea, and 861 as that of the expedition through the Mediterranean. But this scholar fixes the end of the first expedition as April or May, 861, so that both dates very nearly coincide, and only a difference of months or even days remains. The conduct of the invaders, their greed for plunder, and the cruelties perpetrated by them have been described in all sources alike. In both cases, the military action is reduced to the destruction of the suburbs of Constantinople, while the capital itself survives. In a word, we have a number of reasons for thinking that the attacks on Constantinople

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[1] G. Moravcsik—R. Jenkins, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus. De Administrando Imperio*, 1949, pp. 56—63.

[2] An exhaustive list of sources and of works relating to this subject is given by A. Vasiliev, The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860, *MAA* XLVI, 1946; cf. G. Laehr, Die Anfänge des russischen Reiches, *HS*, 1930, pp. 91—5.

by the Norsemen were carried out from two directions, by two different routes, but that both constituted one venture.[1] Thus, the decision as to the bold undertaking must have been formed in one centre, and the entire expedition, with its two branches, could only come from Scandinavia, which does not necessarily eliminate Novgorod, at that time remaining in close contact with the Norsemen.

We have now, in turn, to direct our attention to events of later times, which are not devoid of significance for the problem we are studying. In 1043 Novgorod undertook an expedition against Constantinople at the bidding of Yaroslav the Wise, ruler of Kiev.[2] We may suppose that if the burden of such a military undertaking was placed on Novgorod, it was done in accordance with old experience, and with traditions still valid on the banks of Lake Ilmen. This is confirmed by an observation of Speransky to the effect that, for a long time, Great Novgorod maintained close relations with Constantinople.[3] It is not by accident that whenever the *Povest* decribes armed conflicts between Rus and Constantinople in the 10th century, northern peoples are enumerated among those who take part in the events: the Norse Varangians, the Slavonic Novgorodians and Krivichians, the Finnish Merya, Chud, etc. "Nestor's" tale of the call to the Varangians (862) deserves special attention: Rurik, having established his power in Novgorod, immediately allowed a group of his warriors to attack Constantinople, but these, first and foremost, made themselves masters of Kiev.[4] In this case, it is not so much the exactness of the information which is of importance, as the chronicler's conviction that the Norse Rus undertook expeditions against Constantinople before they had ever conquered Kiev. Only against the background of the generally accepted view that the expeditions of the Rus into the Black Sea region were undertaken from the North could the characteristic detail find its way into the *Life of St. Stephen*, that the chieftain who led the Rus against the Crimea (Surozh-Sugdaea) came from Novgorod.[5]

During the expedition of 860—861, the Rus were pagans, and they plundered churches and massacred the clergy with no less cruelty than the rest of the population in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. Soon after this expedition, however, most likely in the years 864—7, these invaders

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[1] The main difference between the two expeditions, as represented in the sources, relates to their final stage. Some sources which speak of the invasion from the South-West lay stress on the successful retreat of the invaders; others, narrating the course of the expedition from the Black Sea, speak of its eventual discomfiture. But this discomfiture of the Rus is attributed only to the intervention of supernatural forces, a point which can be interpreted and appraised in many different ways. The historian's suspicions are aroused also by another detail: supernatural forces are supposed also to have saved Constantinople during the invasion of the Avars and Persians in 626. There is much similarity in the description and character of the events of 626 and those of 860—61, and it would have been very unusual had the events of 860 followed the same pattern.

[2] Cross, p. 227.

[3] M. Speransky, Iz starinnoi novgorodskoi literatury XIV veka, *PDRL* IV, 1934, pp. 43—4.

[4] Cross, p. 145.

[5] I. Lyapushkin, Slavyano-russkie poseleniya IX—XII st. na Donu i Tamani po arkheologicheskim pamyatnikam, *MIA*, 1941, p. 236, shows the arbitrariness of the tendency to locate Novgorod in the Crimea (the thesis of Mavrodin).

received baptism, but only to reappear again as pagans for a long time afterwards.

The conversion of the Rus is mentioned by Photius and by other sources. We learn from them that the Rus sent delegates to the capital of the Empire, expressing their readiness to receive baptism, and when converted, showed such zeal that the Patriarch appointed a special Bishop for them. Yet, in the light of everything we know about the Rus before and after this conversion, all the information appears to be strongly exaggerated. It has been pointed out by many writers that Photius shows definite propensities in this direction, and we are struck by the complete lack of detail relating to the baptism of the Rus; it is from such details that we can derive the most valuable data for establishing the reality of events.

Vernadsky affirms that the initiative of winning Rus for Christianity must have come from Constantinople.[1] We know from other, analogous cases that it was one of the traditions of Byzantine diplomacy to forestall the danger of new invasions by baptizing the pagan invaders. The rapidity with which this action was undertaken immediately after the raid is striking. The appointment of a special Bishop testifies not so much to the success of the mission as to the importance attached to the policy of Constantinople.

Now, it is not the christianization of the Rus which is the subject of our investigation, but the territory occupied by the Rus, whence they undertook the expedition of 860. We are especially interested in the seat of the Bishop just mentioned, in so far as it was ever really established. Unfortunately, nothing can be said on this point with any certainty.[2]

Many scholars put forward the hypothesis that the baptism of the Rus took place in Tmutorokan. In the list of dioceses belonging to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, published by C. de Boor, there figures a Bishopric of Tmutorokan, belonging to the Eparchy of Gothia.[3] The aforesaid list is preserved in a 14th century manuscript. Some authors consider that this source dates from the middle of the 8th century,[4] and consequently, that it was written before the expedition of the Rus against Constantinople,

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[1] G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, pp. 345—6.

[2] "The Bavarian Geographer"—written probably between 844—862; cf. W. Fritze, Die Datierung des Geographus Bavarus und die Stammesverfassung der Abotriten, *ZSP* XXI (2), 1952, pp. 326–42—enumerates a series of tribes inhabiting central and eastern Europe. Among them are the *Ruzzi* mentioned between the Khazars (*Caziri*) and the Derevlians (*Forsderen liudi*). S. Zakrzewski, Opis grodów i terytoriów z północnej strony Dunaju czyli t. zw. Geograf bawarski, *ATNL* IX (1), 1917, p. 4. One cannot attach too much importance to the order in which various tribes are here enumerated, as the "Bavarian Geographer" when he lists tribes does not follow a geographical order. Many students of this subject consider that the passage which begins with the word "*Ruzzi*" represents something apart from the rest of the text. Zakrzewski, *op. cit.*, p. 37, assumes that these *Ruzzi* should be located somewhere in the North, probably in the territory of Novgorod. E. Kucharski, Polska w Zapisce Karolińskiej, zwanej niewłaściwie "Geografem bawarskim", *PIVZHP* I, 1925, p. 8, declares for the region of Polotsk. Cf. the review of Zakrzewski's work by T. Modelski, *KH*, 1918, p. 343.

[3] C. de Boor, Nachträge zu den Notitiae Episcopatuum, *ZK* XII, 1894, pp. 520—34.

[4] V. Moshin, in *Trudy IV sezda russkikh akademicheskikh organizatsii za granitsei* I, 1929, pp. 149–56; W. Zaikyn, Zarys dziejów ustroju kościoła wschodnio-słowiańskiego, *ATNL* XXIV (1), 1939, pp. 42—3, etc.

and others that it comes from the middle of the 9th century.[1] Moshin expresses the opinion that the list of Bishoprics of the Eparchy of Gothia was only a project of Church organization which was never carried out.[2] I do not intend to review all the abundant writings relating to the origin and history of the Bishopric of Tmutorokan, as the crux of the matter is not in these considerations and conjectures, but in the fact that no source indicates that the Bishopric of Tmutorokan included Rus, or that it had any connection with this land.[3]

Both expeditions undertaken by the Rus against Constantinople in 860 and in 941[4]—and during the period under consideration only these two raids can be regarded as beyond dispute[5]—had their starting points in northern regions. Recapitulating what has been said before, we reach the conclusion that these expeditions were enterprises of a casual character only, and that they offer no ground for the assumption that the Black Sea was known at any time under the name of the Rus Sea.

Now we have to consider other details which are found in the sources, and which relate to the subject with which we are dealing, without referring to armed expeditions. Constantine the Philosopher, who later took the name of Cyril, revered as the apostle of the Slavs, in his endeavours to win over various peoples to Christianity betook himself to the Khazars, probably in 861. On his way to Khazaria, Constantine remained for a time in Kherson, in the Crimea, and he found there a copy of the Gospel and the Psalms written in characters of Rus (*rossky pismeny pisano* ; variant : *roussky*), and he found a man speaking that language, and spoke to him, and understood the meaning of what he said, and, adjusting it to his own dialect, he analysed the characters, both for the vowels and the consonants, and praying to God, started quickly to read and speak in the language of the Rus.[6]

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[1] G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, pp. 290, 353.

[2] V. Moshin, Neskolko dat iz istorii tmutorakanskoi arkhiepiskopii, *Trudy IV sezda russkikh uchenykh v Belgrade*, (1928) 1929 ; furthermore, *S* IX, 1930—31, p. 213.

[3] Certain historians (e.g., G. Vernadsky, Byzantium and Southern Russia, *B* XV 1940—1, pp. 74—6 ; *idem*, The Status of the Russian Church during the First Half-Century Following Vladimir's Conversion, *SEER* I, 1941, pp. 294–314) wish to see in the Bishopric of Tmutorokan the nucleus out of which developed the whole Church organization of Rus, and even assume that, after 988, the Bishoprics of the Rus depended on Tmutorokan. E. Honigmann, Studies in Slavic Church History. The Foundation of the Russian Metropolitan Church according to Greek Sources, *B* XVII, 1945, pp. 131—2 ; H. Grégoire, in *BM* I (1), 1946, pp. 259—60 ; F. Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*, 1949, p. 178 ; N. Zernov, Vladimir and the Origin of the Russian Church, *SEER* XVIII, 1949—50, pp. 432—3, pertinently remark that these conjectures are without foundation.

[4] On Leo Diaconus' relation concerning the direction of Igor's expedition through the Cimmerian Bosporus see S. Tomaszewski, Nowa teoria o początkach Rusi, *KH* XLIII, 1929, pp. 315—20 ; K. Bartová, Igorova výprava na Carihrad r. 941, *BS* VIII, 1939—46, pp. 87—108 ; cf. A. Nasonov, Tmutorokan v istorii vostochnoi Evropy X veka, *IZ* VI, 1940, p. 81 ; E. Honigmann, *Studies*, pp. 132—3.

[5] We must not exaggerate the number of such raids and not rely on uncertain sources. I. Swiencickyj, Die Friedensverträge der Bulgaren und der Russen mit Byzanz, *SBN* V, 1939, pp. 322—6; A. Yakobson, Srednevekovyi Khersones, *MIA* XVII, 1950, p. 11, and others suppose that one Russian expedition against Constantinople took place in 860 and another in 866 or 867—8.

[6] G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, pp. 347—8.

This passage from the *Life of St. Constantine* aroused great interest among scholars and was the subject of diverse interpretations according to the different opinions of the authors on the meaning of the term "Rus." If we followed the text literally we should have to assume that in the middle of the 9th century there existed in the Crimea books of the Scriptures written in the language of the Norsemen. I pass over conjectures which are no longer current, though at one time they had their supporters—Vasilevsky, Marquart, Lavrov, and others—according to whom this entire passage alluded to the language of the Goths. But many students of the subject favoured, and favour today, the supposition that what the *Life of St. Constantine* considers the language of the Rus is Old Slavonic.[1] This conjecture also is unacceptable for a number of reasons. Constantine spoke Slavonic from his childhood.[2] Had he encountered in the Crimea a Slav to whom he was able to speak, there would have been no need for him to note it. *The Life of St. Constantine* mentions one man only; there are, therefore, no reasons for the assertions that the population of the Crimea used, in speech and writing, the language of that individual. However, numerous scholars up till now, assuming arbitrarily that the language of the Rus was Slavonic, state on the basis of this source[3] that the Crimea, at the time, was inhabited by Slavs.[4]

There are two decisive arguments against identifying the language of the Rus with the speech of the Slavs. The *Life* praises Constantine as the man who first composed a Slavonic alphabet, and first translated the Scriptures, thus allowing the Slavs to acquaint themselves with the foundation of the Faith. Another argument is that in the period under consideration the speech of the Slavs could never have been described by anyone as the language of the Rus. All the sources of the time testify to the contrary, as has been shown in Chapter I.

The quoted text of the *Life of Constantine* certainly presents great difficulties of interpretation, as Ilinsky rightly shows, though he himself did not present any happy solution.[5] Yet he remarked with perspicacity that the crux of the question lies in the correct reading of the text, as it is doubtful

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[1] V. Parkhomenko, *Nachalo khristianstva Rusi*, 1913, pp. 52 seqq; I. Ohienko, "Ruski" perekladi v Khersonesi v 860 rotsi, *Yubileinii Zbirnik na poshanu D. I. Bagaliya*, 1927, pp. 358—72; *idem*, Slovyanske pismo pered Kostyantinom, *Yubileinii Zbirnik na poshanu M. S. Hrushevskogo* II, 1928, pp. 156—65; N. Nikolsky, K voprosu o russkikh pismenakh, upominaemykh v Zhitii Konstantina Filosofa, *IRYS* I, 1928, pp. 1—37; B. Grekov, *Kultura Kievskoi Rusi*, 1944, p. 30; M. Tikhomirov, Proiskhozdhenie nazvanii "Rus" i "Russkaya zemlya", *SE* VI—VII, 1947, p. 75; V. Mavrodin, Osnovnye etapy etnicheskogo razvitiya russkogo naroda, *Vol*, 1950 (4), p. 60, and others. I was unable to obtain P. Chernykh, K istorii voprosa o "russkikh pismenakh" v zhitii Konstantina Filosofa, *UZYGPI* IX (XIX), 1947, and E. Epshtein, O vremeni proiskhozhdeniya russkoi pismennosti, *UZLGU* XV, 1948.

[2] V. Pogorélov, Importance de la forme des mots grecs dans la traduction Cyrillo-Méthodienne, *SBN* V, 1939, pp. 534—40.

[3] Similar deductions are made on the basis of Igor's treaty with the Greeks, concluded in 944, although the text of the treaty does not justify such an assumption.

[4] E. Veimarn—S. Stzheletsky, K voprosu o slavyanakh v Krymu, *Vol*, 1952 (4), pp. 94—9; B. Grekov—Y. Bromlei, Izuchenie istorii Kryma, *VAN*, 1952 (8), pp. 71—5.

[5] G. Ilinsky, Odin epizod iz Korsunskogo perioda zhizni Konstantina Filosofa, *S* III, 1924—5, pp. 45—64.

whether the word " Rus " really occurred in the original, the earliest copies of which date from the 15th century.

The right direction was taken by A. Vaillant when he observed that the copyists had changed the word *surskimi* into *russkimi* ; thus, instead of " Syriac letters " we have " Rus letters ".[1] The above point of view was developed at some length by R. Jakobson,[2] and the correctness of Vaillant's opinion was acknowledged also by Grégoire, Da Costa-Louillet, and Dvornik.[3] Before his voyage to the Khazars, Constantine had already been to Syria. This, undoubtedly, rendered easier his understanding of the man he met in the Crimea. In later times, when he defended the rights of the Slavonic language, and advocated its introduction into the liturgy, Constantine would quote the example of other peoples, who used their own language in the Church service. Among these were the Syrians, but not the Rus.[4] This fact constitutes a significant commentary on the passage from the *Life of Constantine Philosopher* which we are examining.

The journey of Constantine (Cyril) to the Khazar country is of considerable importance for the subject under discussion. Constantine made his way East at the time of the Rus raid against Constantinople in 860—861, or soon afterwards. The Empire's interest in Rus, the eagerness to win it over to Christianity and thus safeguard Byzantium, must have been a more important and more immediate problem than the conversion of the Khazars. But when sending out his missionaries, " Photius might entertain the hope of converting both the Khazars and the Rus by one stroke " (Vernadsky).[5] Constantine went first of all to northern Tauria, where he was attacked by the Magyars, who, however, did not turn him back, so he proceeded to one of the harbours on the northern shore of the Sea of Azov, where he boarded a ship and sailed along the " Khazarian Way." The question may be asked, states Vernadsky, why did Constantine not board a ship in Kherson, or, at any rate, in Kerch, which would have saved him the trouble of the overland route through northern Tauria ? And further, the same author says : " For his return Constantine chose the overland route across the north Caucasian area. He first went to the Caspian Gates . . . From there he directed his journey to the eastern shore of the Sea of Azov across arid steppes, where both he and his companions suffered much from thirst and exhaustion. We may wonder why he did not chose the much more convenient route down the Kuban River to Tmutorokan."[6]

It is difficult to say why Constantine went to the Khazars or returned from their country by one route in preference to another. It is certain that

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[1] A. Vaillant, Les " lettres russes " de la Vie de Constantin, *RES* XV, 1935, pp. 75—7.
[2] R. Jakobson, Saint Constantin et la langue syriaque, *AIPHOS* VII, 1939—44, pp. 181—6.
[3] H. Grégoire, Constantin—Cyrille et son Psautier en lettres syriaques et non russes, *B* X, 1935, p. 776 ; G. Da Costa-Louillet, Y eut-il des invasions russes dans l'Empire Byzantin avant 860 ? *B* XV, 1940—1, pp. 239—40 ; F. Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*, 1949, p. 312.
[4] G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, 1946, p. 349, supposes that in the list of peoples enumerated by Constantine, the Rus are disguised under the name of the Sugdaeans, but the sources fail to confirm such a conjecture.
[5] G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, p. 346.
[6] G. Vernadsky, *idem*, pp. 350—2.

his missionary work among the peoples he visited counted for more with him than his convenience or personal safety on the journey. This can be seen with great clarity from the *Life of St. Constantine*. Had the Rus lived in the Crimea, it would be quite inconceivable that our missionary, who was fully aware of Constantinople's tragic experiences, should have failed to show any interest in them, all the more so as he had received special instructions from Photius. Thus, by presenting a complete blank on the question of the Rus in the Crimea, the *Life of Constantine* indirectly proves that there were no Rus in this peninsula.

There remains the question of Tmutorokan.

On neither of his journeys to the Khazar country and back again did Constantine visit this place, although, in view of the direction taken by him, this is what one might have expected. According to many scholars, an important centre of the Rus existed there. Vernadsky explains this striking, repeated avoidance of Tmutorokan by the unwillingness of the Rus to allow the missionaries to pass through, and by their reluctance to enter into contact with Christians. But this explanation is very far fetched. The Rus had contacts with Christians before 860 (the *Annales Bertiniani*), and later, in 864—7, they are supposed to have sent embassies to Constantinople actually relating to the question of their baptism. If we followed Vernadsky's reasoning, we should have to conclude that Constantine kept out of danger, that he feared the Rus, and made no attempt to enter their land. But the *Life* passes the whole matter over in silence. The Rus in Tmutorokan awakened Constantine's missionary interest as little as did those in the Crimea, for the good reason that they did not exist in either place.

Photius calls the Rus an unknown nation which became notorious only through their expedition against Constantinople in 860. The Patriarch states that he knows little about the Rus, but what he recounts is far from unimportant.[1] He relates that the attack came from the North, and was as unexpected as a flash of lightning out of a blue sky. According to this author, the Rus lived " somewhere far away from us," i.e., from Byzantium. Had it been in the Crimea or in Tmutorokan, Photius would not have failed to say so, as these lands were possessions of the Empire or belonged to the sphere of its direct interest. In this case, the expedition of the Rus, who were well versed in aggressive undertakings, would not have been such a complete surprise for the Greeks. Photius relates, furthermore, that the Rus undertook their bold stroke after having conquered other, neighbouring nations which he does not enumerate. But again we have to conclude that if the expansion of the Rus in the Black Sea region had assumed large proportions, the Empire would necessarily have known of it, and reckoned with this peril. The territory of the Rus was, in the Patriarch's opinion, separated from Byzantium by navigable rivers, which hardly suggests a seaboard, and by stormy whirlpools. This last reference seems to be

[1] For details on the sermons of Photius and on his circular letter to the Oriental Patriarchs, and on editions of these sources, see A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, pp. 90—1.

an allusion to the Dnieper cataracts, which, according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, aroused great interest among the Greeks. In a word, Photius suggests that the raid came from the North, along the Dnieper.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who writes in the middle of the 10th century, is interested in the Rus and contributes a number of details concerning them. He also describes the Black Sea countries, is familiar with both peninsulas—the Crimea and the Taman—and with their inhabitants, but does not mention the Rus as living there.

If we place side by side four sources, quite independent of one another, the *Annales Bertiniani*, the *Life of Constantine the Philosopher*, Photius, and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, we are struck by the concordance of their testimony. This testimony shows that in the 9th and early 10th centuries the Rus lived neither in the Crimea nor in Tmutorokan. This conclusion, though negative by itself, has a positive value and will help us to analyse other sources of the same period.

Certain Byzantine authors call the Rus Scythians or Tauroscythians, and many historians consider this as evidence that the Rus came from the South, and inhabited the shores of the Black Sea. But, in the period under consideration the name of Scythians was already a historical reminiscence, applied to a vast expanse and relating to tribes of different origins, such as Hunno-Bulgars, Khazars, Polovtsians, Slavs, both Eastern and Western, etc.[1] Those among the Greek writers, who were not familiar with the descent of the Rus, included the latter in the vague term " Scythians ", by which they designated all the peoples living North of the Byzantine Empire.[2]

As the name of Scythians does not contribute to the elucidation of our problem, we have to consider the other sources generally quoted as proof of the connections of the Rus with the Black Sea. In turn, *The Report of a Greek Toparch* deserves our attention. The author, an important Greek wielding power among the Goths in the Crimea, being threatened by the Khazars, is persuaded by the Rus, the neighbours of those Goths, to appeal personally for aid and protection to Svyatoslav, the mighty Prince of Kievan Rus. Our source describes the homeward journey of the Greek embassy during a most severe winter, and under the constant threat of Pecheneg attacks. This is how many historians understand the events narrated in the *Report*.

However, this reconstruction of facts is subject to many doubts. The source does not mention by name either the Rus or other tribes, such as the Khazars and Pechenegs. The author of the *Report* speaks only of " barbarians " who attacked the population governed by this Greek, of its neighbours who advised that foreign aid should be sought, of the subjects of a powerful ruler, and of " enemies " through whose territory the Greeks

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[1] G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, p. 161 ; Cross, p. 140 ; I. Budovnits, Vladimir Monomakh i ego voennaya doktrina, *IZ* XXII, 1947, pp. 54—5 ; F. Dvornik, *The Making*, p. 180, and others.

[2] G. Da Costa-Louillet, *op. cit.*, p. 239 ; M. Plezia, Greckie i łacińskie źródła do najstarszych dziejów Słowian *P E* III, 1952, p. 127.

returned home. It appears to me highly doubtful whether the Greeks ever applied the designation "barbarians" to the Khazars. The Pechenegs, for their part, through whose territory the Greeks returned, would figure simply as "foes". As for the mighty ruler whose favour the toparch tried to win, he resided, according to our source, "North of the Danube." It is difficult to believe that the inhabitants of the Crimea would have thus designated a prince of Kiev.

The *Report* mentions the town or district which the toparch administrated, i.e., Climata.[1] But we do not know where this place was to be found, and its location in the Crimea is quite uncertain. Spitsyn assumes that the information refers not to the Crimea, but to Tmutorokan.[2] Vasilevsky, Banescu, Shangin place the scene of these events on the lower Danube.[3] Even if we accepted the guess that the source under discussion actually refers to the Crimea, and that the powerful ruler was indeed the prince of Rus, we would still encounter other difficulties. The *Report* does not indicate the date at which the facts mentioned occurred.[4] K. Hase, the only scholar who has seen the manuscript of the *Report*, ascribed it to the end of the 10th century, while the fragments concerning the date of the events were added somewhat, though "not much" later. Honigmann declares for the year 1021,[5] which would mean the reign of Yaroslav the Wise, and not of Svyatoslav. During the time of the former ruler Rus could not have dominated the Black Sea. In short, the *Report of a Greek Toparch* contains too many ambiguities, and allows for various hypotheses and interpretations of the text, and, consequently, does not definitely solve the problem with which we are dealing.

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[1] The Greek name of Mavrokastron, meaning the "Black Castle", which also occurs in this source, is too common to permit a definite identification of that locality.

[2] A. Spitsyn, Torgovye puti Kievskoi Rusi, *Sbornik statei posvyashchennykh S. F. Platonovu*, 1911, p. 246.

[3] V. Vasilevsky, Zapiska Grecheskogo toparkha, in *Trudy V. G. Vasilevskogo* II, 1912, pp. 201—5; N. Banescu, Les premiers témoignages byzantins sur les Roumains du Bas Danube, *BNJ* III, 1922, pp. 306—10; M. Shangin, "Zapiska Grecheskogo toparkha" kak istochnik o voine russkikh na Balkanakh 970 goda i zimoi 971 goda, *IsZ*, 1941 (9), p. 122. The Report informs us that the neighbours and advisers of the Greeks "did not differ in customs and manner" from the subjects of the powerful prince. It may be that what is alluded to here is the kinship between the Balkan Slavs and the Polyanians of Kiev, subjected by the descendants of Rurik.

[4] The only indication, which might help in the establishment of the date of the events discussed, is a detail of an astronomic nature, preserved in the source. On their journey home, the members of the Greek embassy observed an interesting phenomenon: "Saturn was at the beginning of its passage across Aquarius, while the sun was passing through the winter signs." On this basis F. Uspensky, Vizantiiskie vladeniya na severnom beregu Chernogo morya v IX—X vv. *KS*, 1889, pp. 41—2, assigns the Report to the first years of the 10th century. A. Vasiliev, The Goths in the Crimea, *MAA* XI, 1936, p. 121, fixes the date of its origin as the year 963. The same opinion is held by V. Moshin, Rus i Khazariya pri Svyatoslave, *SK* VI, 1933, pp. 190—1, and by G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, 1948, pp. 43—4. On the other hand, V. Vasilevsky, *Zapiska*, p. 206, considers that the possibilities are: either the years 964—7 or 993—6, but he rather inclines towards the first alternative. M. Shangin, *Zapiska*, pp. 121—2, assumes the years 971. A. Nasonov, Tmutorokan v istorii vostochnoi Evropy X veka, *IZ* VI, 1940, p. 81, speaks in general terms of the second half of the 10th century. M. Tikhomirov, *Istochnikovedenie istorii SSSR s drevneishikh vremen* I, 1940, p. 21, of the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century.

[5] E. Honigmann, Studies in Slavic Church History, *B* XVII, 1945, p. 160.

In our considerations we have reached the conclusion that, in the 9th and the first half of the 10th century, the connections of the Rus with the Black Sea were only loose and sporadic. It is, therefore, not conceivable that the Black Sea should have been designated by the name of Rus.

The position changes in the latter half of the 10th century, when Kiev becomes, finally, the capital of Rus, and thrusts Novgorod back into the second place. "Nestor's" Chronicle mentions Svyatoslav's expeditions against the Khazars, the Yasians and the Kasogians (965), and his son Vladimir's Crimean campaign against Kherson (988).[1] These campaigns extended the domination or, at least, the influence of Rus as far as the coast, but as may be seen from the treaty of 971 between the Greeks and Svyatoslav, the Empire re-established its position in the Crimea. The successes attained by the Rus in this quarter, as far as they were real, were of brief duration.[2] Here is what Vasiliev writes about Vladimir's expedition just mentioned: "Similar to other achievements of the Rus on the coast, Vladimir's expedition against Kherson was not undertaken with any great and clearly defined plans of conquest." The reason why Vladimir so rapidly abandoned Kherson was that "this place was of no use to him."[3] One cannot but remark that such an opinion is not very favourable to the theory of well-established traditions of Rus in the Black Sea region. Both the military ventures, that of Svyatoslav and that of Vladimir, impress us as having been undertaken on the spur of the moment, not as the result of a consistent and thought-out policy. In discussing these events, however, one subject should be treated with special attention, and that is the problem of Tmutorokan.

Vestberg thinks that Tmutorokan was acquired in the reign of Svyatoslav.[4] This is possible,[5] though it is difficult to decide the question categorically.[6] Yet it is obvious that Tmutorokan belonged to Vladimir the Great, if that Prince bequeathed it to his son Mstislav.[7]

On the subject of Mstislav, "Nestor" has preserved a number of noteworthy details. In 1022 he effects the conquest of the Kasogians; in 1023 he sets out on an expedition against Kiev and his brother Yaroslav, who is sojourning at Novgorod. He leads forces consisting of Khazars and Kasogians to the banks of the Dnieper. During his fight with Yaroslav, Mstislav is supported by the princely retainers and by Severians.[8]

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1 Cross, pp. 171, 199—201.

2 V. Moshin, Rus i Khazariya pri Svyatoslave, *SK* VI, 1933, p. 208, stresses that after 965 Svyatoslav ceased to be interested in eastern affairs.

3 A. Vasiliev, Goty v Krymu, *IGAIMK* V, 1927, pp. 251—2; *idem*, *The Goths in the Crimea.*

4 F. Vestberg, Zapiska Gotskogo toparkha, *VV* XV, 1909, p. 262.

5 J. Bromberg, Toponymical and Historical Miscellanies on Mediaeval Dobrudja, Bessarabia, and Moldo-Wallachia, *B* XIII, 1938, p. 34; E. Honigmann, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

6 Svyatoslav established his sons in various parts of his domains, but Tmutorokan does not occur among the possessions involved.

7 Cross, p. 207. "Nestor" does not say when and under what circumstances Vladimir acquired Tmutorokan.

8 Cross, pp. 223—4. We know very little of Mstislav, except what "Nestor" tells us. In 1947 a Greek seal with the name of Mstislav was found in Belgorod, near Kiev. D. Blifeld, Visla pechatka z Bilgorodki, *A* III, 1950, pp. 102—10, assumes that the seal should be traced back to the son of Vladimir the Great, whom we have discussed here, that it should be placed in the period 1023—1026, and that Mstislav maintained at the time close relations with Poland and Hungary, in which countries he was seeking help against his brother Yaroslav. B.

It is characteristic that, in connection with all these events, the Rus of Tmutorokan are never even mentioned. We learn that when the two brothers finally agreed, " they divided Rus according to the course of the Dnieper; Yaroslav took the Kiev side, and Mstislav the other."[1] The capital of Mstislav's domain was Chernihov, and it was there that he reigned until the end of his life (1036), and there he was buried.

In the Chernihov period of Mstislav's life, his connections with Tmutorokan were severed. It is possible that in 1029 both brothers jointly undertook the expedition against the Yasians,[2] and this may represent an effort to reconquer Tmutorokan. Nothing certain can be said on the matter. Golubinsky affirms, not without reason, that Mstislav " never envisaged Tmutorokan as a place where he would have wished to stay for all time."[3] It remains a fact that after his brother's death, " Yaroslav assumed the entire sovereignty and was the sole ruler in the land of Rus,"[4] but there is no evidence of his having inherited Tmutorokan.[5] When apportioning his sons' inheritance, Yaroslav did not establish any of them in Tmutorokan, which apparently he no longer possessed.

In the course of the 11th century, the Rurikides visited Tmutorokan from time to time, in order to collect forces for their family contests. There is no evidence to show that at this time a Bishopric at Tmutorokan was subordinated to the Metropolitan see of Kiev.[6] The disconnected and temporary relations of the Rus princes with Tmutorokan are broken off in 1094.

The role of Tmutorokan in the period we are considering has been rightly characterized by Smirnov: "(There are no clear proofs in the sources) that a city of Tmutorokan really existed, as nobody knows by whom it was founded and to whom it belonged. In connection with it, we come across references to Khazars, Pechenegs, Polovtsians, Kasogians, and finally to Rus. All flee to Tmutorokan, remain there for a time, and return again, and all this happens in a very brief lapse of time . . . From everything the chroniclers of Rus can tell us about Tmutorokan (we draw the conclusion) that this was a place subject to no master, a *res nullius*. Whoever wishes to do so, crosses this territory without hindrance or opposition on anybody's part."[7]

Many historians have considered the period of Vladimir the Great and of his successors as being the epilogue to a glorious past of the Rus on the shores of the Black Sea. These scholars draw a fictitious picture of a

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Ribakov, Pechatki Chernigivskikh knyaziv, *A* III, 1950, pp. 111—6, on the other hand, is of the opinion that the seal is that of Mstislav, the son of Izyaslav, who reigned in Kiev during the years 1169—1171.

1 Cross, p. 224.

2 M. Hrushevsky, *Istoriya Ukraini-Rusi* II, 1905, pp. 20—1.

3 E. Golubinsky, *Istoriya Russkoi tserkvi* I (1), 1901, p. 335.

4 Cross, p. 225.

5 G. Vernadsky, *The Rus in the Crimea*, p. 252, assumes that Mstislav was in possession of both Chernihov and Tmutorokan, and that Yaroslav inherited the latter from his brother. This hypothesis finds no support in the sources.

6 V. Moshin, Nikolai episkop Tmutorakanskii, *SK* V, 1932, p. 62.

7 V. Smirnov, Chto takoe Tmutorakan? *VV* XXIII, 1923, pp. 50—1.

powerful centre of Rus in the South in the 9th and the first half of the 10th century. But none of these conjectures will stand a critical examination.[1] As the sources do not testify to the existence of any close and durable links between the Rus and the Black Sea, the designation of this sea as Rus Sea can only be regarded as a myth.

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[1] " It should be stressed once more that at the time (of Svyatoslav) and earlier, no Rus existed on the coast of the Black Sea, and that the principality of Rus at Tmutorokan did not exist either." M. Artamonov, Belaya Vezha, *SAr* XVI, 1952, p. 46.

11

THE KRIVICHIANS

" Nestor " relates that the Krivichians inhabited a territory situated around the head waters of the rivers Volga, Dvina, and Dnieper. Their capital city was Smolensk.[1] Writing in the middle of the 10th century, Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions the Krivichians among the Slavonic tribes living on the banks of the Dnieper, by which he means the upper reaches of that stream.[2] This fact, confirmed by two authors who write independently of one another, is a suitable starting point for further investigations concerning the original territory of the Krivichians.

Mavrodin, as well as many other scholars, thinks that under the appellation of Krivichians we must understand a federation of several tribes, and that, as a natural consequence, the size of the Krivichian territory must have been larger than that of any individual tribe.[3] We know nothing of any supra-tribal organization going under the name of the Krivichians. Nor does Porphyrogenitus or " Nestor " contain any indications to justify the assumption of any great expanse being inhabited by the Krivichians. Both sources treat the Krivichians in the same fashion as the Derevlians, Dregovichians, Severians, etc.

Many scholars (Danilevich, Karsky, Chernyagin, Nasonov) suppose that the Polochians were a branch of the Krivichians. Tretyakov is of the opinion that the Polochians were never a distinct tribe ; that their name was new, and like the names of the Chernihovians, Turovians, etc., began to be used only when the old tribal territories were divided into principalities.[4] This conclusion seems to me unacceptable. The *Povest* several

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1 Cross, p. 140.

2 Two passages of Constantine Porphyrogenitus relate to the problem with which we are concerned : " Their (i.e., the Rus') Slav tributaries, the so-called Krivichians, the Lenzanines, and the rest of the Slavonic regions, cut the single-strakers on their mountains in time of winter, and when they have fastened them together, as spring approaches and the ice melts, they bring them on to the neighbouring lakes. And since these lakes debouch into the river Dnieper, they enter thence on to this same river and come down to Kiev." And in another place we read : " When the month of November begins, their (i.e., the Rus') chiefs, together with all the Rus, at once leave Kiev and go off on the ' *poliudie* ', which means ' rounds ', that is, to the Slavonic regions of the Vervians (i.e., Derevlians) and Drugovichians and Krivichians and Severians and the rest of the Slavs who are tributaries of the Rus." G. Moravcsik—R. Jenkins, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio*, 1949, pp. 56—9, 62—3. From the above, one may conclude that the Krivichians 1) lived on the Dnieper, to the North of Kiev ; 2) that they were neighbours of the Lyakhs (the Lenzanines) i.e., of the Radimichians and Vyatichians, since those Lyakhs are mentioned next to the Krivichians, and 3) that on the strength of the same argument they were neighbours of the Dregovichians.

3 V. Mavrodin, *Formirovanie russkoi natsii*, 1947, p. 10.

4 P. Tretyakov, Severnye vostochno-slavyanskie plemena, *MIA* VI, 1941, pp. 35—6 ; *idem*, *Plemiona wschodnio-słowiańskie*, 1949, p. 164.

times mentions the Polochians in addition to the Polyanians, Derevlians, Severians, etc. It deals with them in exactly the same terms as those referring to other widely known Slavonic tribes. " Nestor ", when enumerating the various tribes, indicates simultaneously the regions of their settlement, and does so in the case of the Polochians.[1] The chronicler derives the name of this tribe from the river Polota, not from the city of Polotsk.[2] He explains the origin of the other tribal names in the same way.[3]

The *Povest* deserves our attention because it unambiguously contrasts the Polochians and the Krivichians.[4] In one passage of his work, " Nestor " briefly mentions the Polochians, only to pass on immediately to the Krivichians and Severians. The text (. . . " *polochane, ot nikh zhe krivichi . . . tazhe sever ot nikh* ") allows of a twofold interpretation. It may be supposed that the Krivichians were descended from the Polochians, and the Severians from the Krivichians. Such an interpretation is advanced by Likhachev.[5] But in that case, the thesis continually put forward by certain scholars, regarding the descent of the Polochians from the Krivichians, must be abandoned. Another interpretation is geographical: the Krivichians were neighbours of the Polochians, and the Severians were neighbours of the Krivichians. Cross translated the text in this way, and was correct in doing so.[6] The entire passage contains details relating to the territories of the particular tribes, not to their descent. That is why the chronicler speaks of the Finns as neighbours of the Krivichians.

As has been mentioned in Chapter I, the first Bishoprics of the Church of Rus on the whole coincided with the tribal territories. Now, the Bishopric founded at Polotsk did not include the land of the Krivichians. If there had been tribal identity between the two, Smolensk should have belonged to this Bishopric.[7]

The differences in the history of the Polochians and the Krivichians are reflected in the pages of the *Povest*. "Nestor" knows the Krivichians; he mentions them on many occasions, and yet he passes them over several

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1 On the contrary, when mentioning the names of principalities derived from the cities, he never adds any geographical commentary.

2 "Other tribes resided along the Dvina and were called Polochians on account of a small stream called the Polota, which flows into the Dvina. It was from this same stream that they were called Polochians." Cross, p. 138; " . . . another principality existed on the Polota, where the Polochians dwell." *Ibid.*, p. 140.

3 " Thus some came and settled by the river Morava, and were named Moravians." Cross, p. 138. " The Buzhians . . . live along the river Bug." *Ibid.*, p. 140, etc.

4 Except the account under 862; Cross, p. 145. If " Nestor " used the name of the Polochians as that of the inhabitants of the city and district of Polotsk, he would refer similarly to the inhabitants of Smolensk, and not to the Krivichians.

5 D. Likhachev, *Povest vremennykh let* I, 1950, p. 209. V. Mavrodin, *Drevnyaya Rus*, 1946, p. 69, asserts, quite mistakenly, that according to "Nestor" both the Polochians and Severians were descended from the Krivichians.

6 " . . . and another principality existed on the Polota, where the Polochians dwell. Beyond them reside the Krivichians, who live at the head waters of the Volga, the Dvina, and the Dnieper, and whose city is Smolensk. It is there that the Krivichians dwell; and beyond them are the Severians. At Beloozero are situated the Ves, and on the lake of Rostov, the Merya, and on Lake Kleshchino also the Merya." Cross, p. 140.

7 A separate Bishopric of Smolensk was founded only in the middle of the 12th century; before that, the territory of Smolensk was ecclesiastically connected with Pereyaslavl, in the South.

times in his lists of Slavonic tribes.[1] Golubovsky thinks that there was no further need to mention the Krivichians, since the Polochians figured among the tribes enumerated in the introduction to the Chronicle.[2] For two reasons this observation is not convincing: first, "Nestor" considered the Krivichians as a tribe distinct from the Polochians; secondly, if the Polochians were only a branch of the Krivichians, the chronicler would have mentioned the Krivichians, as the more comprehensive denomination, and would have remained silent on the subject of the Polochians.

"Nestor's" lists of East-Slavonic tribes were not drawn up chaotically and casually, but according to a preliminary well-considered plan. Obviously, the Krivichians did not comply with his established standards, as they are not mentioned. In one passage, "Nestor" enumerates five tribes—the Polyanians, Derevlians, Dregovichians, Novgorodian Slavs, and the Polochians—who, under local dynasties, formed separate tribal States.[3] Further, in the same text, the chronicler passes on to territorial matters, and mentions the Krivichians as neighbours of the Polochians, and the Severians as neighbours of the Krivichians. Thus, he appears to indicate that the Krivichians and Severians did not possess an independent political organization of their own.

In another enumeration of tribes from the standpoint of their religion, "Nestor" mentions among the Slavonic peoples who confess the faith of Rus: the Polyanians, the Derevlians, the Novgorodians, the Polochians, the Dregovichians, and the Derevlians; and among the Polish tribes, the Buzhians, or rather their eastern branch, who under the new, provincial terminology are called the Volynians.[4] The chronicler adds the word "only" (*tokmo*), showing thereby that he has deliberately omitted certain tribes. This refers to the Krivichians, Radimichians, and Vyatichians. The Polish descent of the two latter was no reason for their being omitted, since the Buzhians are mentioned. But the Krivichians, Radimichians, and Vyatichians long remained addicted to paganism, a fact confirmed by archaeological discoveries,[5] and by the late date of the erection of the Bishoprics of Smolensk and of Ryazan.

The well-known passage of the *Povest* which relates how the Slavs dispersed, starting from their common settlements on the Danube, is closely connected with the subject with which we are dealing. Here "Nestor" mentions a series of Moravo-Czech and Polish tribes, and enumerates, in

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[1] At first sight, one might suppose that "Nestor" does not regard the Krivichians as Slavs. But such an idea would be incorrect, since when writing about Slavonic tribes who cling to pagan customs—the Derevlians, Severians, Vyatichians, etc.—he mentions also the Krivichians. Cross, pp. 141—2. Constantine Porphyrogenitus makes a definite statement as to the Slavonic character of the Krivichians.

[2] P. Golubovsky, *Istoriya Smolenskoi zemli do nachala XV v.*, 1895, pp. 49—50.

[3] "After the deaths of these three brothers (Kii, Shchek, and Khoriv), their gens assumed the supremacy among the Polyanians. The Derevlians possessed a principality of their own, as did also the Dregovichians, while the Slavs had their own authority in Novgorod, and another principality existed on the Polota, where the Polochians dwell." Cross, p. 140.

[4] We have analysed this passage in Chapter I. The translations by Cross, p. 140, and by Likhachev, p. 13, are incorrect.

[5] A. Artsikhovsky, Arkheologicheskie dannye o vozniknovenii feodalizma v Suzdalskoi i Smolenskoi zemlyakh, *PIDO*, 1934 (11—12), p. 60.

addition to these, six of the tribes settled in the East: the Polyanians, Derevlians, Dregovichians, Polochians, Novgorod Slavs, and Severians.[1] It is remarkable that the Krivichians have been omitted. The author also omits the Radimichians and Vyatichians, but the latter migrated to the banks of the Sozh and the Oka at a time when the Polyanians, Derevlians, etc. had already lived long in their territories. Had the Krivichians also occupied their lands at a different time to the majority of the East-Slavonic tribes, the chronicler would not have failed to note this fact, as he has done in the case of the Radimichians and Vyatichians. Nor can the absence of the Krivichians from this list of tribes be accounted for by the mistake or omission of a copyist, for " Nestor ", continuing his work, introduces the Krivichians into his narrative, and immediately indicates the place of their settlement.[2] And this he generally does whenever he happens to mention a tribe for the first time. Consequently, the author of the *Povest* is well aware of not having previously referred to the Krivichians.

The fact that " Nestor " omits the Krivichians in many passages of the introduction to his Chronicle, indirectly throws some light on the past of this tribe. Two points would seem to be especially noteworthy: first, that the Krivichians remained for a long time attached to their pagan tenets, and secondly, that they did not form a political entity of their own.

Let us return to the territory of the Krivichians. Certain scholars assume that, in the North, Izborsk[3] and Pskov[4] were Krivichian cities. I venture to doubt the accuracy of these conjectures. It is difficult to establish precisely the eastern frontier of the Krivichian territory. It is supposed to have reached Rzhev, and to have run southwards along the upper course of the Ugra, extending to the head waters of the Desna[5] and to the upper course of the Sozh.[6] Certain scholars think the Krivichian territory extended farther to the East, but advance no convincing arguments to back that assertion.

In the West, the Krivichians bordered on the Dregovichians. "Nestor" tells us that the latter lived " between the Pripet and the Dvina."[7] Scholars doubt this assertion, and charge the chronicler with having located the Dregovichian settlements too far to the North.[8] Other chroniclers[9] confirm

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[1] Cross, p. 138.
[2] *Ibidem*, p. 140.
[3] V. Danilevich, *Ocherk istorii Polotskoi zemli*, p. 52; P. Tretiakow, *Plemiona wschodnio-słowiańskie*, 1949, p. 172; D. Likhachev, *Povest* II, 1950, p. 237; A. Mongait—G. Fedorov, Voprosy istorii Velikogo Novgoroda, *VoI*, 1950 (9), p. 106. On the part of Izborsk see S. Tarakanova, Staryi Izborsk, *KSDPI* XX, 1948, pp. 89–96; A. Rappoport, Iz istorii voenno—inzhenernogo iskusstva drevnei Rusi, in Krepostnye sooruzheniya drevnei Rusi, *MIA* XXXI, 1952, pp. 164—83. Apart from the account concerning Rurik's brother, Truvor, Izborsk appears in the chronicles only as late as the 13th century.
[4] S. Tarakanova, Raskopki drevnego Pskova, *KSDPI* XXVII, 1949, pp. 104—12, and O proiskhozhdenii i vremeni vozniknoveniya Pskova, *ibidem* XXXV, 1950, pp. 18—29.
[5] *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya* XXXV, 1937, pp. 59—60.
[6] N. Barsov, *Ocherki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii*, 1885, p. 154.
[7] Cross, p. 138.
[8] E.g., D. Likhachev, *Povest* II, p. 214.
[9] *PSRL* I (under the year 1127); II (Under 1116 and 1149).

the fact that Turov, Slutsk, and Kletsk belonged to that tribe. Jodkowski thinks that Slonim, Volkovysk, and Grodno were also Dregovichian towns, and, more especially that ecclesiastically speaking Grodno was in the Bishopric of Turov.[1] The basin of the Berezina raises the most controversial questions. If Dregovichian territory extended to the Dvina, that tribe was bound to be in possession of it. Certain scholars consider this possible.[2] Since Christianity, radiating from Kiev, passed by the Krivichians and reached Polotsk and Novgorod, it must have advanced northwards through the land of the Dregovichians, and this would go to show that some contact existed between the Dregovichians and the Polochians.[3] Tikhomirov pointed out how important was the fluvial route from Polotsk to Kiev by way of the Berezina,[4] and we may add, that to Turov by way of the Berezina and Ptych.

The Krivichian territory comprising, as it did, the sources of three great rivers which link the southern seas with the Baltic, had special importance for the Varangians on their expeditions to distant lands. In Krivichian country there sprang up a strong centre of Norse settlements, which "Nestor" calls Rus. "And thus one can proceed from Rus by way of the Volga to the Bulgars . . . and by way of the Dvina to the Varangians . . . and the Dnieper flows through various mouths into the Pontus (the Black Sea)."[5] In two other passages of his work, the chronicler confirms the existence of the Rus in the territory of which we speak: once when he depicts them, together with the Slavs and Finns, as calling in the Varangians (A.D. 862); and the second time, in that passage of the introduction already quoted, where the Slavonic tribes who have founded their own independent principalities are enumerated, but where the Krivichians and Severians are omitted. The important agglomerations of graves of Norse warriors discovered in the ground near Gnezdovo, and in the neighbourhood of Chernihov, fully confirm the tradition which "Nestor" handed down on this subject.[6]

Under pressure of the Norsemen, a part of the Krivichians was pushed westwards. Krivichian pressure on the Dregovichians[7] must have been

[1] J. Jodkowski, Pieczęcie ruskie z XI—XII w., znalezione w Grodnie i Drohiczynie, *PH* XXXVII, 1948, pp. 166—73. I was unable to obtain the study by M. Dovnar-Zapolsky, *Ocherk istorii Krivichskoi i Dregovichskoi zemel do kontsa XII v.*, 1891.

[2] L. Sedlaczek, Dregowiczanie, *PKAP* II, 1929, p. 5. On the Dregovichians' continuous pressure on Lithuanian lands, cf. M. Alsekaite-Gimbutiene, *Die Bestattung in Litauen in der vorgeschichtlichen Zeit*, 1946, p. 173.

[3] This explains why "Nestor", when enumerating the converted Slavonic tribes—the Dregovichians, Polochians, and Novgorodians—makes no mention of the Krivichians.

[4] M. Tikhomirov, *Drevnerusskie goroda*, 1946, p. 83.

[5] Cross, p. 138.

[6] It appears, therefore, that the Varangians first established their domination in the territory of the Krivichians, while Novgorod and Polotsk were only stations on their migrations. The calling in of Rurik and his brothers marks the second phase of Norse expansion, during which Novgorod was the principal centre for the Varangian control of eastern Europe.

[7] Under pressure from the Krivichians, a part of the Dregovichians moved towards the West. R. Jakimowicz, Wschodnia granica osadnictwa mazowieckiego w X—XI wieku z Jaćwieżą i Rusią, i zasiąg kolonizacji mazowieckiej na Wschodzie, *PVIZHP* I, 1935, pp. 248—9; *idem*, Prehistoria ziem polskich. Okres wczesnohistoryczny, *EPPAU* IV (1), 1939—48, p. 420, points out that, in the 10th and 11th centuries, two Slavonic elements, the Dregovichian and the Polish (Mazovian), were intermingled East of the Bug.

gradual and long drawn out. We should assume that there was, in the neighbourhood of the Polochians and Lithuanians, a territory of mixed Dregovichian-Krivichian population. It is probable also that the westward movement of the Krivichians, though caused by the Norsemen in its first phase, continued later independently of the latter.

The Krivichians must have been neighbours of the Lithuanians. The locality of Krevo undoubtedly derives its name from the Krivichians. In 1127—8 there appear in the chronicles the Krivichian towns of Lokhoisk, Drutsk, Borisov, and Zaslav (Izyaslavl).[1] In the 14th century, the Teutonic Knights still confirm the fact that Novogrodek is situated in Krivichian territory.[2] This was the most westward point reached by the settlements of that tribe.

Our knowledge of the oldest history of the Krivichians is very poor. The fragmentary accounts in the sources are strange and puzzling. When finally Christianity begins to make progress in the territories under examination, the Smolensk region continues, up to the middle of the 12th century, to depend ecclesiastically on Pereyaslavl, situated to the South-East of Kiev; Smolensk does not figure among the cities handed over to his sons by Vladimir the Great;[3] Yaroslav the Wise established at Smolensk his fifth son (one of his youngest), Vyacheslav; in 1067, the territory of Smolensk is divided among Yaroslav's elder sons. In short, in the latter half of the 10th and in the course of the 11th century, the political role of this important city and of the district connected with it is uncommonly insignificant and colourless.

Only in the 12th century do we observe the signs of revival and development in these lands. A vast difference separates the old Smolensk (Gnezdovo) from the new;[4] one period of history ends, and another begins, under conditions and circumstances which are greatly changed.

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[1] *PSRL* I, pp. 130—1; cf. P. Tretyakov, Severnye vostochno-slavyanskie plemena, *MIA* VI, 1941, p. 125.

[2] In 1314, the Teutonic Knights undertook an expedition against Novogrodek, which was then a Lithuanian possession: "frater Henricus . . . venit ad terram Criwicie et civitatem illam, que parva Nogardia dicitur, cepit." *SRP* I, p. 180; "Eodem anno (1314) fratres habebant expeditionem in fines Ruthenorum Criwicz." *MGH* XXI, *Script* XIX, p. 706.

[3] The Voskresensk Chronicle of the 16th century mentions that Vladimir was supposed to have established his son Stanislav at Smolensk, but this reference does not deserve credence. From the description of the death, near Smolensk, of Vladimir's son Gleb (1015), it follows that none of the deceased prince's brothers was in the city at the time; otherwise the chronicler would surely have mentioned the fact.

[4] M. Tikhomirov, *Drevnerusskie goroda*, 1946, pp. 80—1.

12

THE HUNGARIAN MISSIONARY JULIANUS IN EASTERN EUROPE DURING THE GREAT TARTAR INVASION

The Hungarian Dominican Julianus was sent out with several other friars to preach the Gospel among the Hungarians beyond the Volga. The Hungarian friars were unable to carry out their plans, for it was precisely at that time that the armies of Batu Khan were conquering eastern Europe.

Julianus' letter to the Papal Legate, the Bishop of Perugia, published by Bendefy,[1] was intended to explain to the Church dignitaries the reasons why the mission entrusted to the Dominicans had met with failure; it was not a detailed report on the battles fought at this time on the Volga, Oka, Don, and elsewhere. Such a report would have been premature, and hard to draw up, as events were still in full progress over immense stretches of territory. Julianus was a foreigner, not always capable of fully understanding eastern European affairs; the more so as he did not know the language of the various peoples whom he encountered. Our missionary drew his knowledge chiefly from refugees, escaping from the cruel invaders. The atmosphere surrounding Julianus, as he gathered his information, was one of terror and panic,[2] and favoured the rise of various reports and rumours, difficult to verify, often inaccurate and contradictory. Julianus' letter, which is somewhat chaotically drafted, bears the imprint of these circumstances. The author deals with the things he has seen, and more often only heard, in a summary or fragmentary manner; he mingles contemporary facts with earlier events; sometimes he gives distorted geographical names, and returns to the same questions over and over again, each time changing something in his judgement of them, etc. Alternative versions of the letter are sometimes at great variance. Such is the source with which we are concerned.

In spite of these imperfections and shortcomings, the letter is of great value on account of a detail which was assuredly not invented by Julianus. While the historians often suggest that the Finnish Merya tribe had dis-

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[1] L. Bendefy, Fontes authentici itinera (1235—1238) fratris Juliani illustrantes, *AECO* III, 1937, pp. 1—50, where all variants of the text are given; for the translation cf. S. Anninsky, Izvestiya vengerskikh missionerov XIII—XIV vv. o tatarakh i Vostochnoi Evrope, *IA* III, 1940, pp. 71—112.

[2] How great was the terror which at that time seized the nations conquered by the Tartars, appears from the fact that Permians on their flight reached Norway; cf. J. Umiński, *Niebezpieczeństwo tatarskie w połowie XIII w. i papież Innocenty IV*, 1922, p. 11. The Perm tribe lived between the upper reaches of the Kama and the Vychegda, a right-bank tributary of the Northern Dvina.

solved and disappeared by the 10th or 11th century at the latest, the Hungarian missionary mentions, among the nations conquered by the Tartars, a people whom he calls *Merowia*, which is, without doubt, the Latin equivalent for Merya.[1]

At the very beginning of his letter, Julianus relates that the Tartars had completely defeated the pagan Hungarians, the Bulgars, and other peoples,[2] and further on he enters into greater detail on this point: " (*Tartari*) *quinque regna maxima paganorum obtinuerunt Sasciam, Fulgariam . . . Ceterum quoque et Wedin et Merowiam, Poydowiam Mordanorum regnum expugnabant.*"[3] In order to locate these names on the map we must consider all the data handed down by the author. The downfall of the five tribes took place after the defeat of Great Hungary (*Magna Ungaria*) ;[4] the five tribes inhabited territories situated to the West of *Magna Ungaria*.[5] These were large countries,[6] but they must have lain in the same region, since the Tartars needed only a year or so to accomplish their conquest. Taking these circumstances into consideration, we are able to locate the five geographical names in the following way: Sascia or Faschia is none other than Bascia, Basciria or Bascardia—the land of the Hungarias ; Fulgaria is Bulgaria ; Wedin or Wedint is Vesin or Ves ;[7] Merowia is Merya, and *Mordanorum regnum* is Mordva.

In another passage of his letter, without any connection with the conquest of Merowia, Julianus informs us that the Tartar armies have approached Suzdal.[8] The conquest by the Tartars of the five peoples afore-mentioned is related by the author as an accomplished fact, achieved within a year, or not much more. The subjection of the Suzdal country, on the contrary, is spoken of as an event not yet terminated, for he fails

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[1] Bendefy and Anninsky, in their publications quoted above, do not identify Merowia and Merya. Both these authors, without any foundation whatever, locate Merowia beyond the Volga, to the North of Nizhni Novgorod. We have already shown in Chapter XI that the Merya tribe extended at least as far as a line running through Galich and Kineshma. Galich was actually called *Merskii* (Merian), and Kineshma is situated near the mouth of the river Mera, flowing into the Volga.

[2] " Ungari pagani et Bulgari et regna plurima a Tartaris sunt destructa . . . ", p. 35.

[3] *Ibidem*, p. 41. In another variant, we find the following text : " quinque regna paganorum maxima obtinuerunt Faschiam, Merowiam, regnum expugnaverunt Bulgarum . . . Ceterum et Wedint expugnabant . . . ", p. 36.

[4] " Inde reversi ad magnam Ungariam de qua nostri Ungari originem habuerunt et expugnaverunt eos quattuordecim annis et in quintodecimo anno obtinuerunt eos, sicut ipsi pagani Ungari viva voce retulerunt ", p. 36. Julianus once before had made the long journey to the banks of the Volga. Hungarian-Tartar relations appear very different in the report of Julianus' first journey. Here we are told that the Tartars could not overpower the Hungarians beyond the Volga, so they acknowledged them as their allies, and proceeded in common to conquer various countries. " Gens Tartarorum vicina est illis (Ungaris), sed hiidem tartari committentes cum eis, non poterant eos in bello devincere, ymo in primo prelio devicti sunt per eos. Unde ipsos sibi amicos et socios elegerunt, ita quod simul iuncti quindecim regna vastaverunt omnino." L. Bendefy, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[5] " Illis (Ungaris) obtentis reversi versus occidentem . . . ", p. 36.

[6] " . . . regna paganorum maxima . . . ", p. 36. Bendefy and Anninsky, however, assume that the territory of the Merya was relatively small.

[7] It is not excluded that under the name of Wedin we should understand the *Vyada* of the Discourse on the Ruin of the Land of Rus, i.e., the population resident on the river Vyatka, a right-bank tributary of the Kama.

[8] " . . . ad Sudal applicuit . . . ", p. 37.

to tell us of the further fate of Suzdal after the Tartars had approached its gates. Therefore we have the impression that the conquest of theMerowians and the invasion of Suzdal were not contemporary, and it follows that, territorially, Merowia and the land of Suzdal were not identical.

Yet the text of the letter allows of another interpretation, which requires, first of all, the determination of two fundamental facts: where Julianus sojourned in eastern Europe, and when, exactly, he was there.

As to the first question, Julianus states that the news of the Tartar conquests of the Bulgars, Mordva, and other peoples reached the missionaries as they were approaching the border of the land of Rus;[1] in another passage, returning to the same subject, he says that it was while they were in the territory of Rus.[2] Some Hungarian Dominicans had set out to the East before Julianus and travelled much of the way without him. Julianus afterwards caught up with a party of these friars, and received a considerable amount of information from them. However, we do not know whether, when he describes the Tartar conquests, he is speaking in the name of the Dominicans who preceded him on his way, and obtained information about the Tartars, or whether he is speaking in his own name. There is a further difficulty: the "land of Rus", i.e., the country inhabited by followers of the Church of Rus, had long frontiers,[3] which could be reached from many directions. The Tartar invasion had strong repercussions in the whole of eastern Europe, which felt directly threatened, and thus our Hungarians could have heard of the events on the Volga almost anywhere on their way.

The letter does not contain a single detail clearly indicating that Julianus had been in Suzdal territory. Speaking of his brother monks who had preceded him, he says unequivocally that they reached Suzdal,[4] but he does not say so of himself. He does, however, relate that the Prince of Suzdal seized Tartar envoys passing through his lands as bearers of the Khan's letter to the King of Hungary. Julianus met the Prince personally, and he saw the Tartar envoys. The Prince entrusted the Khan's letter to our missionary, requesting him to deliver it to his monarch; on this occasion he mentioned that the Tartars were planning to conquer Hungary and other countries.[5]

Julianus relates where the Tartar envoys had been seized, but does not indicate where he met the Rus Prince and these envoys. Where could this have been? It seems improbable that it should have happened in Suzdal

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1 "... ad ultimos fines Bruscie ...," p. 37.

2 "... cum in finibus Ruscie maneremus ...," p. 37.

3 The report of the first journey of Julianus, written by friar Richard, clearly shows that under the appellation of the "land of Rus" a vast territory was understood, reaching from Hungary and the Danube to the countries of the Mordvians and Bulgars. See L. Bendefy, *op. cit.*; Relatio fratris Ricardi, *SR H* II, 1938, pp. 535—42.

4 "Iterum dum ego remansi in curia Romana, precesserunt me ad magnam Ungariam quattuor fratres mei, qui pertransientes per terram Sudal ...," p. 43.

5 "Fertur a pluribus re certa et dux de Sudal mandavit per me regi Hungariorum viva voce quod nocte dieque consilium habent Tartari, qualiter vincant et obtineant regnum Hungariorum christianorum. Propositum enim habent, ut veniant et expugnant Romam et ultra Romam. Misit ergo legatos ad regem Hungariorum qui venientes per terram ducis de Sudal et literas regi Hungariorum missas dux ille recepit ab eis et legatos ipsos cum sociis mihi deputatis etiam vidi ...," p. 38.

territory. It can clearly be seen from Julianus' letter that our Dominican never came into direct contact with the armies of Batu Khan. It is noteworthy that the information handed down by him on the Tartars' approach to Suzdal is couched only in general terms. Had Julianus been anywhere near the Volga, the Klyazma, or the Oka, he would have had much ampler intelligence at his disposal, both in the sense of quantity and quality. But he knows of the land of Suzdal at this time of its trial just as much as he knows of the Tartar plundering of the Duchy of Ryazan, of the Don country, the Polovtsian steppes, etc.[1] In short, Julianus must have been a long way from the lands which had fallen victim to the Tartars, and only there did he meet the Prince of Suzdal, carrying away the Tartar envoys as his prisoners.

In the letter we are considering, a Prince of Suzdal is mentioned twice. The first time, when the Dominicans in advance of Julianus reach Suzdal and the local ruler, though threatened by the Tartars,[2] nevertheless shows unfriendliness to these emissaries of the Roman Church, and orders them out of his country at short notice.[3] The second time, when Julianus, as related above, meets with a Prince of Suzdal in connection with the Khan's letter to the King of Hungary. There is no reason to suppose that on the two occasions the same person is alluded to.[4] The difference in the attitude of the Prince of Suzdal in relation to the Roman Church is striking. That is why the present author considers that Julianus, the first time, had in mind Yuri, Grand Duke of Vladimir, who fell in battle against the Tartars on the river Sit in March, 1238, while on the second occasion he speaks of Yaroslav, who was also a son of Vsevolod III.

Yaroslav Vsevolodovich left his native country at the time of the Tartar invasion (1237—8), and thus saved himself. He may have been sent on a mission by his brother Yuri, or he may, on his own initiative, have undertaken to obtain help from western Europe. This would explain why this Suzdal Prince was so greatly concerned that the Khan's letter, threatening the Hungarians with war, should reach the King of Hungary, and that Julianus should be fully informed of the great peril looming over the whole West. If we assume that Yaroslav had undertaken such a mis-

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[1] The missionary writes: " Nunc autem cum in finibus Ruscie maneremus prope rei sensimus veritatem, quod totus exercitus (Tartarorum) ad partes veniens Occidentis in quattuor partibus esset divisus. Una pars a fluvio Ethil in finibus Ruscie a plaga orientali ad Sudal applicuit. Altera vero pars versus meridiem jam fines Risennie (Ryazan) qui est alius ducatus Ruthenorum regnum expugnabat. Tercia autem pars contra fluvium Denh (or Den, i.e. Don) prope castrum Orgenhusin (or Ovcheruch, but the name is distorted) qui est alius ducatus Ruthenorum, resistebant . . . ," p. 37.

[2] " Iterum dum ego remansi in curia Romana, precesserunt me ad magnam Ungariam quattuor fratres mei, qui pertransientes per terram Sudal, in finibus regni eius occurrerunt quibusdam ungaris paganis fugientibus a facie thartarorum . . . ," p. 43. It follows from these refugees that the Prince of Suzdal also must have known of all that happened on the Volga and beyond.

[3] Speaking of these Hungarian refugees, Julianus adds: . . . " qui libenter fidem catholicam recepissent. Et dum versus Ungariam christianam venissent, audiens dux predictus de Sudal indignatus, fratribus predictis revocatis, inhibuit, ne legem Romanam predicarent Ungaris memoratis, et propter hoc expulit fratres predictos de terra sua, tamen absque molestia . . . ", p. 43.

[4] In one variant of Julianus' letter, the name of that prince figures as Noe (p. 38), but this is undoubtedly a distortion, if the word in fact stands for the prince's name.

sion, we are led to suppose that the Prince was hurrying in a south-westerly direction from Suzdal, and that he might have encountered Julianus somewhere in the region of the middle Dnieper.[1] It is a fact that, at a later date, Yaroslav was inclined to enter into relations with Roman Christianity and with western Europe.[2]

The other problem confronting us is the date of Julianus' presence in eastern Europe. Most probably he went to Rus only in the autumn of 1237, and was already on his way back early in 1238.[3] The letter under examination is without the date of the year, but it contains one detail by which we may be guided. Our missionary relates that the Tartars intended to conquer the whole of Rus in the course of the following winter.[4] Therefore, all the events related by him took place before the winter set in—undoubtedly that of 1237/1238—as may be seen from many other sources dealing with the Tartar invasion. Julianus has given us two dates which deserve consideration. When the Dominicans who were ahead of Julianus are expelled from the land of Suzdal, they go to the city of Recessue (the name is distorted), and strive thence to reach, if not the Hungarians beyond the Volga, then at least the Mordva.

Now, in the passage already quoted relating to the conquest by the Tartars of five pagan peoples, the Bulgarians, Mordva, Merya, and other, Julianus says that two princes of the Mordva tribe acted in contrary fashion in the face of invasion; while one capitulated without resistance and acknowledged the Khan's overlordship, the other decided to defend himself to the last.[5] This detail should be linked up with the passage of the letter just quoted; after the Hungarian Dominicans reached the city of Recessue, a party of them, shortly after the 29th of June (1237), undertakes the perilous journey to the East, and meets the Mordvian prince at the very time when, with all his people, he surrenders to the Tartars without a fight.[6] As they are without news of those who have gone ahead, the remaining friars, soon after September 29th (1237), send out a trusted man who has served them as interpreter, to gather information as to the fate of the missing; but the emissary is murdered by the Mordvians.

The simultaneity of the Hungarian friars' arrival, and of the surrender of the Mordva to the Tartars, shows that the conquest of the five pagan countries, of which Mordva was one, was still in progress in the summer

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[1] It has been suggested by me before now that Yaroslav was in Kiev at the time; cf. H. Paszkiewicz, *Jagiellonowie a Moskwa* I, 1933, p. 169.

[2] J. Umiński, *Niebezpieczeństwo tatarskie*, p. 99; V. Pashuto, O politike papskoi kurii na Rusi (XIII v.), *Vol*, 1949 (5), pp. 70—1.

[3] This corresponds fairly well with the date indicated by S. Anninsky, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

[4] "Hoc tamen expectantes sicut ipsi Rutheni, Hungari, Bulgari, qui ante fugerant, nobis viva voce ferebant, quod terra fluviis et paludibus in proxima hieme congelatis totam Rusciam toti multitudine sic facile est depredari sicut totam terram Ruthenorum", p. 37.

[5] "Cuius (Mordanorum regni) duo principes fuerunt. Et unus princeps cum toto populo et familia thartarorum dominio se subiecerat. Alter vero munitissima loca ad tuendum se petiit cum paucis populis, si valeret . . . ", p. 41.

[6] "Duobus autem fratribus ibi (in Recessue) relictis, ex ipsis, conductis interpretibus, in festo Apostolorum Petri et Pauli proximo transacto, venerunt ad Ducem Morducanorum alterum, qui eodem die egressus quo isti venerant, cum toto populo et familia, sicut superius diximus, tartaris se subiecit.", p. 43.

of 1237.[1] Julianus relates that the subjection of the five tribes took the Tartars about a year, or little more; in short, it must have begun in 1236. But we do not know what resistance each of them put up, nor do we know in what order of succession they were overrun. The Merya might have been conquered after the Mordva, i.e., later than the summer of 1237. According to our missionary, the Tartars approached Suzdal that year, before the winter set in. Thus, the two invasions, one of Merowia-Merya and the other of the Suzdal territory,[2] more or less coincide in time, so that, in reality, there may have been not two attacks, but only one.[3] There is a strong probability that Julianus described the same event twice over, a thing which he does often.

Our missionary took note of all the information obtained, but he never attempted to arrange the material at his disposal, or to present it in orderly sequence. This is why the report on the Hungarian Dominicans' journey is so chaotic. Hearing at one time of Merya, and at another of Suzdal, the author regarded them as territorially separate. He probably never set foot in the territory of Suzdal, and was little interested in it for religious reasons;[4] it was not the goal of his expedition. It is noteworthy that Julianus also calls the region of Suzdal, Rus, thus using three different terms. But there is no error or contradiction in this. Julianus' letter only shows that in the 13th century three appellations were applied to the the same territory. It was "Rus" in religion, "Suzdal" politically, and "Merya" or "Merowia" ethnically.

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[1] B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, 1943, pp. 16—7, assumes that the seizure of the Bulgars' capital city by the Tartars took place in the autumn of 1237.

[2] In the letter under examination, Julianus mentions only Suzdal, although the greatest importance in this region must be attributed to Vladimir, situated on the Klyazma. These conditions are more correctly rendered in the report of Julianus' first journey: . . . "ad ducem Magne Laudamerie, que est terra Ruthenorum illis (the Mordvians) vicina. . . . ", p. 25.

[3] It is quite possible that Julianus understood the territory of the Grand Duchy of Vladimir under the name of Suzdal. It should be noted that our missionary relates only that the invaders approached Suzdal, but he says nothing about its conquest as he does with regard to Ryazan. "Una pars (Tartarorum) . . . ad Sudal applicuit. Altera vero pars . . . fines Risennie . . . regnum expugnabat." It is probable that the Tartars approached the territory of the Grand Duchy which extended to the Volga in the East (Nizhni Novgorod and other cities). Julianus' information corresponds with the Russian chronicles. According to these sources we can reconstruct the course of events as follows: on the 16th of December, 1237, the Tartars laid siege to Ryazan, which they took in six days. They marched further through Kolomna, Moscow, and Vladimir. On the 3rd of February, 1238, they reached Vladimir, and took the city on the 7th. Simultaneously, one of Batu's columns occupied Suzdal; cf. B. Grekov—A. Yakubovsky, *Zolotaya Orda*, 1941, pp. 145—7. The only detail which arouses our doubts concerns the conquest of—rather than the approach to—the Merya country by the Tartars. I think that Julianus exaggerated the current rumours.

[4] The population of this country followed the Eastern Christianity, and that is why the Dominicans handed down many more valuable details referring to the Hungarians beyond the Volga, the Bulgars, and the Mordva. This is very apparent in the description of Julianus' first journey. It was the conversion of those tribes and above all of the first mentioned, that was to be the object of the Hungarian monks' missionary activities.

13

UKRAINE AND THE UKRAINIAN NATION

Many historians who deal with the events of the period we are studying frequently use the term " Ukraine " to designate the vast territory of south-eastern Europe, and call the population of that wide expanse " the Ukrainian nation."

The query arises whether this is justified.

Doroshenko has expressed an opinion, in well chosen terms, which I am glad to endorse as the basis for our further investigations : " All terms, appellations, and names derive from convention ; but the decisive argument for applying this or that name to a nation is, what it calls itself, and what it wishes to be called."[1] Now, we are in the happy position of possessing plenty of evidence which renders possible an unambiguous solution of our problem. It is contained in the chronicles which originate in the period here considered, and which were written by natives of Kiev, Pereyaslavl, Halicz, Volynia, etc., those very lands to which the entire question essentially relates. There are, in addition, several documents issued by the Princes of Halicz and Volynia in the first half of the 14th century.

Certain scholars, basing their arguments on these same sources, affirm that " Ukraine " as a geographical term, and as the name of a country, has a long tradition behind it, as it appears already in the 12th century.[2] And yet it is a striking fact that in hundreds of entries in chronicles originating in this period and written by " Ukrainians ", the word " *ukraina* " makes only a few appearances. And even in these few cases we find no confirmation of the Ukraine's existence as a clearly defined territory. After the death in 1187 of Vladimir, son of Gleb, and Prince of South Pereyaslavl, " the *ukraina* groaned with grief for him." In 1189, the inhabitants of Halicz called to the throne a prince who was resident in Smolensk. He accepted and, " having come to the *ukraina* of Halicz," occupied two cities, and then proceeded to Halicz. Again, in 1213, Prince Danilo took from the Poles a number of strongholds in the Bug region " and the whole *ukraina*."[3]

On the basis of these three mentions in the chronicles, the idea has been accepted that the Ukraine, in the 12th and 13th centuries, comprised all the lands from Pereyaslavl in the East, to the Dniester and the Bug in the West.

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[1] D. Doroshenko, Naris istorii Ukraini, *PUNI* IX, 1932, p. 20.

[2] P. Lashchenko, *Lektsii po istorii ukrainskogo prava* I, 1923, p. 46 ; S. Shelukhin, review of the Ukrainian Encyclopedia, in *Dzvoni*, 1934, pp. 381—2; V. Shcherbakivsky, *Formatsiya Ukrainskoi natsii*, 1941, pp. 132—3, and others.

[3] These accounts are printed under the dates here given in volume II of *PSRL*.

But those who reason in this way overlook other passages in the chronicles. In 1271, the Knights of the Order of Livland "took from the *ukraina* several villages belonging to Pskov."[1] In 1348, Andrew, Prince of Polotsk, a son of Grand Duke Algirdas of Lithuania, sallied forth "from his *ukraina*" and looted several Pskov villages.[2] Had the *ukraina* really been a determined geographical entity, it would have thus comprised not only all the expanse from Pereyaslavl to the Dniester and Bug, but also Polotsk, and Pskov, and Poland,[3] and the duchy of Moscow.[4] Such an interpretation of the word "*ukraina*" is obviously erroneous. That the term had no ethnical significance either, follows from the fact that the Chronicle of Halicz—Volynia, under the year 1268, speaks of "ukrainian Poles" (*Lyakhove ukrainyane*), an expression which explicitly contradicts the national meaning of the term "Ukraine."

If we analyse the texts in which this interesting word occurs, and especially if we keep in mind to what territories it refers, we perceive clearly that, in Slavonic, *ukraina* meant a borderland, a frontier area of some political entity.[5] Kiev, Halicz, Pskov, Polotsk, Moscow, and other principalities all had their "*ukrainas*", and this shows that the word was a simple noun, and by no means a proper name.[6] Thus, the assumption that the word "*ukraina*" referred in those days to one well-defined territory, and that there was a Ukrainian nation which inhabited it, naturally collapses. And this is confirmed by the fact that after the 13th century, the word "*ukraina*" disappears from the sources for a long time as far as the southern part of eastern Europe is concerned. Only in the 16th century does it become a geographical name,[7] and then it designates the provinces of Kiev, Bratslav, and Chernihov, which were the borderlands of the Polish-Lithuanian State. But even then, and later, Podolia, Volynia, and the territory of Lwów-Halicz were not comprised by the appellation.

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[1] A. Nasonov, *Pskovskie letopisi* I, 1941, p. 3.

[2] *Ibidem*, p. 21.

[3] Prince Leo wished to annex a part of Poland's territory, "the cities of *ukraina*". *PSRL* II, under the year 1280.

[4] The word "*ukraina*" appears a number of times towards the end of the 15th and in the 16th century in relation to lands which were part of the Grand Duchy of Moscow. Cf. Y. Rudnitsky, Slovo i nazva "Ukraina," *O* I, 1951, pp. 49—50.

[5] I. Sreznevsky, *Materialy dlya slovarya drevne-russkogo yazyka po pismennym pamyatnikam* III, 1912, pp. 1184—5; K. Potkański, Ze studiów nad ustrojem grodowo-plemiennym, *Pisma pośmiertne* I, 1922, p. 417; M. Shakhmatov, *Ucheniya russkikh letopisei domongolskogo perioda o gosudarstvennoi vlasti*, 1926, pp. 51—2; A. Volkonsky, *Imya Rusi v domongolskuyu poru*, 1929, pp. 15—23; D. Dorosenko, Die Namen "Rus", "Russland" und "Ukraine" in ihrer historischen und gegenwärtigen Bedeutung, *AUWIB* III, 1931, pp. 10—1; *idem*, Was ist die osteuropäische Geschichte? *ZOG* IX, 1935, pp. 41—2; T. Kostruba, *Galitsko-volinskii litopis*, 1936, pp. 72, 83; W. Tomkiewicz, *Kozaczyzna ukrainna*, 1939, pp. 5—6; E. Borscak, Rus, Malaya Rus, Ukraina, *RES* XXIV, 1948, p. 174; I. Mirchuk, *Ukraine and its People*, 1949, p. 1; G. Simpson, The Names "Rus," "Russia", "Ukraine" and their Historical Background, *SI* X, 1951, p. 14, and others.

[6] When we encounter the word "*ukraina*" in the period with which we are dealing, we must ask: the *ukraina* of what country, and to whom did it belong? In this sense, the word is of considerable value to the historian, as it indicates how far the frontiers of this or that country extended. The text quoted above: "*Lyakhove ukrainyane*" means the Poles settled on the border of their State.

[7] E. Borscak, *op. cit.*, p. 174; G. Simpson, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

Sichinsky supposes that the Ukrainian nation derives from the "Ukrans" (Polish *Wkrzanie*), a small tribe settled in Pomerania on the left bank of the lower Odra.[1] In a Latin document of 948, it figures as *Vuucri*.[2] The by no means very pronounced similarity of the names is reducible to the community of Slavonic speech, and can prove nothing else. Related tribal names, as we have already pointed out on other occasions, appear in many parts among the Slavs, although there was no connection whatever among the relevant tribes. The validity of Sichynsky's conjecture must be questioned also for the reason that in the period we are studying, there existed neither a Ukrainian nation nor a Ukrainian tribe, and, therefore, no similarity of tribal names could have arisen. Smal-Stocky was quite right in rejecting Sichynsky's hypothesis.[3]

To what errors the incorrect use of the term "*ukraina*" may contribute appears in the very title of M. Hrushevsky's work in many volumes: "History of Ukraine-Rus" (*Istoriya Ukraini-Rusi*). The two conceptions of Ukraine and of Rus are not congruent, either chronologically or territorially; they cannot, therefore, be treated as equivalent. The author just mentioned treats at length of the history of south-eastern Europe at a time when the word "*ukraina*" simply meant a frontier region.

The problem of the rise of the Ukrainian nation has, for a long time, aroused great interest among students of the history of eastern Europe, and not only among students. But in the writings hitherto devoted to the subject a great divergence may be noted between the different opinions concerning the date of this historical event. Some scholars think that the first stages of the formation of a Ukrainian nation go back to the primary period of Slavdom, and that the Ukrainians were a distinct nation at the time of the foundation of the Kievan duchy, which was therefore a Ukrainian State;[4] but others declare for a later date. Chubaty considers that the gradual formation of the Ukrainian nation began with the death, in 1054, of Yaroslav the Wise, and was completed towards the close of the 12th century.[5] In the opinion of Litvin, it began in the 14th and reached its end in the 16th century.[6] According to Korduba, it was the speed of Lithuanian domination in the southern lands of Rus in the 14th century that prepared the ground for the rise of the Ukrainian nation in the following century.[7]

It follows from these considerations, as well as from the whole of the present work, that from the 9th to the 14th century Ukraine did not exist

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[1] V. Sichinsky, *Nazva Ukraini*, 1948, pp. 23—40.
[2] Cf. Z. Wojciechowski, *Polska nad Wisłą i Odrą w X wieku*, 1939, p. 24.
[3] R. Smal-Stocky, The Ukrans and the Ukrainians, *UQ* VI (2), 1950, pp. 158—61.
[4] S. Shelukhin, *Nazva Ukraini*, 1921, pp. 1—7; the pamphlet by several hands: Otkudu est poshla ruskaya zemlya, 1931 (unavailable to me); V. Shcherbakivsky, The Formation of Ukrainian Nation, *UQ* IV (2), 1948, p. 124.
[5] J. Stankiewicz, Czas powstania narodów białoruskiego i ukraińskiego, *SN* V, 1931, p. 444.
[6] K. Litvin, Ob istorii Ukrainskogo naroda, in *Bolshevik*, 1947 (7), p. 51.
[7] M. Korduba, *Die Entstehung der ukrainischen Nation* (Contributions à l'histoire de l'Ukraine au VIIe Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, Varsovie, Août, 1933, pp. 19—67). This author had already dealt with the same subject earlier; see Naivazhniishyi moment v istorii Ukraini, *LNV*, 1930, pp. 539—46; *idem*, V oboroni istorychnoi pravdy, *LNV*, 1931, pp. 427—32. Cf. M. Andrusiak's review of the studies of Korduba, *KH*, 1934, pp. 121—6.

as a country, nor did a Ukrainian nation exist. The Ukrainian nation came into existence in a period which is outside the scope of the present work. For that simple reason I do not deal with the problem. Yet I must differ from some of Korduba's observations. This author is of the opinion that had Lithuania not gained the mastery over the southern lands of Rus, Moscow would have done so before long. In that case—such is Korduba's conclusion—instead of there being three " Russian " nations, there would have been only one, with its capital in Moscow. I do not think that only one single nation could have emerged, and that two so completely different ethnical elements as the Finno-Ugrian on the Volga and the Slavonic on the Dnieper could have coalesced. This is the essence of the problem, posed by the whole history of eastern Europe.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES*)

21–1 M. Kürbisówna, Studia nad Kroniką Wielkopolską, *PKH* XVII (1), 1952, pp. 165—9.

21–5 A. Wyngaert, ed., *Sinica Franciscana* I, 1929, pp. 27–130; W. Rockhill (English trans.), *The Journey of William of Rubruck . . . with two Accounts of the Earlier Journey of John of Pian de Carpine*, 1900; A. Malein (Russian trans.), *Ioann de Plano Karpini. Istoriya Mongolov*, 1911; F. Risch (German trans.), *Johann de Plano Carpini. Geschichte der Mongolen*, 1930.

24–3 E. Borschak, La Ruthénie prémongole, l'Ukraine et la Russie, *RHi*, 1951, p. 217.

33–8 Arkheologiya i ee rol v razvitii sovetskoi istoricheskoi nauki, *VDI*, 1946 (1), pp. 3—8.

34–3 I. Lyapushkin, Ranneslavyanskie poseleniya Dneprovskogo lesostepnogo Levoberezhya, *SAr* XVI, 1952, pp. 7—41.

35–6 M. Tikhomirov, Spisok russkikh gorodov dalnikh i blizhnikh, *IZ* XL, 1952, pp. 214—59; B. Rybakov, Problema obrazovaniya drevnerusskoi narodnosti v svete trudov I. V. Stalina, *Vol*, 1952 (9), p. 47. Both authors adopt the view that the relevant list of the cities of Rus was prepared towards the end of the 14th century. I intend to analyse this list in another work.

39 (line 26) For " Svyatopolk " read " Svyatoslav."

42–3 V. Zlatarsky, The Making of the Bulgarian Nation, *SEER* IV, 1925—6, pp. 362—83, 629—44.

43 (line 8) A. Vogt, *Constantin VII Porphyrogenète. Le Livre des cérémonies* I, 1935; II, 1939.

43–1 J. Poulik, Objev druhého kostela ve Starém Meste, *AR* II, 1950, pp. 12—22.

43–7 E. Shmurlo, Kogda i gde krestilsya Vladimir Svyatoi, *ZRIOP* I, 1927, p. 148.

44–1 J. Danzas, Saint Vladimir et les origines du Christianisme en Russie, *Russie et Chrétienté*, 1935; M. Jugie, *Le schisme byzantin*, 1941.

44–4 J. Ledit, Les origines occidentales de l'ancienne littérature kiévienne, *OC* XXXII, 1933, pp. 180—214.

44–5 I. Stratonov, Die Krim und ihre Bedeutung für die Christianisierung der Ostslaven, *Ky* I, 1936, pp. 382—5.

45 (line 20) The fact that long after the conversion of Vladimir the Great there is no information concerning the existence of a separate ecclesiastic organization led some historians to the conclusion that the Metropolitan see of Rus was founded only during the reign of Yaroslav the Wise, in 1037. See V. Parkhomenko, K voprosu o nachale russkoi ierarkhii, *IORYS*, 1913, pp. 380—1; V. Istrin, Zamechaniya o nachale russkogo letopisaniya, *IORYS*, 1923, pp. 248—51; S. Bakhrushin, K voprosu o kreshchenii Kievskoi Rusi, *IM*, 1937 (2), pp. 40—77; M. Priselkov, Russko-vizantiiskie otnosheniya IX—XII vv., *VDI*, 1939, p. 103; D. Likhachev, *Russkie letopisi i ikh kulturno-istoricheskoe znachenie*, 1947, p. 49. According to these scholars, the Greek Theopemptos is the first Metropolitan of Rus definitely mentioned in the sources. See Cross, p. 227; E. Honigmann, Studies in Slavic Church History. The Foundation of the Russian Metropolitan Church according to Greek

*) The first marginal figure indicates the page number, the second the number of the footnote on that page.

Sources, *B* XVII, 1945, p. 129. In my opinion, the Metropolitan see of Rus existed prior to 1037. Under the year 1018, Thietmar refers to an Archbishop residing in Kiev. In 1347, the Patriarch Isidor and the synod of the Eastern Church state—no doubt on the basis of reliable records—that the Metropolitan see of Rus had existed for nearly four centuries. *RIB* VI, 1908, p. 35. This would coincide with the date of Vladimir's baptism. If we were to accept the year 1037 as that of the foundation of the Metropolitan see, i.e. 310 years before the date of the Patriarch's letter, Isidor would have said : " over 300 years."

46–2 T. Ediger, *Russlands älteste Beziehungen zu Deutschland, Frankreich und der Römischen Kurie*, 1911, pp. 84—5.

47–2 T. Gerasimov, Dva slavyanskikh molivdovula XI i XIII vekov, *BS* XIII (1), 1952, pp. 93—4.

48–2 G. Fedotov, *Svyatye drevnei Rusi (X—XVII st.)*, 1931.

51–2 L. Rásonyi Nagy, Der Volksname Berendei, *SK* VI, 1933, pp. 219—24.

55–1 K. Menges, The Oriental Elements in the Vocabulary of the Oldest Russian Epos, *Word* VII, 1951, pp. 52—4.

55–2 A. Smirnov, Volzhskie bulgary, *TGIM* XIX, 1951, pp. 43—4.

57–4 G. Fedorov, Slavyanskie gorodishcha v Moldavii, *VAN*, 1953 (4), pp. 43—51.

58 (line 4) G. Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*, 1953, p. 235.

58–3 D. Mirsky, *Russia. A Social History*, 3rd ed., 1952, p. 45, also assumes that the territory of Halicz (Galicia) i.e. that of the Croats, whom he regards as an Eastern Slavonic tribe, extended as far as the Vistula.

60–4 K. Bobly, *Naris istorii Ukraini*, by several hands, 1942, p. 25.

61–1 D. Mirsky, *Russia. A Social History*, 3rd ed., 1952, p. 27, enumerates three tribes in the territory of Volynia : the Dulebians, the Volynians, and the Luchians, omitting the Buzhians.

65–3 T. Lewicki, Ze studiów nad toponomastyką Rusi w dziele geografa arabskiego al-Idrisi'ego (XII w.). Sutaska-Sąciaska, *SPAU* XLVIII, 1947, pp. 402—7.

68–1 Z. Hilczerówna, Przyczynki do handlu Polski z Rusią kijowską, *PA* IX (1), 1950, pp. 8—21.

70 (line 13) B. Grekov (ed.), *Pravda Russkaya*, I (V. Lyubimov, N. Lavrov, M. Tikhomirov, G. Geiermans, G. Kochin), 1940 ; II (B. Aleksandrov, V. Geiman, G. Kochin, N. Lavrov, B. Romanov), 1947. *Pravda Russkaya* has been translated into English by G. Vernadsky, Medieval Russian Laws, *RC*, 1947.

72 (line 21) F. Kaplan, Decline of Khazars and Rise of the Varangians, *ASEER*, 1954, pp. 1—10.

75–4 K. Piuk, Zur Frage der Slaven in Pannonien im 9 Jahrhundert, *WSJ* I,1950, pp. 112—30 ; T. Gostyński, Zagadnienie Słowian naddunajskich w IV—XVI w., *SA*, 1952 (unavailable to me).

79–1 According to the " Life of Włodzisława-Adelheid " it may be assumed that the thesis of Kętrzyński is more convincing : the sister of Mieszko Włodzisława was born in 944. See J. Widajewicz, Rodowód Piastówny Adelajdy, *PZ* IX (9—10), 1953, p. 63. However, there might have been a considerable difference in age between Mieszko and Włodzisława. The date of Mieszko's birth cannot be established with any certainty.

80–2 J. Brutzkus, Der Handel der westeuropäischen Juden mit dem alten Kiev, *ZGJD*, 1931, pp. 97—110.

85 (line 9) P. Czaplewski, Studia nad regestem "Dagome iudex," *ZTNT* XII, 1946, p. 29, erroneously assumes that the term " Rus " in the document " Dagome iudex " should be understood as embracing the Cities of Czerwień.

85–3 N. Chubaty, The Meaning of " Russia " and " Ukraine," *UQ* I, 1944-5, p. 360; V. Sichinsky, *Nazva Ukraini*, 1948, p. 20.

94 (line 27) This observation does not dispose of the fact that the Slavonic population of the south-eastern lands might have gradually, during centuries, moved westwards because of the dangers threatening it on the part of the steppe-nomads. But this process was not strictly defined in time and never assumed the character of a mass movement, thereby escaping the notice of the chroniclers. We observe a similar phenomenon on the territory of Transcarpathian Rus. Cf. T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Język polski. Pochodzenie. Powstanie. Rozwój*, 1947, pp 62—4.

94–4 The interpretation of the term " Pollexiani " by S. Zajączkowski, O nazwach ludu Jadźwingów, *ZTNT* XVIII, 1953, pp. 183—95, seems to me unconvincing.

97–5 I. Eremin, Iz istorii drevne-russkoi publitsistiki XI veka, *TODRL* II, 1935, pp. 26—38.

101–7 J. Umiński, Śmierć Leszka Białego, *NP* II, 1947, pp. 30—6, shows that Roman's son Stefan (Stephen) resided in Poland permanently and that another of his sons, Vasilko of Volynia, married the daughter of Leszek the White, Helena. The issue of this marriage, Prokop, became the Latin Bishop of Cracow.

105–3 Y. Serech-Shevelov, The Problem of Ukrainian-Polish Linguistic Relations from the 10th to the 14th Century, *Word* VIII (4), 1952, pp. 329—49.

116 (line 19) B. Grekov, Volzhskie bolgary v IX—X vv., *IZ* XIV, 1945, pp. 3—37.

116 (line 20) V. Golmsten, Burtasy, *KSDPI* XIII, 1946, pp. 17—25; A. Alikhova, K voprosu o burtasakh, *SE*, 1949 (1), pp. 48—57; A. Smirnov, K voprosu o burtasakh, *KSDPI* XL, 1951, pp. 45—50.

116–4 In west-European sources the term " Rus ", as denoting the population, appears first in the form of Ruci, Rusci, Ruzi, Ruzzi, etc. It was only later that the term " Rutheni " became more frequently used. As denoting the country, the term " Rus " is employed in the form: Ruscia, Rusia, Ruzia, Ruzzia, etc. The form Ruthenia appears originally about the middle of the 12th century and on the whole occurs but rarely during the period covered by the present work. See B. Unbegaun, Le nom des Ruthènes slaves, *AIPHOS* X, 1950, pp. 611—8.

117–4 T. Kowalski, Próba charakterystyki twórczości arabskiej, *RO* IX, 1934, pp. 13—5.

119 (line 2) T. Lewicki, Osadnictwo słowiańskie i niewolnicy słowiańscy w krajach muzułmańskich według średniowiecznych pisarzy arabskich, *PH* XLIII (3—4), 1952, pp. 473—91.

124–7 The Bertinian Annals refer to the ruler of the Rus as " chacanus " (. . . " qui se, id est gentem suam, Rhos vocari dicebant, quod rex illorum, chacanus vocabulo . . . "). Ibn-Rusta confirms that the Rus rulers used this title. In his letter to Emperor Basil I, dated 871, King Louis the German mentions four rulers bearing the title of chacanus, namely those of the Avars, the Khazars, the Norsemen (. . . " chaganum . . . Northmannorum " . . .), and the Danubian Bulgarians. See G. Da Costa-Louillet, Y eut-il des invasions russes dans l'Empire Byzantin avant 860? *B* XV, 1940—1, p. 238. A comparison of the above sources indicates clearly that the term " Rus " applied to the Norsemen.

128–3 E. Rydzevskaya, Kholm v Novgorode i drevne-severnyi Holmgardr, *IRAIMK* II, 1922, pp. 105—12.

129 (line 20) B. Rybakov, Problema obrazovaniya drevnerusskoi narodnosti v svete trudov I. V. Stalina, *VoI*, 1952 (9), p. 59, maintains through analogy with the Polochians on the river Polota that there existed a tribe of the Rus on the river Ros, a right tributary of the Dnieper. It is difficult to assume that " Nestor " would not have mentioned this fact, since he wrote about the Polochians on the river Polota, the Buzhians on the river Bug, the Moravians on the river Morava, etc.

130–3 N. Pigulevskaya, Imya " Rus " v siriiskom istochnike VI v. n.e., in *B. D. Grekovu ko dnyu 70-letiya sbornik statei*, 1952, pp. 42—8.

131–11 A. Gieysztor, Misja ruska biskupstwa lubuskiego, *NP* IV, 1948, pp. 86—92.

132–3 The inscription: " Anno Domini 477. Odoacer Rex Rhutenorum " in the Chapel of St. Maxim in Salzburg, as ascertained on the spot by K. Lanckorońska in 1953, originated in the 16th century (1520—1530) and has no relevance to the problem under discussion.

138–3 S. Bernshtein-Kogan, Put iz varyag v greki, *VG* XX, 1950, pp. 239—70.

139–3 A. Stender-Petersen, Zur Bedeutungsgeschichte des Wortes: Voeringi, *APS*, 1930.

142–2 S. Runciman, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire*, 1930, p. 278.

143–5 A. Bruce Boswell, The Kipchak Turks, *SEER* VI, 1927—8, pp. 68—85.

150–5 N. Likhachev, Materialy dlya istorii vizantiiskoi i russkoi sfragistiki, *TMP* I, 1928, pp. 168—71.

152–5 P. Tretyakov, Drevlyanskie " grady," in *B. D. Grekovu ko dnyu 70-letiya sbornik statei*, 1952, pp. 64—8.

156–3 B. Rybakov, Rus i Khazariya (k istoricheskoi geografii Khazarii), in *B. D. Grekovu ko dnyu 70-letiya sbornik statei*, 1952, pp. 76—88.

160–4 Vladimir the Great and Yaroslav the Wise bore the title of kagan (chacanus). In his letter to Emperor Basil I, King Louis the German relates that the rulers of the Norsemen (as also those of the Avars, Khazars, and Bulgarians) were called kagans. The title of kagan also indicates the Norse origin of the Rurikides.

162 (line 4) N. Brian-Chaninov, Les origines de la Russie historique, *RQH* VI, 1925, pp. 313—6.

162–1 J. Németh, Die petschenegischen Stammesnamen, *UJ* X, 1930, pp. 27—34; K. Menges, Etymological Notes on Some Pächänäg Names, *B* XVII, 1945, pp. 256—80.

162–4 A. Mongait, K voprosu o trekh tsentrach drevnei Rusi, *KSDPI* XVI, 1947, pp. 103—12.

164–3 M. Karger, *Arkheologicheskie issledovaniya drevnego Kieva*, 1951.

165–1 A. Vucinich, The First Russian State: An Appraisal of the Soviet Theory, *Sp* XXVIII (2), 1953, pp. 324—34.

166–3 A. Vasiliev, The Second Russian Attack on Constantinople, *DOP* VI, 1951, pp. 161—225; M. Levchenko, Russko-vizantiiskie dogovory 907 i 911 godov, *VV*, 1952, pp. 105—26.

166–4 S. Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his Reign*, 1929, p. 110.

169 (line 6) I. Sventsitsky, Pitannya pro avtentichnist dogovoriv Rusi z grekami v X v., *Voprosy slavyanskogo yazykoznaniya*, 1949, pp. 103—22.

171–3 V. Kovalevsky, *Istoricheskii put Rossii*, 4th ed., I, 1946, p. 13, advances the hypothesis that Olga was a daughter of Oleg.

172–2 P. Turville-Petre, *The Heroic Age of Scandinavia*, 1951.

173–3 A. Ammann, Wladimir dem Apostelgleichen zum Gedächtnis, *OCP* V, 1939, pp. 200—1.

177 (line 31) It is noteworthy that Hilarion describes both Vladimir the Great and Yaroslav the Wise as kagans. This title had been used of old by Norse rulers, as may be seen from the letter of King Louis the German to the Emperor Basil I. Hilarion wrote in Slavonic, but he kept to the traditional Norse terminology.

178–2 A. Artsikhovsky, Novye otkrytiya v Novgorode, *VoI*, 1951 (12), pp. 77—87; *idem*, Raskopki 1952 goda v Novgorode, *VAN*, 1952 (12), pp. 45—57; *VoI*, 1953 (1), pp. 113—24; V. Borkovsky, Novye nakhodki berestyanykh gramot, *VY*, 1953 (4), pp. 122—33; A. Artsikhovsky—M. Tikhomirov, *Novgorodskie gramoty na bereste (iz raskopok 1951 goda)*, 1953, pp. 1—65.

178–3 A. Orlov, *Bibliografiya russkikh nadpisei XI—XV vv.*, 1952, p. 224—5.

178–5 G. Gerullis, *Die ältesten litauischen Sprachdenkmäler bis zum Jahre* 1570, 1923; F. Neveravicius, Zarys rozwoju kultury i twórczości litewskiej, in *Alma Mater Vilnensis*, 1953, p. 277.

178–6 S. Bernshtein, K voprosu ob istochnikakh slavyanskoi pismennosti v Valakhii, *IANOLY* VI, 1947, pp. 125—35.

179–7 N. Belyaev, *Nachalo Rusi*, 1925, p. 30.

187–9 A. Brückner, *Starożytna Litwa. Ludy i bogi*, 1904.

187–11 M. Jedlicki, German Settlement in Poland and the Rise of the Teutonic Order, in *The Cambridge History of Poland from the Origins to Sobieski*, 1950, pp. 140—7.

192–3 S. Anninsky, *Genrikh Latviiskii. Khronika Livonii*, 1938.

236–1 J. Deveike, The Legal Aspect of the Last Religious Conversion in Europe, *SEER* XXXII, 1953, pp. 117—31, does not know this source which is of fundamental importance for the problem under consideration.

238–1 O. Halecki, From the Union with Hungary to the Union with Lithuania: Jadwiga (1374—1399), in *The Cambridge History of Poland from the Origins to Sobieski*, 1950, pp. 197—8.

246 (line 34) O. Halecki, Casimir the Great, 1333—1370, in *The Cambridge History of Poland from the Origins to Sobieski*, 1950, pp. 167—87.

249–3 W. Wielhorski, Stosunki narodowościowe, wyznaniowe i językowe w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim, in *Alma Mater Vilnensis*, 1953, p. 217.

261 (line 16) V. Yatsunsky, Istoricheskaya geografiya kak nauchnaya distsiplina, *VG* XX, 1950, p. 37.

263–2 . . . "Bascardos qui sunt antiqui Ungari" . . . Relatio Fratris Benedicti Poloni, in A. Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana* I, 1929, p. 138.

265 (line 23) P. Kovalevsky, *Manuel d'histoire russe*, 1948, p. 35.

269–5 M. Talitsky, Verkhnee Prikame v X—XIV vv., *MIA* XXII, 1951, pp. 33—96.

287–1 The decline of Kiev after 1169 is reflected also in its architecture. Cf. M. Karger, K istorii Kievskogo zodchestva (kontsa XII—nachala XIII v.), *KSDPI* XXVII, 1949, pp. 128—37.

293–2 A. Artsikhovsky, Drevneishie poseleniya na meste Moskvy, in *Istoriya Moskvy* I; S. Bakhrushin—A. Novoselsky—A. Zimin—N. Ustyugov, eds., 1952, pp. 9–14.

296–2 A. Alikhova, Mordovskie mogilniki, *KSDPI* XXV, 1949; P. Stepanov, K voprosu o zemledelii u drevnei mordvy, *SE*, 1950 (3), pp. 161—9; B. Spuler, Die Mordwinen, *ZDMG*, 1950, pp. 90—111.

297–1 N. Berezhkov, O khronologii russkikh letopisei po XIV v. vklyuchitelno, *IZ* XXIII, 1947, pp. 325—63.

297–4 M. Tikhomirov, Pervye izvestiya o Moskve, in *Istoriya Moskvy* I, 1952, pp. 15—8.

299 (line 30) G. Lantzeff, Russian Eastward Expansion before the Mongol Invasion, *ASEER* VI, 1947, pp. 3—10; B. Grekov—N. Kalinin, Bulgarskoe gosudarstvo v domongolskoe zavoevanie, *Materialy po istorii Tatarii* I, 1948.

300–6 H. Cheshire, The Great Tartar Invasion of Europe, *SEER* V, 1926—7, pp. 89—105; S. Iwamura, Mongol Invasion of Poland in the Thirteenth Century, *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* (Tokyo) X, 1938 (inaccessible to me); A. Bruce Boswell, Territorial Division and the Mongol Invasions, in *The Cambridge History of Poland from the Beginnings to Sobieski*, 1950, pp. 91—3.

301–3 G. Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*, 1953, pp. 110—20.

303 (line 23) Quite recently, the impact of the Tartar rule in eastern Europe was similarly appraised by G. Vernadsky in his book *The Mongols and Russia*, 1953, pp. 233, 335.

303–1 G. Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*, 1953.

305–2 Mangu-Temir also granted the Genoese special privilegies for their trade in Kaffa, in the Crimea. See G. Bratianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la Mer Noire au XIII-me siècle*, 1929, pp. 205—6.

309–2 Chinese sources record that the Rus did military service in China. Cf. G. Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*, 1953, pp. 87—8. We do not know if the Rus in question were contingents of troops regularly supplied by the Rurikides, or if they were recruited from the Christian population of eastern Europe which the Mongols carried off during their predatory incursions.

311–8 M. Tikhomirov, Osnovanie goroda (Moskvy) Yuriem Dolgorukim, in *Istoriya Moskvy* I, 1952, pp. 18—22 ; *idem*, Moskva v XII—XIII vekakh, *ibidem*, pp. 22—5.

312–1 V. Nazarevski, *Histoire de Moscou*, 1932, p. 10 ; S. Platonov, *La Russie moscovite*, 1932, pp. 38—40.

317–8 A. Svirin, Zhivopis i prikladnoe iskusstwo, in *Istoriya Moskvy* I, 1952, pp. 80—8.

318–1 N. Falkovsky, *Moskva v istorii tekhniki*, 1950, pp. 9—13.

321–3 G. Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*, 1953, p. 137.

322–1 I. Budovnits, Podderzhka obedinitelnykh usilii Moskvy naseleniem russkikh gorodov, in *B. D. Grekovu ko dnyu 70-letiya sbornik statei*, 1952, pp. 117—22.

322–3 M. Tikhomirov, Moskva stolitsa Moskovskogo velikogo knyazhestva, in *Istoriya Moskvy* I, 1952, pp. 50—1.

322–5 A noteworthy observation valid to the present day was formulated by A. Presnyakov: " When I wrote my book (what is alluded to is the work *Obrazovanie velikorusskogo gosudarstva*, 1918) I often pondered, with some misgivings, on a truly uncommon fact : here is a subject which has been thoroughly elaborated, here is material which is old and well known, and yet it is necessary to establish anew elementary facts or fundamental, essential features of the phenomena one is investigating." Presnyakov stresses that for the majority of historians dealing with the problem of the origin of the Great Rus nation, written sources play a role only in so far as they justify ideas which have been accepted in advance. " Thence followed—says that scholar—a most peculiar fashion of examining sources and facts, which prejudged the methods of scientific procedure . . . ; the data contained in the sources became, not the foundation of any further construction, but only a supply of illustrations which were to serve the defence of the accepted historical and sociological doctrine." A. Presnyakov, Rech pered zashchitoi dissertatsii pod zaglaviem : Obrazovanie velikorusskogo gosudarstva, *LZAK* XII, 1920, pp. 3—6.

324–1 When, in 1303, the Patriarch created the Metropolitan see of Halicz, the new Church dignitary received from Constantinople the title of Metropolitan of Little Rus. The term " Great Rus " appears for the first time in a letter of the Byzantine Emperor to the Prince of Volynia, in 1347.

324–6 G. Zikeev, K voprosu ob istoricheskikh usloviyakh razvitiya russkogo natsionalnogo yazyka na osnove kursko-orlovskogo dialekta, *Vol*, 1953 (2), pp. 67—79.

327 (line 26) G. Fedorov, Dengi Moskovskogo knyazhestva vremeni Dmitriya Donskogo i Vasiliya I (1359—1425), *MIA*, 1949, pp. 158—66.

327–5 N. Evreinov, *Istoriya telesnykh nakazanii v Rossii*, n.d.

327–8 G. Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*, 1953, pp. 333—90.

328–5 D. Strémooukhoff, Moscow the Third Rome : Sources of the Doctrine, *Sp* XXVIII (1), 1953, pp. 84—101.

337–3 A. Dostál, Les derniers travaux sovietiques relatifs au „Slovo o polku Igoreve ", *BS* XIII (2), 1952—3, pp. 282—300.

337–4 R. Jakobson, The Puzzles of the Igor Tale on the 150th Anniversary of its First Edition, *Sp* XXVII (1), 1952, pp. 43—66.

339 (line 10) R. Jakobson—M. Szeftel, The Vseslav Epos, *MAFS* XLII, 1947, pp. 13—80.

339–1 A. Yugov, Troyanova zemlya ili Boyanova, in *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, 1945, pp. 185—93; M. Tikhomirov, Boyan i Troyanova zemlya, in *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, 1950, p. 176.

340–8 K. Kudryashov, *Polovetskaya step*, 1948 (unavailable to me).

341–5 S. Lesnoi, *Slovo o polku Igoreve* II, 1951, p. 188, is of the opinion that the author of the *Slovo* took part in the expedition and was ransomed from captivity with the Polovtsians before the escape of Prince Igor.

342 (line 10) D. Ainalov, Zametki k tekstu "Slova o polku Igoreve," *TODRL* IV, 1940, p. 152.

344–1 C. Manning, Classical Influence on the Slovo, *MAFS* XLII, 1947, pp. 87—97.

344–5 M. Schlauch, Scandinavian Influence on the Slovo, *MAFS* XLII, 1947, pp. 99—124.

350–1 K. Menges, The Oriental Elements in the Vocabulary of the Oldest Russian Epos. The Igor Tale, *World* VII, 1951, pp. 38—52.

351–2 A. Soloviev, Le dit de la ruine de la Terre russe, *B* XXII, 1953, pp. 105—128.

359–6 A. Żaki, Mapa archeologiczna powiatu sanockiego i leskiego, *SPAU*, 1951 (10), pp. 251—2.

363–2 T. Lewicki, Jeszcze o Wieletach w opisie Słowiańszczyzny arabskiego pisarza z X w. al-Mas'udi'ego, *PS* II, 1951, pp. 107—20.

363–4 P. Hirsch—H. Lohmann, *Die Sachsengeschichte des Widukind von Korvei*, 1935.

367–3 M. Tikhomirov, Vasilii Nikitich Tatishchev, *IM*, 1940 (6), pp. 43—62.

368 (line 37) There is no reason to assume with Z. Wojciechowski, Wielkopolska i Kujawy kolebką państwa, *PZ* IX (9—10), 1953, p. 4, that the Cuiavians were not a distinct tribe prior to the middle of the 12th century.

370–4 T. Lehr-Spławiński, Przekład Żywotów Konstantyna i Metodego (t. zw. obszernych) ze wstępem i komentarzem, z dołączeniem tekstu staro-cerkiewno-słowiańskiego, *SPAU*, 1951 (9), pp. 780–4; *idem*, Żywoty Konstantyna i Metodego, *BTH* IV, 1953 (unavailable to me).

372–2 M. Rudnicki, O przedpiastowski ośrodek państwa polskiego, *PZ* IX (9—10), 1953, pp. 53—4, advances the hypothesis that the dynasty of the Popiels, which is supposed to have ruled Poland before the Piasts, was of Lyakh origin.

372–3 Z. Wojciechowski, Gniezno-Poznań-Kraków na tle kształtowania się państwa piastowskiego, *SPAU*, 1951, pp. 452—3.

372–5 Z. Stieber, Geneza gwar laskich, *PKJ* II, 1934; K. Dejna, *Polsko-laskie pogranicze językowe na terenie Polski* I, 1951; II, 1953.

373 (line 17) It is noteworthy that the term "Poland" (*Polonia*) emerged as late as the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century and from the outset embraced the whole realm of the Piasts. See S. Zajączkowski, Nazwa Wielkopolski w świetle źródeł historycznych, *PZ* VII (9—10), 1951, pp. 1—31.

382–1 K. Turowski (ed.), *B. Paprocki. Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, 1858, p. 19.

388–1 It is to be noted that the manuscript of Dlugossius contained the reference, erased by an unknown hand, to the existence of the Bishopric of Sandomierz in the year 1030. See W. Semkowicz-Zarembina, Powstanie i dzieje autografu Annalium Jana Długosza, *RPAU* XLVII, 1952, p. 24.

392–2 V. Korolyuk, Letopisnoe izvestie o krestyanskom vosstanii v Polshe v 1037—1038 gg., in *B. D. Grekovu ko dnyu 70-letiya sbornik statei*, 1952, pp. 69—75; T. Grudziński, Uwagi o genezie rewolucji w Polsce za Kazimierza Odnowiciela, *ZTNT* XVIII, 1953, pp. 7—104.

394–1 S. Łubieński, *Opera Posthuma. Vitae et Series Episcoporum Plocensium*, 1643, p. 320, drawing his information from the lost Catalogue of the Bishops of Płock, written by Dlugossius, preserved a very characteristic item: after the fall of Masław, Latin Christianity was being enforced in Mazovia against a stronger resistance on the part of the nobility than of the common people. "Palam quidem iam in

Dioecesi Plocensi cultus Divinus vigebat, caveri tamen vix potuit (Paschalis Episcopus), ut aliquae clandestinae superstitiones non exercentur; ad hoc lolium extirpandum sordesque ex animis, iam Christo consecratorum hominum eximendas, summo studio incubuit Paschalis Episcopus et non contentus falce spirituali, et Divini verbi securi, gladium quoque saecularem et Casimiri pii principis favorem, contra tales superstitiosos homines, in subsidium advocavit. Agrestes homines et agro colendo intenti, facile parebant monitis optimi Antistitis; nobiles et milites Regiis edictis armisque coercendi erant. Sic tamen pestiferum virus a stirpe evulsum et sincerus religionis cultus firmatus, auctore Paschali Ep . . ." It seems to me that the ruling class in Mazovia professed the Slavonic rite, while the common people, still largely steeped in pagan traditions, were less concerned with the rivalry of the two rites, the Latin and the Slavonic.

394–3 E. Caspar, *Das Register Gregors VII* I, 1920, pp. 233—5.

396–5 It should be investigated whether and to what extent the attitude of Izyaslav to the Roman Church was influenced by the part played by Izyaslav's sister Anna, Queen of France. Cf. A. Ladinsky, Anna Yaroslavna i ee mir, *N*, 1950, pp. 156—63.

398 (line 11) S. Łubieński, *Opera Posthuma. Vitae et Series Episcoporum Plocensium*, 1643, p. 315, drawing his information from the lost Catalogue of the Bishops of Płock by Dlugossius, and may be also from other sources, writes: "Cumque idem Pontifex—Gregorius VII—videret Poloniam altero orbatam Archiepiscopo, hoc nomine literas suas ad Boleslaum (crediderim potius Vladislaum Hermanum successorem Boleslai a se regno exuti) direxisse, eumque de restituendo Archiepiscopatu Cracoviensi monuisse, cum eodem tempore et eodem Pontifice Gnesnensis ecclesia Petrum Archiepiscopum haberet." The concluding part of this text was undoubtedly taken by Łubieński from Dlugossius (such details as that there was in Cracow a second Archbishopric, and that during the period under discussion the Archbishop of Gniezno was named Peter). The opening paragraph of the text permits the assumption that Łubieński knew of a second letter written by Gregory VII to Bolesław the Bold. Cf. *MPH* I, p. 370. There is no foundation for the hypothesis that he invented it himself, because he did not believe in the authenticity of the information and ascribed it—erroneously—to Władysław Herman. Nevertheless, two facts noted by Łubieński deserve attention: 1) that Poland was "bereaved" i.e. deprived of a second Metropolitan see (*altero orbata archiepiscopo*) and 2) that Gregory VII—undoubtedly in deference to the wishes of the King—desired to restore (*restituere*) the second Metropolitan see.

398–2 Dlugossius relates that after the death of the Archbishop (or rather Bishop) of Cracow Aaron, the disputes concerning the election of a successor lasted two years, until, thanks to the exertions of the King, Lambert—Zula was appointed to the vacant see. ("Mortuo Aarone Archiepiscopo, quamvis Praelati et Canonici Cracovienses variis vicibus futuri Archiepiscopi Cracoviensis electionem celebraturi convenissent, nullatenus tamen poterant de aliqua idonea persona, votis eligentium in varia vota divisis, concordare: ex quo contigit, Cracoviensem ecclesiam ex scissura tam detestabili integro fere vacare biennio. Opera tandem Boleslai Poloniae regis, Lampertus cognominatus Zula, octavus, per Alexandrum Papam secundum Anno Domini Millesimo sexagesimo primo in Archiepiscopum Cracoviensem consecratus . . . A die mortis Aaronis Archiepiscopi, ad diem ordinationis suae duo prope anni absumpti sunt, quibus sedes Cracoviensis propter discordiam . . . eligentium vacavit." Dlugossius, *Opera* I, p. 386). In my opinion, the difficulties concerning the appointment of a successor to Aaron, who was appointed during the reign of Casimir the Restorer, were related to the new Church policy of Bolesław the Bold and to his efforts to strengthen the Church organization of the Slavonic rite in Poland, which particularly affected the Bishopric of Cracow.

398–3 It is known that there existed a conflict between the King and the Bishop about the village of Piotrowin in the land of Zawichost. It would be difficult to assume that Bolesław the Bold, with his reputation for generosity, could have quarrelled with St. Stanisław about a village. The matter is placed in its proper perspective if it is assumed that the case concerned a territory within the Metropolitan see of the Slavonic rite (Zawichost lies close to Sandomierz), upon which the Bishop of Cracow encroached. The successor of St. Stanisław as Bishop of Cracow, Lambert III, in his letter addressed to the Czech Vratislav, vaguely mentions just and unjust kings. The latter, in my opinion, is an allusion to Bolesław the Bold. " Singulis terris, singulis regnis reges et dominos praefecit (Dominus) in judicium : quorum quidam sanae mentis in judicio regnant et justitia, quidam vero in mentis elatione et in rapina." *MPH* I, p. 372. The word " rapina " would indicate that the King forcibly took something from the Bishop, out of which the actual conflict arose (cf. Forcellini, *Lexicon totius Latinitatis*, 1890 : " rapina est rei alienae raptio per vim ").

399–2 Dlugossius in his " Life of St. Stanisław " relates that the Bishop was buried at first outside the door of the Church on the Skałka. It may be that this somewhat irreverent interment of the body of a Bishop was due to the conviction among his contemporaries that he was guilty of " sin " ; but it is also quite possible that the determining factor was fear of the King's wrath.

399–4 A. Bruce Boswell, Cultural and Social Conditions in the Middle Ages, in *The Cambridge History of Poland from the Origins of Sobieski*, 1950, p. 154.

399–5 T. Wojciechowski (*Szkice historyczne*) advanced the hypothesis that in 1079 the Archbishop of Gniezno, who cooperated with the King, was not Peter but Bogumił. After the downfall and death of the King, Bogumił was said to have resigned the office of Archbishop and retired to a monastery. W. Abraham, in reviewing the above work, *KH*, 1904, p. 569, accepts Wojciechowski's hypothesis.

399–6 As against the hypothesis that the Bishop was sentenced by a court to be dismembered (*truncatio membrorum*), it may be mentioned that the back of St. Stanisław's skull, reposing in the Cracow Cathedral, is broken. It is possible that he received a blow from the back. I think, the skull should be submitted to a careful examination.

400–4 On August 29, 1953, took place the opening of the reputed tomb of Bolesław the Bold in Ossiach, which was for the first time subjected to scientific examination by K. Lanckorońska. The preliminary results of the investigations made by this scholar show that the tomb was cut into the massive foundations of the romanesque church with extraordinary care. This unusual manner of burial was applied to eminent personalities who died in conflict with ecclesiastic authority. A gilt bronze stud, found in the tomb, cannot have been made later than in the 11th century. See K. Lanckorońska, Gróbw Osjaku, *Wiadomości* VIII (51—2), 1953, p. 4. These details permit the assumption, which only subsequent research can confirm, that it is the authentic tomb of Bolesław the Bold.

401 (line 17) If we assume that the tomb in Ossiach is really that of Bolesław the Bold, it may be questioned whether a penitent would have been buried in this way.

401–2 The successor of St. Stanisław as Bishop of Cracow, Lambert III, was appointed as late as 1082. This permits the assumption that the matter remained in suspense and the possibility of the return of the King was being taken into account. The new Bishop was appointed only after the death of Bolesław the Bold.

401–4 A later tradition relates that Bolesław the Bold died in Ossiach on his way to Rome. This is highly probable, considering that Ossiach lies on the route from Poland and Hungary to Rome and also considering the fact that there existed particularly intimate relations between the King and the Pope. Gregory VII was himself a Benedictine.

402 (line 19) Later sources, originating in the first instance from Ossiach, in order to extend the period of the King's penance place the date of the demise of Bolesław the Bold in the period 1088—1094; this is contradicted by early Polish annals.

402 (line 21) The manner of the burial of Bolesław the Bold (provided the tomb in Ossiach is indeed that of the King) on the one hand, and the initial burial of the body of the Bishop on the other hand, lead to the assumption that in the conflict between Bolesław and Stanisław opinion among the clergy itself was divided.

402 (line 22) Cf. J. Lisowski, *Kanonizacja św. Stanisława*, 1953; J. Dominik, *Bibliografia, ilustrująca życie i kult św. Stanisława B. M.*, 1953.

402 (line 23) As early as the second half of the 12th century, the Bishop of Cracow, Gedko, requested the Pope that he should select from a Roman church the body of one of the holy martyrs and send it as a gift to the Cathedral of Cracow, " because this episcopal church has no Saint, who might be a patron and guardian of this Kingdom."

403–1 It is necessary to emphasize that later Polish sources, including Dlugossius, which describe in most drastic terms the death of the Bishop, underline at the same time the great services which Bolesław the Bold rendered to the Church and to Poland. I think that these sources combine two contradictory traditions which existed in earlier times.

405–5 I. Umnyakov, Iz literatury ob al-Idrisi, *VDI*, 1939 (unavailable to me).

407–4 K. Jasiński, Sprawa śmierci Mieszka II, *ZTNT* XVII, 1951, pp. 87—92.

412–1 N. Chubaty, The Meaning of " Russia " and " Ukraine," *UQ* I, 1944—5, p. 360.

413 (line 4) Thus for instance, the Hungaro-Polish Chronicle is the only source indicating that the Christian name of the wife of the ruler of Hungary, Géza, was Adelheid, and that she was a sister of Mieszko I. " The Life of Włodzisława-Adelheid," which was written independently of the said Chronicle, confirms these facts. See J. Widajewicz, Rodowód Piastówny Adelajdy, *PZ* IX (9—10), 1953, pp. 57—63.

416–1 A. Florovsky, K izucheniyu istorii russko-vizantiiskikh otnoshenii, *BS* XIII (2), 1952—3, pp. 301—11.

418–1 D. Avdusin, Neonormanistskie izmyshleniya burzhuaznych istorikov, *VoI*, 1953 (12), pp. 114—20.

426–2 M. Taube, *Rome et la Russie avant l'invasion des Tatars. Le Prince Askold, l'origine de l'État de Kiev et la première conversion des Russes*, 1947, advances the hypothesis that the conversion of the Rus took place in Kiev, during the reign of Oskold.

427–3 N. Adontz, L'âge et l'origine de l'empereur Basile I-er (867—886), *B* IX, 1934, pp. 259—60.

428–4 A. Smirnov, K voprosu o slavyanakh v Krymu, *VDI*, 1953 (3), pp. 32—45.

442–1 J. Bromberg, Zur Geographie der Reisen des Dominikaners Julian, *FUF* XXVI (2—3), 1939—40, pp. 60—73; D. Sinor, Un voyageur du treizième siècle: le Dominicain Julien de Hongrie, *BSOAS* XIV (3), 1952, pp. 589—602.

446–1 A. Solovev, New Traces of the Igor Tale in the Old Russian Literature, *HSS* I, 1953, p. 79.

447–4 U. Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der Mordwinen*, 1952.

ABBREVIATIONS

A	*Arkheologiya, Akademiya Nauk URSR.*
AA	*Acta Archaeologica.*
AECO	*Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis.*
AEO	*Archives d'Études Orientales.*
AF	*Altpreussische Forschungen.*
AHK	*Abhandlungen des Hamburgischen Kolonialinstituts.*
AIPHOS	*Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves.*
AJ	*Acta Jutlandica.*
AKG	*Archiv für Kulturgeschichte.*
AKM	*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.*
AM	*Altpreussische Monatsschrift.*
An	*Antiquity.*
AOBM	*Analecta Ordinis S Basilii Magni.*
APS	*Acta Philologica Scandinavica.*
APUL	*Acta Praehistorica Universitatis Lodziensis.*
AR	*Archeologické Rozhledy.*
ASBP	*Acta Societatis Botanicorum Poloniae.*
ASEER	*The American Slavic and East European Review.*
ASP	*Archiv für Slavische Philologie.*
ATNL	*Archiwum Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie. Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny.*
AUA	*The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy.*
AUL	*Acta Universitatis Latviensis.*
AUPL	*Akta Unii Polski z Litwą.*
AUWIB	*Abhandlungen des Ukrainischen Wissenschaftlichen Institutes in Berlin.*
AW	*Ateneum Wileńskie.*
B	*Byzantion.*
BCL	*Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres, Académie Royale de Belgique.*
BDSG	*Badania z Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych.*
BGA	*Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum.*
BH	*Biblioteka Historyczna.*
BHSK	*Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury.*
BM	*Byzantina-Metabyzantina.*
BN	*Biblioteka Narodowa.*
BNJ	*Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher.*
BP	*Biblioteka Prehistoryczna.*
BPU	*Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński.*
BS	*Byzantinoslavica.*
BSHT	*Breslauer Studien zur Historischen Theologie.*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.*
BSSUJ	*Biblioteka Studium Słowiańskiego Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.*
BTH	*Biblioteka Tekstów Historycznych.*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift.*

C	*Ceskoslovensko.*
CCH	*Cesky Casopis Historycky.*
CDCMG	*Codex Diplomaticus et Commèmorationum Masoviae Generalis.*
CDERB	*Codex Diplomaticus et Epistolaris Regni Bohemiae.*
CDES	*Codex Diplomaticus nec non Epistolaris Silesiae.*
CDL	*Codex Diplomaticus Lithuaniae.*
CDP	*Codex Diplomaticus Prussicus.*
CEV	*Codex Epistolaris Vitoldi.*
COID	*Chteniya v Imperat. Obshchestve Istorii i Drevnostei Rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom Universitete.*
CPH	*Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne, Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk.*
Cross	*The Russian Primary Chronicle.*
CT	*Collectanea Theologica.*
DD	*Dela i Dni.*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers.*
DSIF	*Doklady i Soobshcheniya Istoricheskogo Fakulteta Moskovskogo Universiteta im. M. Lomonosova.*
EBAP	*Extrait du Bulletin de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres.*
EO	*Échos d'Orient.*
EPPAU	*Encyklopedia Polska, Polska Akademia Umiejętności.*
EV	*Evraziiskii Vremennik.*
FRB	*Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum.*
FS	*Finnougorskii Sbornik.*
FUF	*Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen.*
GV	*Geograficheskii Vestnik.*
HG	*Hansische Geschichtsblätter.*
HS	*Historische Studien* (E. Ebering, ed.).
HSN	*Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature.*
HSS	*Harvard Slavic Studies.*
HU	*Hansisches Urkundenbuch.*
HZ	*Historische Zeitschrift.*
I	*Irenikon.*
IA	*Istoricheskii Arkhiv.*
IAN	*Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR, Seriya Istorii i Filosofii.*
IANOLY	*Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR, Otdelenie Literatury i Yazyka.*
IGAIMK	*Izvestiya Gosudarstvennoi Akademii Istorii Materialnoi Kultury.*
IGGO	*Izvestiya Gosudarstvennogo Geograficheskogo Obshchestva.*
IIAK	*Izvestiya Imperatorskoi Arkheograficheskoi Komissii.*
IIAN	*Izvestiya Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk.*
IM	*Istorik Marksist.*
INBEW	*Instytut Naukowo-Badawczy Europy Wschodniej.*
IO	*Istoricheskoe Obozrenie.*
IORYS	*Izvestiya Otdeleniya Russkogo Yazyka i Slovesnosti Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk.*
IRAIMK	*Izvestiya Rossiiskoi Akademii Istorii Materialnoi Kultury.*
IRAN	*Izvestiya Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk.*
IRYS	*Izvestiya po Russkomu Yazyku i Slovesnosti.*
IS	*Istoricheskii Sbornik.*
IsZ	*Istoricheskii Zhurnal.*
IVGO	*Izvestiya Vsesoyuznogo Geograficheskogo Obshchestva.*

IZ	*Istoricheskie Zapiski.*
J	*Jantar.*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JEBH	*Journal of Economic and Business History.*
JGO	*Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas.*
JKGS	*Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven.*
K	*Kraevedenie.*
KDKW	*Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Katedry Wileńskiej.*
KDM	*Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Małopolski.*
KDMK	*Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Miasta Krakowa.*
KH	*Kwartalnik Historyczny.*
KHW	*Kwartalnik Historyczny na Wschodzie.*
Kr	*Krywich.*
KSDPI	*Kratkie Soobshcheniya o Dokladakh i Polevykh Issledovaniyakh Instituta Istorii Materialnoi Kultury.*
Ku	*Kultura* (Paris).
KV	*Katolicheskii Vremennik.*
Ky	*Kyrios.*
LECU	*Liv- Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch.*
LNV	*Literaturno-Naukovii Vistnik.*
LP	*Lietuvos Praeitis.*
LR	*Litwa i Ruś.*
LTN	*Łódzkie Towarzystwo Naukowe, Wydział II.*
LUA	*Lunds Universitets Arsskrift.*
LZAK	*Letopis Zanyatii Arkheograficheskoi Komissii.*
MAA	*The Medieval Academy of America, Monographs.*
MAFS	*Memoirs of the American Folklore Society.*
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica.*
MGS	*Münchener Geographische Studien.*
MH	*Miesięcznik Heraldyczny.*
MIA	*Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR.*
MIOG	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichte.*
MLG	*Mitteilungen aus der Livländischen Geschichte.*
MPH	*Monumenta Poloniae Historica.*
MPHNS	*Monumenta Poloniae Historica, Nova Series.*
MPV	*Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana.*
MS	*Monde Slave.*
N	*Novosele.*
NE	*New Europe.*
NP	*Nasza Przeszłość.*
NPo	*Nauka Polska.*
NTOPK	*Nauchnye Trudy Obshchestva po Izucheniyu Privolzhskogo Kraya.*
NV	*Novyi Vostok.*
NZANU	*Naukovi Zapiski, Akademiya Nauk URSR.*
NZUAN	*Naukovii Zbirnik, Ukrainska Akademiya Nauk, Istorichna Sektsiya.*
O	*Onomastica, Ukrainska Vilna Akademiya Nauk.*
OC	*Orientalia Christiana.*
OCA	*Orientalia Christiana Analecta.*
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica.*
OF	*Osteuropäische Forschungen.*
OSP	*Oxford Slavonic Papers.*

P	*Praeitis.*
PA	*Przegląd Archeologiczny.*
PDRL	*Pamyatniki Drevne-Russkoi Literatury, Akademiya Nauk SSSR.*
PE	*Prace Etnologiczne.*
PEW	*Problemy Europy Wschodniej.*
PF	*Prace Filologiczne.*
PGe	*Przegląd Geograficzny.*
PH	*Przegląd Historyczny.*
PHP	*Przegląd Historyczno-Prawny.*
PHW	*Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy.*
PI	*Problemy Istochnikovedeniya.*
PIDO	*Problemy Istorii Dokapitalisticheskikh Obshchestv.*
PIHUW	*Prace Instytutu Historycznego Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.*
PIMK	*Problemy Istorii Materialnoi Kultury.*
PKAHP	*Prace Komisji Atlasu Historycznego Polski, Polska Akademia Umiejętności.*
PKAP	*Prace Komisji Antropologii i Prehistorii, Polska Akademia Umiejętności.*
PKH	*Prace Komisji Historycznej Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk.*
PKJ	*Prace Komisji Językowej, Polska Akademia Umiejętności.*
PKO	*Prace Komisji Orientalistycznej, Polska Akademia Umiejętności.*
PKVI	*Pratsi Komisii dlya Viuchuvannya Istorii Zakhidno-Ruskogo ta Ukrainskogo Prava.*
PL	*Pamiętnik Literacki.*
PMPDU	*Pamyatki Movi ta Pismenstva Davnoi Ukraini.*
PN	*Polityka Narodów.*
PO	*Prace Onomastyczne, Polska Akademia Umiejętności.*
POr	*Przegląd Orientalistyczny.*
PP	*Przegląd Powszechny.*
PPA	*Przegląd Prawa i Administracji.*
PPAU	*Pamiętnik Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności.*
PPS	*Pravoslavnyi Palestinskii Sbornik.*
PS	*Pamiętnik Słowiański.*
PSA	*Pratsy Sektsi Arkheolēgii, Akademiya Navuk BSSR.*
PSB	*Polski Słownik Biograficzny, Polska Akademia Umiejętności.*
PSRL	*Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisei.*
PSSS	*Proceedings, Shevchenko Scientific Society.*
PSU	*Práce Slovanského Ústavu.*
PU	*Preussisches Urkundenbuch.*
PUNI	*Pratsi Ukrainskogo Naukovogo Institutu.*
PW	*Przegląd Wielkopolski.*
PWTN	*Prace Wrocławskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego.*
PY	*Problemy Yazykoznaniya.*
PZ	*Przegląd Zachodni.*
PZHP	*Pamiętnik Zjazdu Historyków Polskich* (In quotation, the first number refers to the number of each of the historical congresses in their sequence, and the second number to the volume).
RC	*Records of Civilization, Columbia University.*
RDSG	*Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych.*
RES	*Revue des Études Slaves.*
RFV	*Russkii Filologicheskii Vestnik.*
RG	*Rocznik Gdański.*
RGB	*Revue Générale Belge.*

RH	*Roczniki Historyczne.*
RHi	*Revue Historique.*
RHKUL	*Roczniki Humanistyczne Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego.*
RHPHGC	*Revue d'Histoire de la Philosophie et d'Histoire Générale de la Civilisation.*
RHSEE	*Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen.*
RHWTN	*Rozprawy Historyczne Warszawskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego.*
RIB	*Russkaya Istoricheskaya Biblioteka.*
RIR	*Revista Ist. Romana.*
RIZ	*Russkii Istoricheskii Zhurnal.*
RK	*Rocznik Krakowski.*
RO	*Rocznik Orientalistyczny.*
RP	*The Review of Politics.*
RPAU	*Rozprawy Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny.*
RPAUF	*Rozprawy Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, Wydział Filologiczny.*
RPTH	*Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego.*
RQH	*Revue des Questions Historiques.*
RR	*The Romanic Review.*
RRe	*The Russian Review.*
RS	*Rocznik Slawistyczny.*
RSo	*Rocznik Socjologiczny.*
RW	*Rocznik Wołyński.*
RZ	*Rossiya i Zapad.*
RZO	*Rocznik Zakładu Ossolińskich.*
S	*Slavia.*
SA	*Slavia Antiqua.*
SAr	*Sovetskaya Arkheologiya.*
SAS	*Slovo a Slovesnost.*
SBN	*Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici.*
SE	*Sovetskaya Etnografiya.*
SEER	*The Slavonic and East European Review.*
SF	*Südost-Forschungen.*
SFFMU	*Spisy Filosofické Fakulty Masarykovy University v Brne.*
SGGD	*Sobranie Gosudarstvennykh Gramot i Dogovorov.*
SHPP	*Studia nad Historią Prawa Polskiego.*
SK	*Seminarium Kondakovianum.*
SI	*Slavistica, Proceedings of the Institute of Slavistics of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences.*
SLO	*Sbornik Leningradskogo Obshchestva Izucheniya Kultury Finno-Ugorskikh Narodnostei.*
SN	*Sprawy Narodowościowe.*
SO	*Slavia Occidentalis.*
Sob	*Sobótka, Organ Wrocławskiego Towarzystwa Miłośników Historii.*
Sp	*Speculum.*
SPAU	*Sprawozdania Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności.*
SPAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Phil.-Hist. Klasse).*
SRAO	*Sbornik Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva v Belgrade.*
SRG	*Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum.*
SRH	*Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum.*
SRL	*Scriptores Rerum Livonicarum.*

SRP	*Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum.*
SRYS	*Sbornik po Russkomu Yazyku i Slovesnosti, Akademiya Nauk SSSR.*
SS	*Slavyanskii Sbornik.*
STNL	*Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie.*
STNT	*Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu.*
STNW	*Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego w Warszawie.*
SV	*Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie.*
Sw	*Światowit.*
SWTN	*Sprawozdania Wrocławskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego.*
SYB	*The Slavonic Year-Book.*
SZ	*Sovremennye Zapiski.*
TGAIMK	*Trudy Gosudarstvennoi Akademii Istorii Materialnoi Kultury.*
TGIM	*Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Istoricheskogo Muzeya.*
TH	*Teki Historyczne, Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne na Obczyźnie.*
TIV	*Trudy Instituta Vostokovedeniya, Akademiya Nauk SSSR.*
TKDA	*Trudy Kievskoi Dukhovnoi Akademii.*
TKIAN	*Trudy Komissii po Istorii Akademii Nauk SSSR.*
TMP	*Trudy Muzeya Paleografii.*
TODRL	*Trudy Otdela Drevne-Russkoi Literatury, Akademiya Nauk SSSR.*
TPIES	*Travaux publiés par l'Institut d'Études Slaves.*
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.*
TSF	*Trudy po Slavyanskoi Filologii, izd. Russkim Institutom pri Stokgolskom Universitete.*
TSRAO	*Trudy Sezda Russkikh Akademicheskikh Organizatsii za Granitsei.*
TVPI	*Trudy Vyatskogo Pedagogicheskogo Instituta im. V. Lenina.*
UANIS	*Ukrainska Akademiya Nauk, Istorichna Sektsiya.*
UIK	*Universitetskie Izvestiya, Kiev.*
UJ	*Ungarische Jahrbücher.*
UQ	*The Ukrainian Quarterly.*
UZII	*Uchenye Zapiski Instituta Istorii.*
UZLGU	*Uchenye Zapiski Leningradskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta, Seriya Istoricheskikh Nauk.*
UZMGU	*Uchenye Zapiski Moskovskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta.*
UZPIG	*Uchenye Zapiski Pedagogicheskogo Instituta im. Gertsena.*
UZVP	*Uchenye Zapiski Vologodskogo Pedinstituta.*
UZYGPI	*Uchenye Zapiski Yaroslavskogo Gosudarstvennogo Pedagogicheskogo Instituta.*
VAN	*Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR.*
VCAVU	*Vestnik Ceské Akademie Ved a Umeni.*
VDI	*Vestnik Drevnei Istorii.*
VG	*Voprosy Geografii.*
VLU	*Vestnik Leningradskogo Universiteta.*
VMPL	*Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae.*
VoI	*Voprosy Istorii.*
VV	*Vizantiiskii Vremennik.*
VY	*Voprosy Yazykoznaniya.*
WNA	*Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne.*
WSJ	*Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch.*
ZAHN	*Zapiski Addz. Human. Navuk, Belarusk. Akad. Navuk.*
ZDG	*Zeitschrift für Deutsche Geisteswissenschaft.*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

ZGE	*Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde.*
ZGJD	*Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland.*
ZIAN	*Zapiski Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk.*
ZIF	*Zapiski Istorichno-Filologichnogo Viddilu, Ukrainska Akademiya Nauk.*
ZIFV	*Zbirnik Istorichno-Filologichnogo Viddilu, Ukrainska Akademiya Nauk.*
ZIOOI	*Zapiski Imperatorskogo Odesskogo Obshchestva Istorii i Drevnostei.*
ZK	*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.*
ZKV	*Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov pri Aziatskom Muzee Akademii Nauk SSSR.*
ZM	*Życie i Myśl.*
ZMNP	*Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniya.*
ZNO	*Zapiski Neofilologicheskogo Obshchestva.*
ZNTIS	*Zapiski Naukovogo Tovaristva im. Shevchenka.*
ZO	*Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung.*
ZOG	*Zeitschrift für Osteuropäische Geschichte.*
ZORSA	*Zapiski Otdeleniya Russkoi i Slavyanskoi Arkheologii Imperatorskogo Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva.*
ZOW	*Z Otchłani Wieków.*
ZRAN	*Zapiski Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk.*
ZRIOP	*Zapiski Russkogo Istoricheskogo Obshchestva v Prage.*
ZRNIB	*Zapiski Russkogo Nauchnogo Instituta v Belgrade.*
ZS	*Zhivaya Starina.*
ZSP	*Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie.*
ZTNT	*Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu.*
ZVGS	*Zeitschrift des Vereines für Geschichte Schlesiens.*
ZVO	*Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniya Imperatorskogo Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva.*

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EAST EUROPEAN TRIBES
IN THE Xth CENTURY

Scale 1·7,500,000

20° 30° 40° 50° 60°

60° 50°

BALTIC SEA
SEA OF AZOV
CASPIAN SEA
L. LADOGA
L. ONEGA
L. BELOE
L. ILMEN
L. CHUDSKOE
YAM
CHUD (ESTS)
KORS (CURS)
LIV
LETGOLA
ZIMEGOLA (SEMIGALIANS)
SAMOGITIANS
KARELIANS
VOD
(NOVGORODIAN) SLAVS
VESS
CHUD BEYOND THE HILLS
PECHERA
URAL MTS
PINEGA
NORTHERN DVINA
ONEGA
VYCHEGDA
KAMA
PERM
SUKHONA
VUG
CHEREMIS
VYATKA
BELAYA
BASCARDIANS (HUNGARIANS)
VOLGA BULGARS
VOLGA
KAMA
MERYA
KLYAZMA
OKA
MOSKVA
MUROMA
MORDVA
MESHCHERA
GOLYAD
PROVA
UGRA
VYATICHIANS
BURTAS
POLOTSK
DVINA
POLOCHIANS
KRIVICHIANS
DREGOVICHIANS
BEREZINA
DNIEPER
SOZH
RADIMICHIANS
SEVERIANS
DESNA
SEIM
DON
SULA
DONETS
PECHENEGS (CHARABOÏ)
DNIEPER
Kiev
POLYANIANS
ROS
TETEREV
DEREVLIANS
PRIPET
BUG
MAZOVIANS
MARKEW
CUIAVIANS
VISTULA
NOTEĆ
ODRA
POMERANIANS
PRUSSIANS
YATVINGIANS
NEMAN
NIEMEN
LITHUANIANS
POLANIANS
WARTA
NYSA
SILESIANS
LYAKHS
VISTULIANS
SAN
BUZHIANS
SAVA
MORAVA
SLUCH
PECHENEGS (TABDIERTIM)
BRUT
DNIESTER
ULICHIANS
BOH
CROATS
CARPATHIAN MTS
PECHENEGS

EASTERN EUROPE

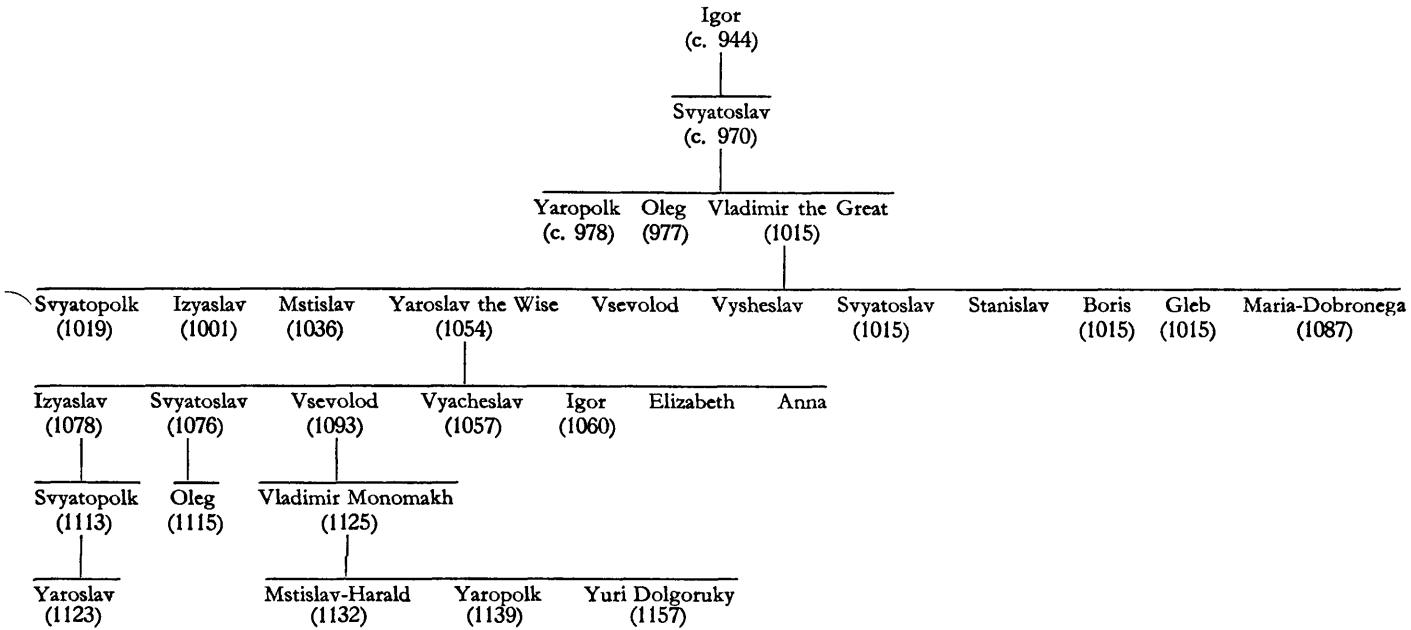
(X^TH – XIV^TH CENTURIES)

SCALE 1:5,000,000 approx

BALTIC SEA
GULF OF FINLAND
GULF OF RIGA
GULF OF GDANSK
GOTLAND
RUGIA
Lake Ladoga
Lake Beloe
Beloozero
Lake Ilmen
Lake Chudskoe
Lake Seliger
Lake Nero
NOVGOROD
PSKOV
Izborsk
Yurev
Staraya Rusa
RIGA
Torzhok
TVER
Ksnyatin
Kleshchino L.
Pereyaslavl
Yurev Polski
SUZDAL
Bogolyubov
VLADIMIR
Starodub
Yaropolch
Gorokhovets
Nizhni Novgorod
Gorodets
Shuya
Kineshma
Yurev
Kostroma
Yaroslavl
ROSTOV
Uglich
Bezhetski Verkh
Kashin
Mologa
Sol Galitskaya
Chukhloma
Galich Merski
Sukhona
Mologa
Sheksna
Mera
Volga
Koloksha
Nerl
Medveditsa
Lama
Tmaka
Klyazma
Oka
Dmitrov
Murom
MOSCOW
Zvenigorod
Mozhaisk
Kolomna
Moskva
Mstsa-kava
Ryasna
Lukovnikovo
Osechen
Rzhev
Zubtsov
Volok
Fominskoe
Berezui
Khlyapen
Toropets
Lovat
Dvina
Volkhov
Msta
Sheksna
Sit
Serpokhov
PEREYASLAVL (RYAZAN)
Staraya Ryazan
Protva
Kozlovo
Vyazma
Ugra
Kaluga
Aleksin
Lipitsy
Kozelsk
Kulikovo Pole
Mtsensk
Novosil
Karachev
Bryansk
Oka
Don
Dorogobuzh
Gnezdovo
SMOLENSK
Orsha
Drutsk
Mstislavl
Borisov
Dnieper
Sozh
Berezina
Svisloch
Slutsk
Kopyl
Minsk
Lokhoisk
Gorodets
Zaslav
Niemen
Grodno
Novogrodek
Turetsk
Volkovysk
Slonim
Kletsk
Shchara
Merkine (Merecz)
Eyshyshki
Traby
Geranony
Berezina
Lebedziov
Kreva
TRAKAI (TROKI)
VILNIUS (WILNO)
KERNAVĖ (KIERNOW)
Svironai (Swirany)
Kaunas (Kowno)
Neris (Wilia)
Nevezis
Nemunas (Niemen)
Uzpaliai
Upytė
Utena
Tauragnai
Braslav
Dzisna
Pulota
POLOTSK
Vitebsk
Dvina
Lubusz
GNIEZNO
POZNAŃ
Giecz
Warta
Noteć
Nysa
Bober
Lignica
WROCŁAW
Leczyca
Sieradz
Nieszawa
Chełmno
Dobrzyń
PŁOCK
Vistula
Odra
SZCZECIN
GDANSK
Wolin (Wołyń)
Kołobrzeg
Bug
Narew
Bielsk
Drohiczyn
Mielnik
Brześć
Kobryń
Zdzitov
Yasiolda
PINSK
TUROV
Pripet
Styr
Horyn
Ratno
Lubomla
Czartorysk
Uhrowesk
Chełm
Wieprz
Radom
Lublin
Zawichost
SANDOMIERZ
Nida
Wiślica
Tanew
San
Wisłok
Krosno
Sanok
Rzeszów
Tyniec
CRACOV
PRZEMYŚL
LWÓW
Busko
Bełz
Peremil
Peresopnica
Krzemieniec
LUCK
Kozhets
Sluch
VLADIMIR-IN-VOLYNIA (WLODZIMIERZ WOLYNSKI)
CZERWIEŃ
WOŁYŃ
Czerniawa
Ovruch
Izkorosten
Radomysl
Vyshgorod
KIEV
Belgorod
Stuhna
PEREYASLAVL
Vitichev
Yurev
Torchesk
Trembowla
HALICZ
Kamieniec-in-Podolia
Bolokhovo
Teterev
Irpen
Trubezh
Desna
Seim
Novgorod Seversk
Kursk
Lyubech
CHERNIHOV
Oster
Sula
Donets
Ros
Dniester
Prut
Boh
Kalmius
Sea of Azov
CARPATHIAN MTS.
TRANS-CARPATHIAN RUS
15°
20°
25°
30°
35°
40°
45°
60°
55°
50°

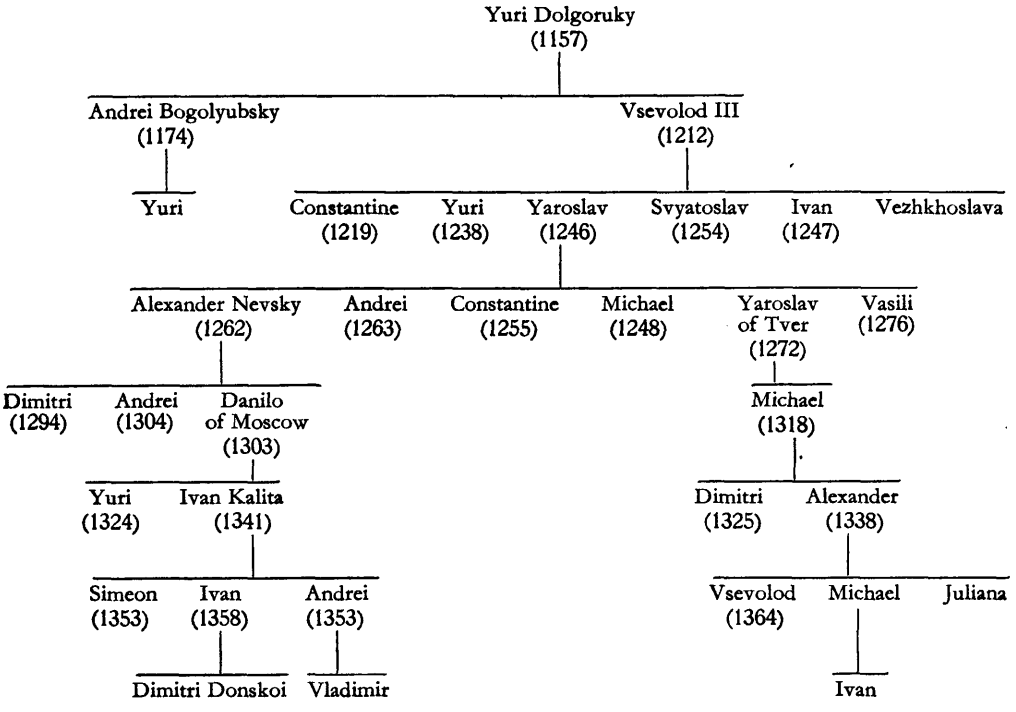
GENEALOGICAL TABLES*

1. THE RURIKIDES OF THE KIEVAN PERIOD



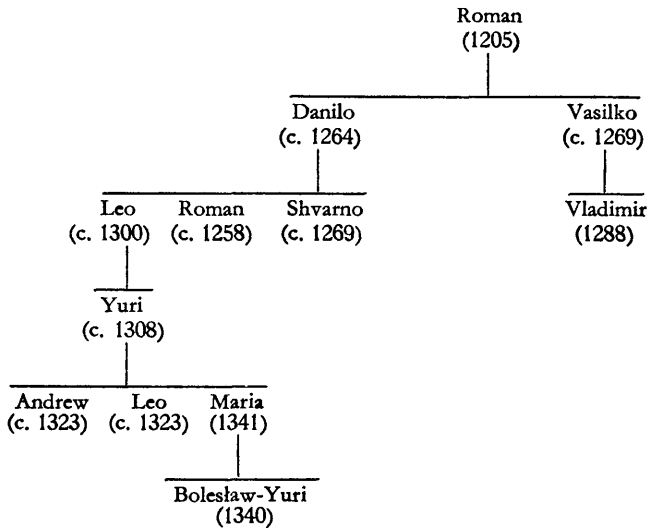
* The purpose of the following tables is not to give the full genealogy of each ruling house but to help the reader to identify the rulers mentioned in the present work. The dates of their deaths are given in parentheses.

2. THE RURIKIDES OF THE VOLGA REGION

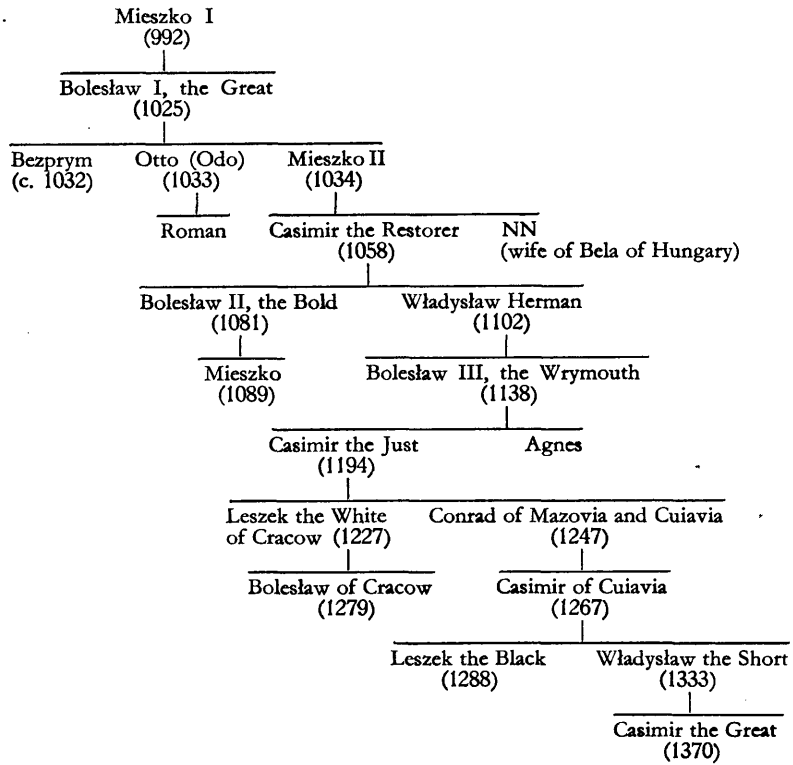


3. THE RURIKIDES OF HALICZ-VOLYNIA

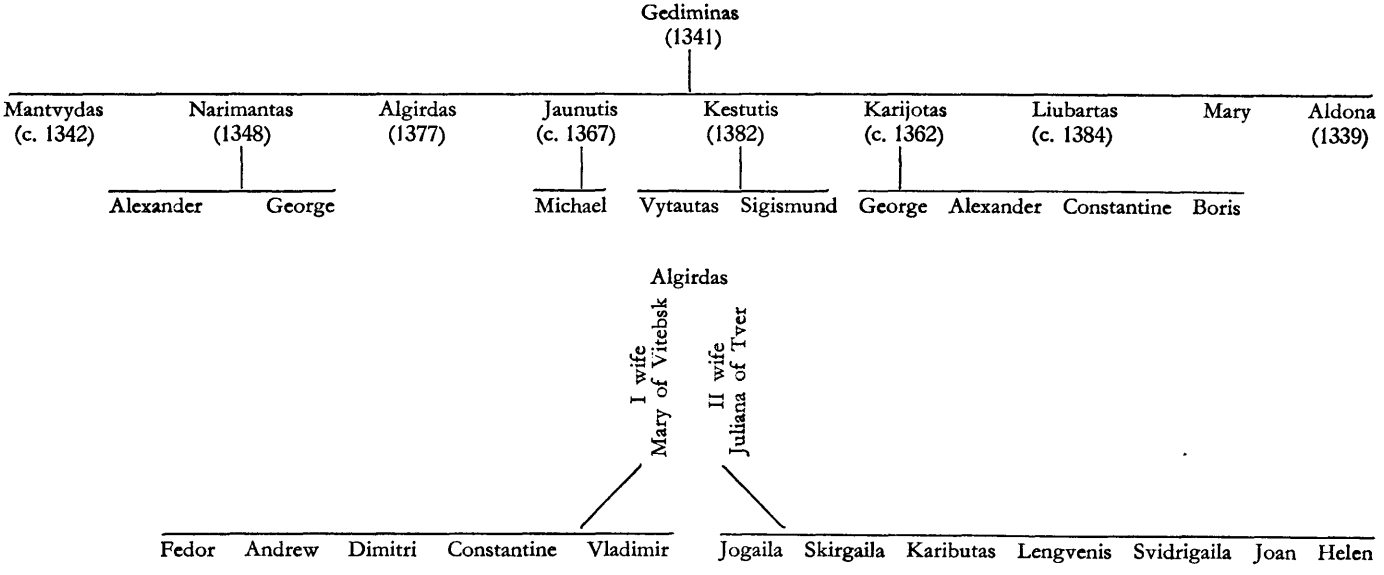
THE HOUSE OF ROMAN



4. THE PIASTS


Mieszko I
(992)
Bolesław I, the Great
(1025)
Bezprym
(c. 1032)
Otto (Odo)
(1033)
Mieszko II
(1034)
Roman
Casimir the Restorer
(1058)
NN
(wife of Bela of Hungary)
Bolesław II, the Bold
(1081)
Władysław Herman
(1102)
Mieszko
(1089)
Bolesław III, the Wrymouth
(1138)
Casimir the Just
(1194)
Agnes
Leszek the White
of Cracow (1227)
Conrad of Mazovia and Cuiavia
(1247)
Bolesław of Cracow
(1279)
Casimir of Cuiavia
(1267)
Leszek the Black
(1288)
Władysław the Short
(1333)
Casimir the Great
(1370)

5. THE HOUSE OF GEDIMINAS



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